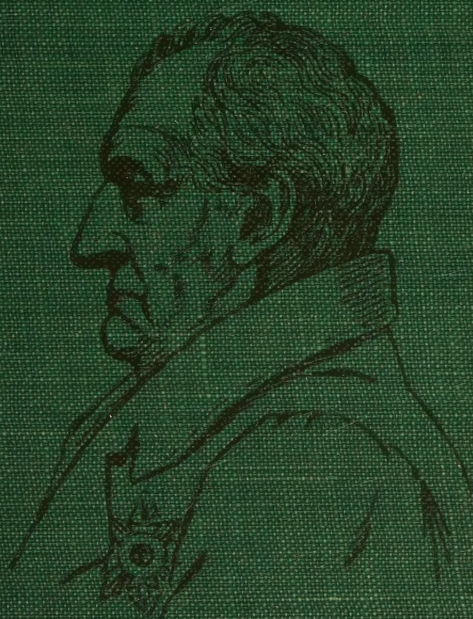


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OF
GOETHE
BY
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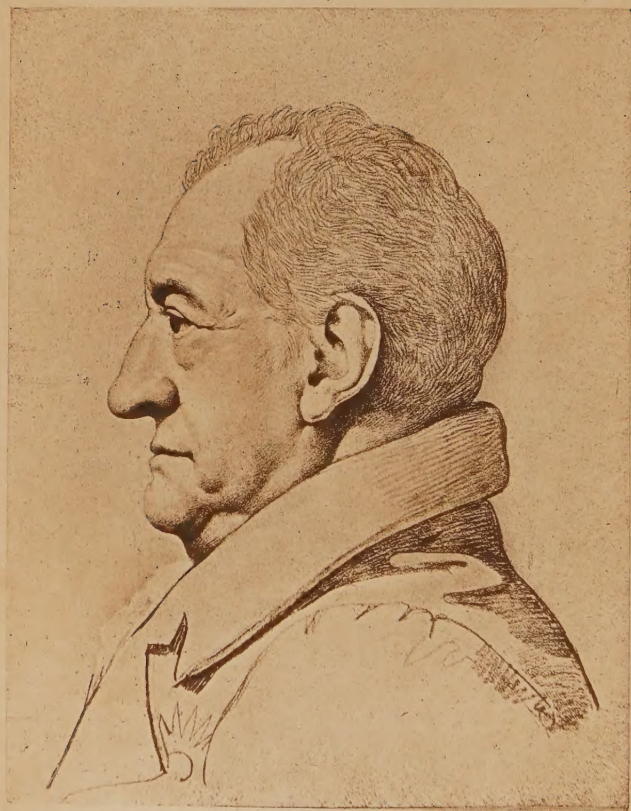
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Goethe
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LIFE OF GOETHE .

BY HEINRICH DÜNTZER

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WITH AUTHENTIC ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES

T. FISHER UNWIN

LONDON

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1908.

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GOETHE'S ARMS, 1782 :

A Hexagonal Star of Gold or Silver, in a Shield round which runs a rim of silver, the Star repeated above over the Crowned Helmet.

Lamm! Dougal
1908

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO a man so great, and complete, and sufficient to himself as Goethe, moulded on lines so large and generous, justice in the highest sense can be done only by one of equal gifts. Only an equal can realise by sympathy the mysterious and powerful impulses that animate such a being, can accompany him in spirit through the struggles of his development, track in imagination the perplexed paths by which he draws towards his perfect ideal ; only an equal can enter into the soul, the self-formative, enjoying, thinking, warring, wrestling, inner man ; estimate aright now the success and now the failure ; and at the end sum up the perfect account of the whole existence.

But love too can do much. She lends that penetrating sagacity which knows no rest until the informing spiritual presence of the great dead is plainly felt ; nor is love's blameless partiality blind to those weaknesses and faults, inseparable from all human greatness—as small mishaps chequer every victory. There is indeed no man who must not with reverence shrink from the

task of depicting such a mighty figure as the creator of *Faust*, had not a kindly destiny willed that, beside his own set confessions and the many radiations of his spirit in Art,—so diverse, so full of significance—there is preserved to us a vast number of original communications—both epistolary and of other kinds—written by the poet and by those who knew him. With the aid of these we can follow him almost step by step in the important crises—can obtain exact insight into the secret recesses of his life.

But the deliver of this unvalued treasure must use the most diligent care. Often, indeed, secure interpretation and full illumination is possible only to one who already possesses fresh and accurate knowledge of the main course of Goethe's life and dealings with men.

Goethe has himself given to the world a minute account of his first six and twenty years. All rivalry of this exquisite book is vain. Yet here is really but an apparent difficulty for the biographer. For there is no question of rivalry. The old man's beautiful and animated story of his youth is composed of *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit*—of *Poetry* and *Truth* marvellously woven. The general delineation corresponds with the actual fact. But many of the particular details have been moved from their places for the sake of artistic grouping, and again, details for the completion of episodes and scenes have been supplied by imagination when memory and other sources failed. Accordingly, while Goethe's biographer will, from time to time, refer his readers to the presentation of things in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, because this presentation is universally known, and after it other men's work is bathos, it should be understood—without prejudice to the beautiful ideal vision of the past that Goethe saw from the serene heights of his wise old age—that the main

duty of the narrator of the poet's early manhood is to help exact truth to her rights, and that chiefly by skilful use of the disclosures of recent years. In Goethe's time it was not possible to arrange facts in their correct order, or to throw upon them the light now known to be the true one.

We have hitherto lacked a Life of Goethe which, carefully sifting the vast masses of material, shall indicate simply and clearly the nodal centres of his development as a man and a poet; indicate the relations and circumstances that conditioned development; be perspicuous, and yet omit nothing of importance; and, moreover, call attention to the point of union whence all the diverging lines of aspiration and of action proceed; to the traits of character everywhere manifest, the noble magnanimity, the deep sense of duty, the steadfast faith in the care of a Higher Power, the restless unwearied activity, and the inward impulsion towards a complete culture. Especially has the period terminated by the final breach with Charlotte von Stein (1749-1789) waited for adequate treatment. The after-time is easier to deal with. After following Goethe so far, the reader possesses knowledge enough of that wonderful nature, fulfilling its being, as it were, of necessity, to read a general sketch of the rest of his Life with profit. Still it is hardly needful to repeat the warning, that all the several threads—the warp in the woof of this marvellous existence—and not least the thread of Domestic Life, must be followed up with extreme care.

In the book here laid before the reader Goethe's literary works are noticed as golden fruit that grew and ripened on the profuse and splendid tree, his life, but there is no attempt to fix their artistic value, or measure their spiritual contents by analysis. As for

his scientific labours, only their importance as part of Goethe's activity and culture, and their place in the growth of science, can be indicated.

The illustrations present persons and places as they actually were ; and they can be relied on. This merit above all others I have sought to make a characteristic of my account of Goethe's life ; I renounce all colour which does not belong to the thing portrayed.

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THE LIFE OF GOETHE.

BOOK I.

BOYHOOD UNDER HIS FATHER'S ROOF.

CHAPTER I.

FROM WOLFGANG'S BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF HIS
GRANDMOTHER.

1749-1754.

IN the old "free elective and commercial City of the Empire," Frankfurt-am-Main, was born, on the 28th of August 1749, at the stroke of noon, the boy whose name was to be her chief glory. The sun in the sign of the Virgin at its highest diurnal altitude, Jupiter and Venus dominant, was a favourable conjunction which the great poet notes in his autobiography—we think of Herder, who, born into a straitened life, saw destiny in being born at midnight.

It was a good time and place to be born. Just before the end of the first half of the century of the Illumination (*Aufklärung*); in the morning dawn of German poetry—for in 1749 the first five cantos of the *Messias* came out, and Lessing and Wieland, who, at the same time as Klopstock, and with like strivings, were the beginners of a new time in the literature of our Fatherland, were then in the first stage of their development. And what German city offered a more rich and varied life, more freedom for growth, a more agitated intellectual air, a more lively concourse of distinguished strangers, than this Imperial City, lying so close to the noblest German river on its tributary Main? Still, as Goethe sadly notes,¹ she, like most of her sisters, was "decaying in and

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, Dec. 7, 1777.—TR.

with her privileges." Thorough depravity prevailed not among the nobility alone; the burgher city-councillors too were tainted with the greed for power, the greed for gold, and the evil passions of such parentage; even to the lower ranks the corrupted manners were now spreading. How well for our poet that his father's house was islanded safe from the infection, an abode of noble discipline, of austere dignity.

Goethe's father was the son of Friedrich Georg Goethe, a journeyman tailor, who, leaving Artern on the Unstrut, a Thuringian river, finally rested from his many wanderings in Frankfurt, and there, in his thirtieth year (1687), took to wife Anna Elizabeth Lutz, herself a tailor's daughter. She died in 1700, and after five years of single life, Friedrich Georg wedded the widow Cornelia Schelhorn, owner of the inn *Zum Weidenhof*, and still comely in her seven and thirtieth year. One who knew this grandfather of the poet describes him as courteous, of thorough musical attainment, but off his head with pride. The third and last child of this marriage, Johann Kaspar Goethe, the father of the poet, was born July 27, 1710. He went for his education in letters to the grammar-school (*Pädagogium*) of Coburg. During this absence his father and elder brother died. At Leipzig and Giessen he studied law with diligence; then, according to the custom of the time, was occupied in the *Reichskammergericht* at Wetzlar; finally, at Giessen, won his Doctor of Laws with a masterly dissertation. Urged by a passion for knowledge, he then journeyed to Italy; bringing with him many works of art, rich in store of facts and memories, he then travelled probably through France and Holland, and came to his own city. There, resolved to spend the rest of his life in her service, he tried for an inferior civic office; he would take it without salary, if the customary balloting might in his election be dispensed with—a distinction which he thought fairly due to his well-known qualifications. But the Council would not consent; there being, they said, no sufficient reason for departure from custom. So hurt was the Doctor of Laws by this, that he vowed never to accept any civic post. By Kaiser Karl VII., of unlucky memory, he was raised to the dignity of actual (*wirklich*) imperial councillor; and this cut off all possibility of entering the service of his mother-town, since he now was as high in rank as its highest office-bearers.

Not till universal peace¹ seemed at hand did Johann Kaspar begin to look about him in earnest for a wife worthy of him. She must be one bright with the perfect bloom of health, fit to bring forth vigorous sons and daughters; and she must belong to an old, not wealthy, *burgher* family of high dignity. Now Johann Wolfgang Textor, first in point of seniority among the sheriffs and imperial councillors, had lately—August 10, 1747—been raised to the prime dignity of the city—the Chief Magistracy. He was grandson of the famous jurist—also Johann Wolfgang Textor—who had, in 1690, been summoned to Frankfurt as First Syndic; he was son of Christoph Heinrich Textor, Advocate and Councillor to the Elector Palatine. Since the chief magistrate was of burgher descent, and not very rich, Johann Kaspar Goethe, now almost eight and thirty, sought in marriage his eldest daughter, Katharina Elizabeth Textor, just seventeen on the 19th of February 1748.

To the young girl it was part of the order of things; she did not hesitate even at thought of going with this grave, dignified, well-to-do husband to the house of his mother, Cornelia Goethe, who still, at eighty, bore the household cares. The honoured widow had fifteen years before bought for herself and her descendants a house on the *Hirschgraben*, and an adjoining building with great cellars, in which there was plenty of room for the good wine left from former inn-keeping. She must have been rich, for since 1744 she had paid 200 florins annual assessment.

So on August 20, 1748, Wolfgang's father and mother were married. Only two months before his son's birth Johann Kaspar was enrolled as burgess. But though he became the Frankfurt representative of one of the countless German princes of the time, he did not enter his name on the list of advocates: he wished, in retirement, free from business, to live for self-culture and for his family.

Goethe's father was a man of solid learning, of sober judgment; adhering firm to his will; stern in carrying out that will; and passionate in outbreak of wrath if he thought himself wronged. But with all his sternness he had a tender, simple, pure heart, and his most earnest desire was a happy home, and the crown of children to honour his name. Honest

¹ From the War of the Austrian Succession.—TR.



FIG. 1. Goethe's Father and Mother, from portraits taken at the same period; the former after the Frankfurt *Gedenkblätter an Goethe*; the latter from a photograph of a picture, a photograph given by A. Nicolovius to Salomon Hirzel.

craftsmen had gone before him ; his grandfather, Hans Christian Goethe, had been a shoeing smith in Artern ; one of the smith's sons had followed the same trade ; and one of his grandsons, a journeyman shoemaker, had since 1745 been striving in vain for admission to the citizenship of Frankfurt, and for the right to practise there as master-shoemaker. With such prosaic records of descent Councillor Goethe longed for a son—always thought of as a lawyer—of intellectual greatness to give the one thing lacking—distinction—to the already wealthy family. And what a splendid reality was to crown his hope, differing much indeed from what he looked for ; nothing could be less his thought than that he should give to Germany—to the world—a poet, with genius divinely lighting up all things, of undying fame.

Though the young mother—hardly more than a child—brought up to obedient ways, had accepted her upright, respectable husband without loving him, it was with firm reliance for her welfare on his unwavering affection and the Divine care. Nature had given her beautiful gifts,—a heart, noble, tender, ardent ; perception, vivid, interested ; healthy naturalness in feeling and act ; a joyous trust in God. And none of these good gifts had been spoiled or wasted in a happy girlhood spent under the loving care of a young mother, of whom she was the firstborn, at only twenty, by a husband eighteen years older. On the contrary, the eager animated goings-on in the life of her native city—very much stirred just at that time—would quicken and widen emotions and sympathies, would develop character. As to things learned in school and from masters indeed, her education was limited ; music and singing alone she had brought to considerable proficiency. When between ten and eleven, an ecstatic reverence for Kaiser Karl VII.—handsome and good and unlucky—possessed the little maid ; twice the emperor had to make a considerable stay in Frankfurt when his capital München was in the hands of the enemy ; even more than reverence, a secret love for him grew in the childish soul, such close ties bound him with her native city, he was crowned by disaster with such a wondrous halo. She used to think he noticed her, especially at a time when he often came through the *Friedberggasse*, where the Textors lived in a castellated house, and used to send greetings and glances to their windows. Never to be forgotten were the

wild horns pealing as he passed her home, leaving Frankfurt for the last time. And when she learnt the death of her beloved emperor,—he died January 20th 1745—the keenest sorrow pierced her soul. Two hours every day till four weeks were spent, the solemn bells tolled remembrance of the dead, and their mournful noise shook her with terrible throbbings.

But the pain of the young soul thus living in fantasy was soon assuaged by warm influences from an external world full of sunny brightness, for time brought good things to her house. In her seventeenth year came the quite unexpected elevation of her father to the Chief Magistracy, the highest dignity of the city. With her mother and a sister Johanna Maria three years younger than herself for companions, her young life went joyously by ; to her father, a rather eccentric man, grave and

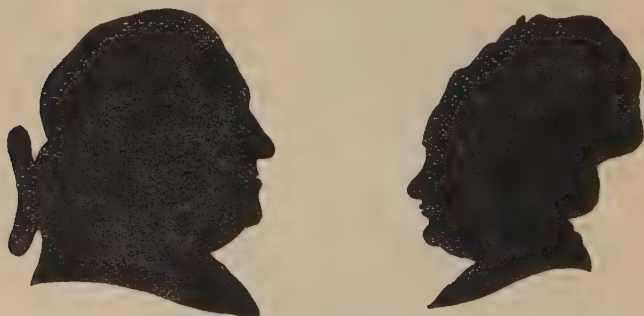


FIG. 2. Goethe's Father and Mother, from silhouettes taken at the same period, the fidelity of which was guaranteed by Goethe.

contemplative, always very busy, there was no bond of sympathy. And then the delicately blooming, brown-haired maiden of eighteen, looking out on the world so brightly from her brown eyes, left her father's cheerful house, especially cheerful for its large well-cared garden ; and entered the rather gloomy dwelling of her husband, without a garden, only from the upper windows overlooking the gardens of neighbours.

During the early part of the young married life thus begun, the household was managed by the aged mother-in-law, an earnest insister on cleanliness and order. She was an extremely amiable, kindhearted woman ; and the happiness in store for her son in his marriage with the young bright daughter of the Chief Magistrate was to her unallôyed joy. And though the

middle-aged husband, passionately fond of teaching, and desiring his wife to be proficient not only in music and singing but in writing, gave the young thing regular lessons, and the hours were very tedious, she still felt in all this more deeply than ever the honest truthfulness of his great love.

But what a star dawned for Elizabeth when the son of her youth was born. Named Johann Wolfgang after an ancestor of honoured memory; how much greater was this first sapling of the united houses of Textor and Goethe to make the name. Kind Nature gave the boy her best gifts. By his mother came above all that feeling heart, without which, as after many years he himself said to Lavater,¹ no man is supremely great in the world of practice or in creative art, and the place of which cannot be filled by merely intellectual power. Beaming through his clear brown mother's eyes his spirit like hers was noble, tender, warm, passionate; though like hers it healed rapidly from the deepest wounds. By his young mother, too, came his active imagination, vivid perception, healthy naturalness, and that joyous trust in God which speaks in the noble words to Lavater, "God, to whom I have ever been true, has blessed me abundantly in secret."² Like his mother, the boy apprehended easily and quickly; like her too in capacity for silent enjoyment, he was yet insatiable in hunger for ever new impressions. His genius called unceasingly for fresh experience to assimilate and to grow by; and as it consumed rapidly, soon exhausted the familiar surroundings; then a feeling of limitation made it yearn for the enlargement and invigoration of change. And yet his thoroughly sensuous intelligence, always desiring actual vision and the bodily presence of things, clung close to the familiar, in so far that deep down in his heart lived all experiences and feelings; only the separate and peculiar images of things could not but blur and fade fast from that busily mirroring soul: to prevent their total disappearance their colours must be refreshed.

But Wolfgang had part in the characteristics of his father also, from whom came his serious fixedness of will and firm persistence in doing what seemed to him right to be done; his serene consciousness of worth, his keen sense of duty. In Wolfgang, however, beside all these, were deep insight and

¹ Goethe to Lavater, April 9, 1781.—Tr.

² Goethe to Lavater, October 8, 1779.—Tr.

fiery vehemence, a restless instinctive pressing ever toward higher culture, a consciousness that he was able to toil terribly—"Gefühl der Kraft zu kühnem Fleiss," as it runs in *Faust*—and the belief that he was born for greatness.

The young mother poured out all her most fervent love on the beautiful child, sadly weak at first from a very painful birth, but soon getting on capitably, to the great joy of his parents, who felt in him a bond of nearer union. A year and three months later the family wealth was increased by the birth of a little daughter, named Cornelia, after Grandmother Goethe. This little sister of Wolfgang had fine gifts, deep seriousness, penetrating intellect, a loving susceptible soul, and between brother and sister grew a tender union, which, in the years spent together under the strict schoolmastership of their father, was drawn closer and closer. The children often went to the house of their grandparents Textor, where the fine garden was a real blessing to them, or to the new home of their mother's younger sister, Johanna Maria, married since the end of 1751 to the druggist Melber. At no other houses were they familiar visitors. With the half-brother of their father, Alderman Hermann Jakob Goethe, there was no very animated intercourse: still he was godfather at the christening of Wolfgang's young brother, November 27, 1752. In the same year the master-shoemakers were excited almost to insurrection at thought of the admission to their rank of the already-mentioned journeyman, Christof Justus Goethe; the refractory masters were put under arrest, and Christof Justus was at last successful in January 1753.

For that younger brother little Wolfgang cared far less than for his sister. With her he used to play up and down through the house, now in the wide spaces of the great entrance-hall, now in the apartment curiously latticed from street and hall, called *Geräms*, and now in grandmother's sitting-room overlooking the courtyard.

This kind grandmother, now growing daily weaker, prepared a great delight for the boy in a puppet-show of David and Goliath, which she caused to be exhibited to the children on Christmas Eve, 1753. It was like a blessing at farewell from the good old woman, now in her eighty-sixth year. Some three months later she died suddenly when going to bed. This death could, of course, make but slight impression on

the child, not yet five years old; still it was of great importance in shaping the home-life of the future.

Only the prospect of rebuilding had enabled Rath Goethe to put up with the gloom, the odd corners, the irregularity of his house; there was not even room enough in it, the companion house being let to a law-student named Clauer, son of a former Keeper of the Town Archives. The children had generally been kept in the family sitting-rooms, during summer weather they were allowed to stay in the Garden-Room on the second story, above the courtyard. It was a great delight to Wolfgang to look from this room across the town gardens and walls into the distance of the level country spreading down the Main towards Höchst, to watch from these western windows the ever new glory of the sunsets; yet the delight was mixed with loneliness and yearning at sight of the merry play, the free coming and going of children, or the laughing, talking groups of older people in the gardens from which he was shut out. However, his father had a vineyard near the *Friedbergethor*, to which he sometimes permitted his son to accompany him; there, at about his sixth year, the boy was present at the joyous ingathering of the grapes. The design of the rebuilding was now carefully thought over, and all distant preparations for it were made, but there could be no real beginning until after the birth of a child expected in September (1754).

Wolfgang's father, who observed his easy grasp of knowledge with great joy, put him early in harness, and tried even to make play-hours bring fresh store of knowledge. When, by the father's urgency and the boy's natural bent, the difficulties of learning to read were conquered, lesson books in rhyme were introduced; a geography, the rhymes in which, barbarous, and therefore amusing, were most easily fixed in mind, and Cellarius's *Latinitatis Liber memorialis*. On these and other exercises of memory there was strict insistence. Also with especial pleasure the father related to the eager, precocious boy, from the history of his mother-city, much which was connected with existing buildings, customs, and names. But Wolfgang listened with far greater tension of interest and excitement to the stories of his mother, who, with her kindly sympathy and vivid imagination, quite carried him away. How she did rejoice when his wide open eyes glowed with earnest sympathy, when his breast throbbed to the great heart-

beats, and his parted lips were eloquent with unspoken emotion and foreboding. Thus his mother was the first educator of the inventive, plastic poet-power which dwelt within him. And the popular chap-books too, on unsized paper, which he could get for a few kreutzers at the bookstalls near the cathedral, had even at that early time a fructifying effect on his busy imagination.

There was in the Frankfurt blood a great delight in the old traditional festivities which ushered in the half-yearly fairs, and in the picturesque various activity of the fairs themselves. Even grave Councillor Goethe, to whom from his youth these had been familiar splendours, could not restrain the children from a full enjoyment of them, and this especially because Grandfather Textor, as Chief Magistrate, had always to take a distinguished part in them. Goethe, only a few years before his death, recalled with delight how he and his sister gave money, and bread-and-butter, and coloured eggs, to the masked Three Kings at the Star-singing, to the Shrove Tuesday singers, and to those who announced the coming of the swallows ; and he thought, too, of the autumnal harvest festival, which, at a later time, was merely a religious ceremony. Of delightful festivals without the town, in which the children took part from a very early age, he names the Shepherd Festival at the *Grindbrunnen*, and the so-called Cow-dance on Pentecost Tuesday at the *Pfingstweide*, which last was forbidden in 1758. So the year in its course brought the children many a merrymaking within or without the old Imperial City.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REBUILDING OF THE GOETHE'S HOUSE TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1755, 1756.

ON the 6th of March 1755, six months after the birth of his second daughter, Rath Goethe handed in to the Town Council a plan of his proposed rebuilding ; a week later he gave notice that, in order to build according to this plan, he would throw down and build afresh that companion house to the north which has been mentioned before. There was some hesitation about permitting this portion of the building, which would thus be completely new, to have, like the old main-house, a projecting second story, so the final decision of the Council was not made known till the 25th of April. Immediately the neighbour house was thrown down, and the foundation of the new building laid in the old cellar. The corner-stone was placed by little Wolfgang, clad as a mason, a trowel in his hand, the master stone-mason by his side directing. Props were put against the main house, the gable wall on the ground floor was to be renewed, part of the old roof was taken off. The building gave all kinds of fun to the children. But since, in spite of all defensive erections, the rain would come through the breach in the roof until even the beds were drenched, it was necessary to send the children to live elsewhere, with their grandparents, or with cheery Aunt Johanna, and for lessons they must go to school. This absence from home meant, especially to the boy, greater freedom, and he used it to make a wider survey of the city.

In accordance with the modern taste the house was to be made comely without as within. In place of small round

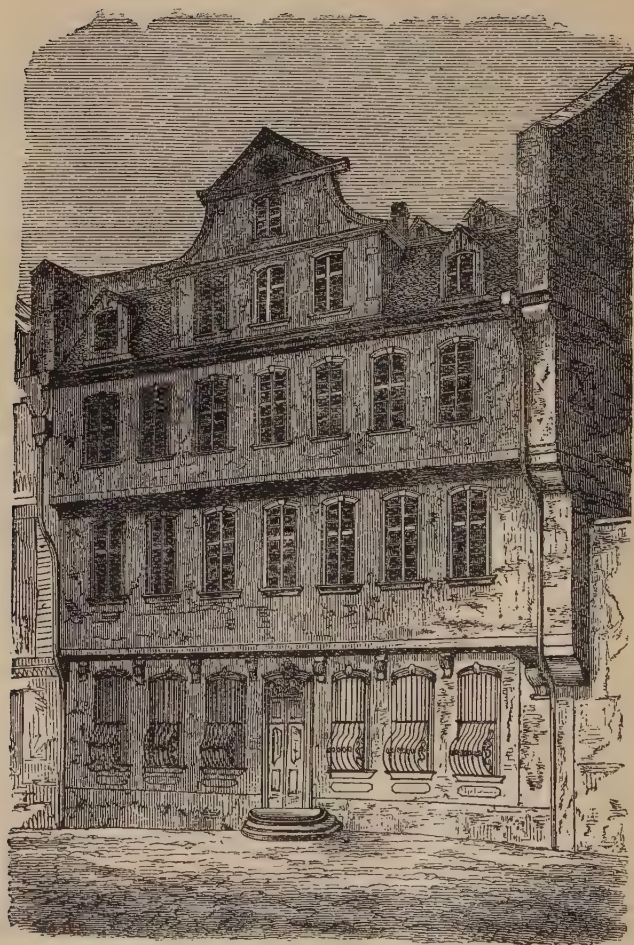


FIG. 3. The House in which Goethe was born.

windows came larger, with clear glass panes, then a special adornment. The front wall was quite changed, square red sandstone slabs were used for sills, etc., of the hall door, and of the six windows on the ground floor; on the windows of the upper story these slabs were imitated by painting the plaster. And the windows of this first row were protected with the cage-lattices at that time usual, curving elegantly outwards. At the top of the hall door—the hall door was now placed midway along the front of the house—was a small window with a projecting lattice adorned by cunning smith-work; beside flowers and parrots there was a crown, and beneath it the initials of the master of the house. Above this, on the keystone, was the coat of arms of the Imperial Councillor, which he also wore as a seal; the upper half, like that of the Textor family, had a man visible to the knee, ready for combat, brandishing a drawn sword in his right hand, and with neck-scarf flying; below was a beam slanting from right to left downwards; set on this beam were three lyres lying obliquely lengthwise one after another. This lower part of the coat of arms perhaps connects with that Friedrich Georg Goethe, who cared for dignified appearances, and who was such a lover of music. Wolfgang, when a Leipzig student, thought so little of the three lyres, that instead of them he introduced commonplace shields in a coat of arms which was attached to a landscape of his own etching, dedicated to his father.



FIG. 4. Coat of Arms on the Goethes' House.

At present his father was in the best spirits, all had gone so well. To Wolfgang was given, all for himself, a comfortable, large room, looking out on the street on the third story next the roof; yet the opposite houses were so high that the sun rose late to the child. Now earnest study was to make up for delay and interrupted lessons. To the *Young Latin Scholar* of Cellarius was added a book by John Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, or *The Visible World*, the picture-book of the time with the German and Latin names

for everything of land, or sea, or air; and perhaps at this time were undertaken a few of the two hundred *Useful, Amusing, and Remarkable Narratives and Discourses from the Most Celebrated Greek and Latin Authors* to be found in Heidegger's *Acerra Philologica*. "Merian's *Folio Bible* with pictures, and Gottfried's *Historical Chronicle* with Merian's copperplates," also came at this time into the hands of the eager boy.

And the work of arranging the household treasures, which was purposely protracted, engaged the attention of the children in many ways. First, their father's large collection of books was divided between his study on the second story and a room on the third story; then the pictures, in dark frames striped with gold, were hung in a precise order in the room with three windows occupying the middle place on the second story; the views from Rome, the geographical sheets, etc., found a place on the walls of corridors and passages; art objects of many kinds—chief among which were those from Venice, the splendid specimens of glass-work, the model of a gondola, the bronzes, and the weapons—were, with almost painful carefulness, placed on the shelves intended for them.

The ingathering of the grapes was hardly over when the world was horror-stricken by tidings of the mighty earthquake, during which, on the 1st of November 1755, a great part of Lisbon was swallowed, and a vast tract of land and sea rocked to and fro. All the pulpits zealously improved the terrible occasion into a judgment of God on a world lying in wickedness. Each tale of the desolation of Lisbon was followed by another more terrible, and the apprehension plain in all around affected the intelligent boy; but it was soon driven away by his healthy tone of feeling, and by the conception of a benevolent Deity, deep implanted within, and strengthened by his mother's care. By Bettina it is told of him, that after hearing a sermon about the earthquake, he replied to a question from his father:—"God knows well that by ill destiny no injury can come to the immortal soul;" evidently a reference to the gloomy notion that the souls which had passed away in their sins were lost for ever. Grandmother and mother had accustomed the children, while still very young, to regular prayers. In an exercise written out and translated by Wolfgang in January 1757, it is told how the children, when their hair was brushed, kneeling with folded hands, said their morning prayer.

They were taught to go to church regularly, to know the Lutheran Catechism. But ecclesiastical conceptions did not cleave to Goethe's soul; to him they were merely acquired formulas, of which he made such use as one makes of any traditional theories; within him lived the idea of an all-gracious and all-wise Creator and Preserver of the world, to whom reverence must draw nigh by a way purer and more spiritual than any words; an indication is the thank-offering, charmingly described by Goethe himself, offered as the first morning sunshine fell across his chamber.

The first Christmas in the new house was near when the youngest little daughter, only fifteen months old, died (1755). However the stricken parents might sorrow, the children's Christmas should not lack its brightness; the puppet-show, first given by their grandmother, and produced under the direction of their mother two years before, was repeated now in a way suitable to their more advanced age, in a company of others as old as themselves. The audience sat in Wolfgang's room; the stage filled the doorway of the adjoining room. This representation interested the boy so much, that he did not rest until he had penetrated the mystery. He soon found where the little figures of the puppet-show were kept, and then persuaded his mother to give them over to him, with the book of words and the theatre. In the puppet-show story of *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*, most of the details, even as to the composition of scenes and acts, are a free transfer from Goethe's own boy-life.

These experiences of a childish theatre, which found more favour with his mother than with his father, had their value in training his dramatic faculty. But parallel to them, a regular schooling ran its accustomed course; for his father insisted on the fastest possible acquisition of the parts of education dependent on memory alone, and tried constantly to add to Wolfgang's knowledge even in his play-hours. An earnest desire to know all about the various lands of the earth and their peoples was encouraged in every way. He had already some acquaintance with the more modern German poets, which stood calf-bound on his father's shelves,—Fleming, Besser, Canitz, Drollinger, Haller, Hagedorn, Gellert, Creutz; in them he learnt to read—he can hardly be said to have read them—such is his own account. On the same

shelves he found Neukirch's rhymed translation of *Télèmaque*,—even in such a disguise the tale did the child good,—and Kopp's translation of his father's favourite poet, Tasso. The first seven books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in a translation published in Nürnberg in 1698, with engravings by Sandrart, fell into his hands. Besides the popular chap-books on unsized paper, among which without doubt occurred that of *Faust*, he devoured *Robinson Crusoe* and Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg*. Certainly now-a-days nobody would let the last-named into a child's hands; but the people of that time did not as we do fear injury to a young mind in the simple naming of natural things. Wolfgang also came to know the travels of the great circumnavigator and admiral, Lord Anson, a translation of which into German had been published in 1749. Thus from many sources the boy drew rich nourishment; he was training early to that restless activity which was to possess him to the end.

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1757, 1758.

VERY soon the peaceful quiet, in which seven happy years of Wolfgang's life had passed, should give place to the clangour of a war not to cease until seven more years were gone, a war sundering native city, and even family, into two almost hostile camps. Grandfather Textor, who had supported the canopy over the Emperor and received from the Empress a golden chain, stood with the larger part of the council on the Imperial side; Councillor Goethe and the burghers were for Prussia. Alas! Vienna influence had gained over the governing body in Frankfurt; while its people desired the neutrality, which was in accordance with Frederick's wishes, and by which the town would be spared not only the contribution of soldiers to the Imperial cause, but the march through of French reinforcements. Each man in high office looked for an ample share of favours from the Emperor,—from the “rebellious” King of Prussia what could be hoped! On the outbreak of the war, the Council immediately forbade the publication and distribution of political pamphlets; and required that “every one should attend to his business and calling, withholding himself from discussion and pronouncing opinions.” This was meant to bridle in the citizens with their Prussian leanings, but it only made the general mood more bitter, without restraining it from expression. Frankfurt booksellers, despite the Council, published praises of the heroic Prussian King whom they honoured. Wolfgang too was full of this enthusiasm, and he could ill bear the angry censure of Frederick, which he heard every Sunday at dinner in his grandfather's house; heard not only from his grandfather but from his grandfather's new son-in-law, Pastor

Starck.¹ To hear these hostile things said, and to be compelled to sit without answering was hard, nearly all the pleasure was gone from the Sundays which had hitherto been so enjoyable; but he relieved his feelings by speaking to his father praises of Frederick more ardent than ever. With great delight he copied out the war-songs of the day, and he enjoyed still more the satirical rhymes about the Emperor, which, dull as they were, made a vivid impression on him. That a whole league of nations arose against Frederick, made the sympathy of the enthusiastic boy the more irresistible, and when there was news of victory, his rapture rose the higher to think of the odds overcome. Alas! Kollin followed close on Prague.²

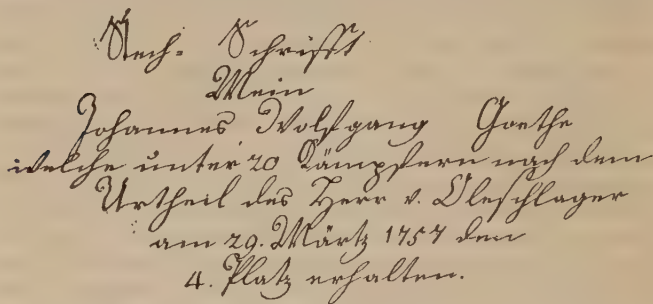
Beside his father's zealous instruction Wolfgang began to have some schooling away from home with other children. At a later time he, perhaps by his father's desire, selected for preservation a number of exercises then written which he labelled *Jugendarbeiten* (*Labores juveniles*). Of these the earliest, belonging to January 1757, are short themes, composed in German, then translated into Latin. These "*exercitia privata*," which are quite childish in their style and have several positive mistakes, must be altogether Wolfgang's own. To the same January belongs the first of three conversations written in German and then turned into Latin. These also can hardly have originated with the father, they seem too light and humorous for the stern serious man, they correspond well to the character of the lively boy. The first in order, which is probably the earliest, is the happy turning of a real incident. Wolfgang, when his father went to the cellar for wine, had wished to go too; he wanted to see once more the foundation-stone laid two years ago. His father prescribed to him as a theme the development of a conversation about this, and he was then to make Latin of it; the final fair copy has come down to us. Wolfgang was delighted with the opportunity of exhibiting his knowledge. Thus he pressed into service Horace's fable of the Town and Country Mouse, the story of which he had read in the rhymes of Drollinger; he also brought in Damasippus, the dealer in antiques in Horace; we cannot

¹ Textor's third daughter had, November 2, 1756, married Pastor Starck, nominated with her father's aid to the parishes Niederrad and Sachsenhausen, soon after appointed Sunday preacher at St. Katharine's.—DÜNTZER.

² Prague on May 6, Kollin on June 18, 1757.—TR.

tell where Wolfgang got this bit of lore. He probably overheard somewhere the joke of calling very good wine "theological wine" founded on the word-play "*vinum consulare*," "*vinum consistoriale*." Great skill in the turnings and bright playfulness are displayed in this dialogue. The second and third cannot be of much later date. In one the father will not hear of his son's making animals of wax; the small artist may praise to the skies the work of his hands; the father can see nothing but childish nonsense, it is wasting good wax; the figures prove one thing at any rate, that their maker does not know beauty from ugliness. When the son expresses a wish to be taught, the reply is that his eyes must grow a little older first. In the third dialogue, Wolfgang and Maximilian enter; it is doubtful who is meant by the latter name. There was a Friedrich Maximilian, son of the Sheriff and Bürgermeister Moors, who lived near the Goethes, but if it were this boy, a younger brother of his, born on the same day with Wolfgang, would hardly have been left out. Wolfgang had wished to come some time before the Latin lesson which they both received at Maximilian's home, but alas! he has been delayed in laying the dinner-table and in other preparations for a visit. Maximilian thinks it strange that his friend is not invited to this entertainment by his parents, but, as a dutiful son, Wolfgang refuses to consider the matter closely. Maximilian will hear nothing of all the devices proposed by Wolfgang for passing the time before the lesson-hour. He cannot bring himself to peruse the *Praxis declinationum et conjugationum* of Speccius nor the *Orbis pictus* of Comenius; even an edition of the last-named in four languages with the German, Latin, Italian, and French names of things, is without charm to him. He proposes fencing or wrestling; Wolfgang, half from childish caprice, half from fear of the sudden arrival of the master, rejects his proposals, and here the conversation ceases. What pleasant peeps into that home-life! It may be noted that in his German composition the boy has in mind the introduction of certain Latin idioms. In our bundle of manuscript we see too that his father often dictated suitable stories of the time for translation into Latin; but indeed Wolfgang of his own accord did exercises of all kinds. Further, we find a number of so-called "*Stechschriften*," from the 29th March 1757 to March 1758, in which Wolfgang competed with a pretty large number—

sometimes twenty-four—of his own age, about twice a month, for a prize in handwriting, under the guidance of the regular teacher of languages—probably of the “German school, writing, and arithmetic master,” Schirmer, who was very popular in Frankfurt. The judgment of the handwriting, falling to each of the parents in turn, came one time to Sheriff and Bürgermeister von Olenschlager. Wolfgang was first only once, but generally his copy was among the best. We give here the subscription to one, where he has written his name in full. From the Schirmer above mentioned he probably had lessons in German and arithmetic. Goethe himself says that in rhetorical things, *Chrien* and the like, he was best, though he often had to stand down for mistakes in grammar.



Auf. Schrift.
Mein
Johannes Wolfgang Goethe
ist die erste 20. Übung von mir am
29. März 1754 dem
4. Platz vorzulegen.

FACSIMILE 1. From H. Weismann's *Aus Goethes Knabenzeit*.

By this time the grim shadow of the war had fallen across the Imperial City. Frankfurt was summoned to produce its contingent of seven district companies. The little army encamped on the 6th June on the great *Fischerfeld* before the *Allerheiligenthor* (“Gate of All Saints”); it remained here four weeks; thence it marched through Frankfurt and Sachsenhausen to the army of the Empire, and did not return till peace had been made. Beside this military spectacle Wolfgang several times saw the march through to which French battalions, as auxiliaries of the Emperor, were entitled. There was great joy among all the friends of Prussia in the short days of November (1757), when at Rossbach the French and Imperial troops were disgracefully beaten. A month later the splendid victory of the Prussians at Leuthen (Dec. 5th, 1757), was followed by the capitulation of Breslau.

Rath Goethe's life was very happy just then. In March 1757 had been born a little daughter whose beauty and sweetness won Wolfgang completely. The two elder children grew and thrived, though Cornelia was somewhat tried by her father's teaching mania. By this time the Councillor had begun Italian with his daughter, that beloved language in which he had, with the aid of an Italian master of languages, even written the earlier portions of an account of his travels. Wolfgang had to commit to memory his *Cellarius* in the room where, under their father's tutorship, his sister was getting her first Italian lessons: it must have been winter, else the boy could have stayed in his chamber next the roof. As he used soon to know the portion of *Cellarius* appointed, he had time to listen over the top of his book, and very quickly obtained some grasp of Italian, yet he made no very extended advance, though he used with his sister to learn the tasks set her.

Their mother was a model of a bright, busy, loyal German wife and matron; she shared with heartfelt sympathy the joys and sorrows of each of her family circle; still there was special delight and pride in the glance which rested on her Wolfgang who was growing up so well. She was already rather intimate with the devout Susanna Katharina von Klettenberg, who however, had not yet joined the Moravian community. Fraülein Klettenberg was niece of the wife of Frau Goethe's great-uncle, Major and Town-Commandant Johann Nicolaus Textor. To the cheery natural tone of feeling of Goethe's mother, the pietistic tendency was something quite alien, though she had been habituated to its note in the hymn phraseology of the day. We give here her contribution to a Fraülein von Bellersheim's Album, on the plan of which Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury of the Children of God* was drawn up. Beside Frau Goethe, other people belonging to the Klettenberg circle have made entries, mostly in the years 1752-1754.

Spring 1758 saw the internal arrangements of the house at last complete. On May 1 the Councillor had various things which were only in his way publicly sold, among them some woodwork, the old *Geräms*, three house-clocks, a violin, an ebony German flute—these musical instruments were probably left by his father—a number of law-books, of books on practice, and historical books. So Wolfgang had experience of an

auction in the house of his parents, at which he had to bear a hand and help his father.

Wolfgang had in March begun to translate some exercises which the Conrector of the *Gymnasium* had set to several head-class boys for imitation of the historian Justinus. Dating from his birth-month, August, we find "*Morning good-wishes*,"

Es sey dir nun Von mir erwünscht,
 daß in Christi Erwählung allzeit.
 Dein Mündchen dein Oheimm,
 dein Doctum dein Fräulein
 sind unser bester Schutz und
 unser Glücklichseyn.
 unser Erbe dir mit dem besten
 und unser Erbe das wir erben.
 Dir es sey nun Das jüngste Lächeln
 an dem. E. C. Goethe's Großmutter

FACSIMILE 2. Entry in an album, by Goethe's Mother, here for the first time printed from the original in the Hirzel "Goethe Collection" in the Library of the University of Leipzig.

of each day, which Wolfgang himself had "thought out and wished for dearest father." They are in German only, until the 14th, then from the 15th to the 17th Latin and German. from the 18th to the 20th Greek takes the place of Latin, after the 20th Latin holds its own to the end. The Greek is written without accents, and is evidently the production of a mere beginner. One of the German "sentences" is a hexameter. A little further, on a new page, we find seven "*New Good-Wishes*," all in three tongues, Greek, Latin, and German. Here the Greek is generally accented, but has mistakes in spelling and grammar. Farther on, we meet Hosea, chapter vi. verse 1, in German, French, Latin, and Greek; there are mistakes in the rendering into the two latter languages. Perhaps they had only just been received into the regular course of instruction when these translations were made. Finally, the manuscript has a "*Guide to the*

German-Hebrew Language" (rather "*Handwriting*"), an indication that the boy had perhaps at this time overcome his dislike of the "chosen people." But instruction in German was not forgotten. It was a delight to his father to see Wolfgang read the most instructive poets of his library, though to himself their rhymes had not the charm of the Italian. The absence of rhyme in Klopstock's *Messias* made that poem a torture to him. How the Bavarian Agent Schneider smuggled in this poem; how the children revelled in it, particularly in the Dream of Portia, even more in the gruesome dialogue between Satan and Adramelech; how their recital of this dialogue was near causing a dreadful accident; and how after this a stricter *veto* than ever banished the offending *Messias*, is generally known from Goethe's own narrative.

The winter evenings were usefully spent. Rath Goethe disapproved of cards and other round games; as entertainment he had an instructive book read aloud; and he saw that it was read to the end, however tedious the children found it, for his maxim was "Always finish what you have begun." The serious man carried out with unwavering decision everything which seemed to him beneficial. Thus he himself gave the children lessons in dancing, to which he would play some air on a *flûte douce* in three-quarter time. But however his many whims and hobbies plagued them, the children had a reverential attachment for one so earnestly intent on their welfare. Their fullest love and desire indeed was towards their young mother, who laughed and rejoiced with them, taking life so cheerily. What a charm her presence breathes in *Hermann und Dorothea*; where too the Host of the Golden Lion has some touches of Councillor Goethe.

Intimate as the Goethes were with so many well-to-do families, the children had no lack of companionship of equal age. Here Wolfgang was prominent, his great talents, the skill inherited from his mother to delight willing listeners with exciting stories, and a certain air of distinction, gave him mastery even over boys older than himself. "We were always the lackeys," said the elder Moors, the neighbour and friend of Wolfgang whom we already know, in after years to the Frau Rath. And when his mother once represented to Wolfgang how he distinguished himself among his companions

by the upright carriage inherited from his father and by a certain dignity, it is said that he replied: "he might make a beginning with that; later on he would distinguish himself in everything." Another time, it is related, he called on the stars propitious to him for their aid, adding a little later that what sufficed for other people would not suffice for him. We must picture the boy in the Sunday suit described by Goethe himself, with hair curled and powdered, with locks standing out well from his head, hat under arm, sword at side, a long silken ribbon running through the bow at its hilt, great silver buckles on his shoes, fine cotton stockings, black serge breeches and some pretty coat and waistcoat. We would not guarantee that these last were the coat of green barracan with gold facings and the waistcoat of gold brocade described in the child's tale *The New Paris*. He does not himself mention the hair bag which he wore according to the not very reliable account of Bettina von Arnim. Bettina sends him on visits to acquaintances in dress-coat, silk stockings and shoes, only when at home wearing surtout, long trousers, and boots. All clothes were made at home; his father would not take a man-servant who did not understand tailoring.

On Sunday afternoons Wolfgang paid visits to his young friends, with whom he had many other meetings too, both for schooling and for play. Among them, we know, were the two neighbour boys Moors; the second son of Olenschlager, born 1751,—his elder brother was deaf and dumb;—and a boy called Hüsgen, four years older than Wolfgang. Also with Karl Allesina von Schweitzer, the son of a rich trader, he seems to have been by this time acquainted, and indeed with many children of the middle class. That Wolfgang could not conceal a certain pride in his grandfather's high dignity excited the ill-will of many boys, and they vented it on him in various ways. The worst was when one of the malicious fellows taunted his father to him with being the natural son of a man of high rank. How the thought of this excited him is told at length by himself; in his childish fantastic brain he felt pleased by it, not understanding the shame of such a birth.

In any case in this intercourse with others of his own age there would be no lack of boyish scuffles; but at that time nothing could appeal more strongly to children's delight in mimicry than playing at soldiers and war, in which

Wolfgang was of course always on the Prussian side. Goethe mentions these "*Parteiungen, Gefechte und Schläge*" ("factions, fights, and blows"), as closely connected with the armoury which he, with the help of a servant, had stocked for their dramas and tragedies. But indeed the drilling of the Frankfurt contingent, and the marching through of French battalions, would have excited the boys to play at soldiers. The dreadful battles of Zorndorf (August 28th, 1758), and of Hochkirchen (Oct. 14th, 1758), stirred the young souls: they little thought how soon their own city would be a station for French troops. It was Goethe's grandfather Textor who conducted the negotiations with Vienna attendant on this.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ENTRY OF FRENCH TROOPS INTO FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN TO THEIR DEPARTURE.

1759-1762

THE festivities of New Year's Day, 1759, had been cheerily celebrated. At noon on January 2d, 7000 French soldiers entered Frankfurt, under a plea of a march through, to which only one battalion at a time was entitled. They overpowered first the Guard at the *Affenthor* in Sachsenhausen, then Major and Town-Commandant Textor, in presence of the Constable Guard at the *Bornheim* Gate, then the Guard itself; finally the main Guard within the town. Thus by concerted treachery the hereditary enemy of the Imperial city (though now her Emperor's ally), entered into possession for the first time. The severe burden of quartering soldiers fell on the citizens. Councillor Goethe had to give up his ground floor, so handsome, the earliest furnished part of the house, to King's Lieutenant Thorane, from Mouans, near Grasse in Provence. Personally this man was kind-hearted, highly cultivated, a lover of art; but as an officer his action was based on the theory, that citizens are to receive with contented mind any insults which it may please officers their lords to inflict. And the Frankfurt Town Council was not strong enough to protect the rights of the people. The betrayed city was treated as if it had been acquired by conquest. Councillor Goethe, a good Frankfurter, who cursed the French and those who let them in, was galled by constant reminder of the fact that he was no longer master in his own house. With his troubled spirit, he could not continue to give to the teaching and culture of his Wolfgang the loving carefulness of earlier years. Wolfgang had lost his dear room at

the top of the house, for Thorane had appropriated it as a studio for Frankfurt painters, from whom he ordered a set of pictures to adorn the castle of his brother. In the first fortnight of this hated occupancy occurred the death of Wolfgang's long-ailing brother, Hermann Jakob, in his seventh year; there had been no very close bond between the brothers. With the beginning year had been found a special master of the ancient languages in Scherbius, at a later time to play an absurd part as the butt of the Frankfurt *Lokalposse*. At the end of that manuscript mentioned above (p. 22) are some passages for exercise in Greek and Latin dictated by this Scherbius. The Greek is still very faulty.

The stirring doings at home and the excited military liveliness of the city were a great delight to the bright boy; his regret that these enemies of Frederick were masters of Frankfurt forgot itself in careless light-heartedness the more easily as he gained greater freedom thereby. His mother tried to accommodate herself to these changed circumstances, which had their extreme unpleasantness for her too—circumstances, the blame of which was laid by so many, including her husband, on the shoulders of her father—and she strove after her fashion to mould them into something tolerable. From Diene, the interpreter lodged in the house, she got lessons in the to her as yet unknown language of the unwelcome but so cheerful and courteous guests. Nor did her boy let slip the opportunity of improving his French. The occupation of his native city was a new agency indeed in his whole culture, as is always the knowledge of a foreign people, especially one so civilised as the French. Alas, however, the French garrison, in which were many Germans, introduced the greatest depravity among all classes. Though Wolfgang had been brought up by his father in delicate purity, and though the proud seriousness which scares away inconvenient jesting and unseemliness had breathed its power upon him, there were yet traces of the light life now surrounding him left when it had passed away.

Hope in vain was roused in the Frankfurt partisans of Prussia by the approach of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who, collecting his army at Fulda, marched towards Frankfurt. On April 13th, 1759—it was Good Friday—the French, under Broglio met him at Bergen and defeated him. Coun-

cillor Goethe, in order to welcome the expected victorious Prussians, had betaken himself to his vineyard outside the *Friedberger Gate*. The grim disappointment of the issue sent him back to the city gloomy and morose, and when he saw the Prussian prisoners and wounded his wrath became frenzy. In the evening the matter came to a head in an outburst of passion on the King's Lieutenant ; and but for the prudence of his agonised wife, and of the interpreter, he would have been severely punished. His mood henceforth was the bitterer that he had thus hardly escaped chastisement, and that there was less hope than before of a speedy dislodgment of his overbearing guests.

Soon after the occupation of the town, at any rate during the Easter Fair, which began on Tuesday the 17th of April, French actors played "*par permission de Monseigneur le Maréchal Duc de Broglie et de Messieurs les Magistrats de la ville libre de Francfort*" in the extemporised theatre, the *Junghof* on the *Rossmarkt*, near the *Hirschgraben* ; and these French actors gave place every second day to German actors. During former fair-times Wolfgang had been spectator of not only puppet-shows, but of real acting ; now the free pass which his grandfather had secured to him the longed-for opportunity of frequently seeing the French drama. It was some time, however, before his father would yield to the urgency of Wolfgang and his mother, who laid stress on the advantage of becoming familiar with the language ; they were more likely to influence Rath Goethe thus than by any reference to culture in a wider sense. The Frau Rath, who, knowing minutely her husband's ways, had great power with him, trusted in this indulgence, as in others accorded at a later time to Wolfgang through her influence, that his good disposition and friendly Destiny would save him from harm, and her trust was not misplaced. Wolfgang became familiar with many pretty operettas, the current comedies of Destouches, Marivaux, and the tearful *La Chausseé*, Diderot's *Hausvater* (*Père de Famille*) ; and in tragedy, Lemierre's new play *Hypermnestre*. All this was especially profitable in that it sent him to read Racine. So many frivolous representations would indeed have been only too well calculated to shake his moral structure, had there not been counter-agencies at work : the serious dignity of his father ; the pure

noble instinct of his mother's heart: the deep tender soul of his sister Cornelia, with her bright intelligence. With this sister he was left quite alone, when in August 1759, the surpassingly fair little girl who had been such a delight to him died in the third year of her short life.

He visited not only the French but the German theatre. Goethe himself relates, that in argument with his father he appealed to the good examples in Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* and in *Der Kaufmann von London* (a German translation of Lillo's tragedy). His frequent recourse to the French theatre had meanwhile another important issue. At first, while he still understood the language but imperfectly, he used not to sit out the representations, but spent a considerable time playing about the theatre doors with other boys. It was thus that he made towards the close of the year (1759) the acquaintance of one boy whom he had seen several times on the stage, a bragging lip-hero, who brought him behind the scenes.¹ There, when dress was being changed or assumed, he saw much that was unseemly, and often indeed improper behaviour.

An important aid in culture was the intercourse with the painters employed by Thorane. Some of these he knew already, for his father had had dealings with the native artists of Frankfurt; but now they had taken up their position in his own room, where he could be present not only during their conferences with the Count, but while they were at work. He learned a good deal by asking and listening; after a little he even suggested subjects for pictures.

In the beginning of 1760 Rath Goethe complained to his father-in-law, the chief magistrate, that Thorane, with his new pictures, was taking every room in the house; but it was no light matter to order off a king's lieutenant, and nothing was done. A christening-feast of the Pastor Starck saw new complaining rise to a violent war of words between Rath Goethe and the chief magistrate; it is said that the former in his passion cursed the gold which Textor got for treachery, and cursed the men who had let in the French. Then Textor flung a knife at his son-in-law, who drew his sword, so the story runs, and only with great difficulty did Frau Textor bring about reconciliation.

¹ Derones.—Tr.

It may be asked why Councillor Goethe did not, under the present circumstances, send his son to the *Gymnasium*? With the rector Albrecht, very learned, but very shrewish, proof against all the charms of nature and the world, he was on the friendliest terms. Albrecht was a declared foe to all private schools and private tutors, and even in his programmes expressed with his own peculiar bitterness his anger against people who would not see the advantages of a public school. But many there were at that time who thought that the Frankfurt *Gymnasium* taught nothing but insolence and wrongdoing; and as the rector stood ill with the school-governors above, and with the masters beneath, nothing was done to remedy the crying evil. So the causes which prevented Wolfgang's father from entrusting him to the *Gymnasium* were, first, a reasonable care for the boy's moral purity; then an old, at one time firmly-fixed, dislike to the Frankfurt institution (we have seen his own father send him to Coburg); more efficient probably than either, a conviction that Wolfgang's wonderful powers ought to be developed by a very rapid many-sided training.

He had allowed himself to be moved only so far as to employ a *Gymnasium* master to teach the ancient languages. In this, however, Latin was preferred far before Greek; in the latter, Wolfgang's utmost skill was to read the New Testament. Wolfgang seems to have hardly glanced into Homer. He had learned something of the great poet a couple of years earlier; but, alas, only through the *New Collection of the most remarkable Tales of Travel, brought into Historical and Geographical Sequence and Order, by a Committee of Savants*. This book, which he found in Pastor Starck's library, had begun to appear in stately quarto volumes, in 1749, at Frankfurt. In the seventh volume (1754) there was a prose translation under the definite title, *Homer's Account of the Subjugation of the Trojan Kingdom*. It had engravings of Troy heroes in modern knightly costume; the spirit of poetry was not in it.

Meanwhile, the theatre engrossed more and more Wolfgang's time and thoughts. He even confesses an attraction towards the sister of his young French friend. She was older than either of the boys, "an amiable but silent girl;" she received his attentions with pleasure, and that was all. Having constantly gained ground in the foreign language, he felt

urged by his delight in the half-mythologic, half-allegoric after-pieces which he saw, to compose something like them; and the achievement was easy to his imagination, stimulated by the passage of kings' daughters, and gods, and heroes across the stage. It was perhaps just then that he first read the account of the heathen gods, as set forth in the then current *Pantheum mythicum* of the Jesuit Pomey. Of course the young French braggart let play a chilling criticism on this performance of Wolfgang; it was an opportunity of making well felt his superiority in knowing the language and the faultless literature of France. One result of his improving remarks was, that Wolfgang sought to gain some clear views on the three so-called Unities of the French stage. To this end he read Corneille's *Second Discours sur la Tragédie*, and the prefaces in which Corneille and Racine have expressed themselves on their plays. From such data he formed his concept of the French drama, and even began, as we know from himself, to write a piece in French Alexandrines, but the project soon lapsed.

Reading German poets constantly meanwhile, it is not wonderful that an impulse to do as they had done grew with his growth; and it was the more imperative, since to compose in one's mother-tongue seems so easy. He mentions the passion for making rhymes and verse which at private lessons he had observed to be excited in other children by reading the more modern poets of Germany; at an early age he himself found it delightful to pass from rhetorical to poetic treatment of his exercises. Besides the poets already named, he was drawn towards the so-called Anacreontics,—Gleim, with his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*; Uz, with his *Lyrische und andere Gedichte*; Weisse, with his *Scherzhafte Lieder*. In verse so light and flexible, of such fugitive import, he could turn off poems with great rapidity. Towards sacred poetry, too, his restless imitative faculty was applied. On the model of the hymns set to the hymn-book tunes he wrote his own, and thought that they were at least as worthy to be set and sung as their prototypes. At the Sunday gatherings of the young friends with whom he kept up a steady intercourse, more and more independent of parental supervision, there was competitive recitation of such verses. Of course each thought his own lines the best; but on one occasion, the task of producing extempore verse being imposed, Wolfgang reaped

a harvest of unanimous praise. And all these more or less happy attempts aided the development of his mastery of words, of his general power of conception.

Before the early-ripe boy was twelve years old, it seemed good to his father to have him confirmed: much steadying of character might be hoped to result from the ceremony. The Sunday-preacher of the *Grey Friars* Church undertook to prepare Wolfgang. This man was looked on by Rath Goethe as the best clergyman of the city—Dr. John Philip Fresenius; he died so soon after this as July 4th 1761. Fresenius laid great stress on Oral Confession; all he wanted, however, was an acknowledgment of sin in general terms; there was an introduction to the subject in his *Book for Confession and Communion*. A gentle spiritual rendering of the truths of Christianity, not the ossified thing of standing formulas and propositions, would have edified and elevated the keen young mind always striving after the real direct presentation of things, and interpenetration of soul. But this dead formula knowledge, with no relation to an actual need, seemed to him distasteful and unworthy. So this early endeavour to give the boy a definite religious stay through union with the Christian body missed the mark.

Soon after, Councillor Goethe's many complaints about the burthen of quartering imposed on him had perhaps success, at any rate ceased, as Thorane in June 1761 left Frankfurt for some time. To be secure from further imposition, the Councillor had to make up his mind to let his ground-floor. An old friend, the Circle Ambassador, Heinrich Friedrich Moritz, from Worms, Director of Chancery of Solms-Rödelheim, a man who lived only for his business, occupied with his small quiet family the apartments vacated by Thorane. Frequently this new inmate's younger and livelier brother, the Danish Councillor of Legation, Johann Friedrich Moritz, likewise a Circle Ambassador and Resident, paid a visit. He liked talking with Wolfgang, and taught him mathematics. He belonged to the pious Klettenberg set; a Herr von Bülow, who excluded women from his Sunday meetings, was just then its apostle. The boy now got back his dear room at the top of the house. Rath Goethe was bright and light-hearted, since his late causes of vexation were gone. On the eve of his son's birthday, he joined the brothers Moritz in petitioning the Council to aid in

the purchase of firewood for the poor, who were suffering much from the general high prices: the petition was unsuccessful. In this year (1761) died step-brother Hermann Jakob, member of the Council and tin-founder, who too had been prominently hostile to the French; as he died childless his inheritance fell to Rath Goethe.

Lessons, which had been rather irregular during the last two years, were now resumed with fresh energy and wider field. English was learned by the children, with their father's earnest approval, in four weeks from a master who professed celerity. Lessons in mathematics, drawing, the piano, and perhaps singing, were added. The little mother could play and sing, and she was often called on to accompany the singing of the Italian master of languages already mentioned. Councillor Goethe, whose father, as we know, was a lover of music, liked playing both lute and flute. It does not appear that Wolfgang made much progress in piano-playing; perhaps the ability to play on the flute, which we know him to have had at Leipzig, was acquired in these Frankfurt days. He was now beyond the need of writing-lessons; this the careful copying out of his poems had done. That his exercises in various languages might have more attractive contents, he devised the imaginative form of a novel which should consist of letters written in different languages by several brothers and a sister. The introduction was to tell how the life together at home had gone until the brothers went out into the world, only the youngest remaining with their sister and parents. The sister writes telling all the tale of household and home; the Benjamin of the family adds an occasional humorous letter; while the brothers from the various places where they tarry for their culture send home each an account of his journey or his abiding. When Wolfgang wanted to give the sister the true girlish note he thought himself into the soul of his own sister; and to make her write, telling him as if he were far away all about herself and her life, must have been no small delight to the young poet. The eldest brother in this novel, apparently on a journey for culture only, tells what he has seen in good German. The theologian of the family writes to the father in very formal Latin, with occasionally a postscript in Greek. To the brother, who is a clerk at Hamburg, is given English; to a younger brother at Marseilles, French; to a

musician travelling in Italy, Italian; probably to the last named language there was more attention paid just then; the youngest—the stay-at-home—for his own peculiar use had betaken himself to Jew-German. Thus, even here, was manifest the powerful poetic formative instinct by which the boy, now fast developing into the youth, was always compelled. Of dramatic creation there is next to nothing.

Meanwhile the Pietists, Herrnhuters, and other Separatists, had gained a strong footing in Frankfurt. Since Fresenius, the most influential clergyman in the city, had declared himself strongly opposed to these wilful off-branchings from the general body of God's servants, there was the more anxiety to know the position which Fresenius's successor, Plitt, would take. Especial subject of conversation was the course of sermons announced to be preached by Plitt between Trinity Sunday and Advent (1762); in which he meant to develop a certain religious system. Hearing the talk, Wolfgang, always mentally active and ready for new efforts, conceived the notion of producing an exact transcript from memory of these sermons; he had already performed feats of the kind. He listened carefully in church, and noted certain hold-fast points; when service was over he hurried home, immediately dictated to his father's secretary the whole sermon, and was able to hand it in before dinner. His pleasure in this performance indeed soon ebbed, for the sermons had little to attract him; but his father, whose maxim, as we know, was "Finish what you have begun," would not have him break off until the course ceased. However his transcript shrank continually from its first fair proportions, containing at last only the text, the general theme, and the heads.

About this time Wolfgang and his sister took part in acting some French and German plays. Their neighbour von Olenschlager had occasionally dramatic representations in the hall of his house; his second son and other children of the same age were the performers. So Wolfgang played the hero of the then favourite *Canut* of Elias Schlegel; in Racine's *Britannicus* he was the emperor; his sister was Estrithe and Agrippina in either play; young Olenschlager Ulfo and Britannicus.

In this year (1762) Hebrew was enclosed in the widening circle of acquirement. Since in the Jew-German to be repre-

sented in his polyglot novel many words are borrowed from Hebrew, Wolfgang begged his father to have him taught the old language in its purity; the Rector of the *Gymnasium*, the Albrecht already mentioned, was the man for this. In spite of the tiresomeness of reading difficult characters and of learning forms and paradigms by heart, Wolfgang was for a long time kept staunch to this undertaking by his teacher, until at length impatience hurried him away from the language of the Old Testament Books to their matter. Then after the first half-hour he used regularly to break out with his questions and doubts, by which the rector, helpless to meet them, became at length much troubled. However, he sent Wolfgang to the great Bible Commentary in his own library, and in this book the boy often buried himself until night surrounded him. At length the rector even gave him a volume to take home, that he might more at his ease find explanation—explanation which, it may be remarked, left him for the most part unconvinced.

He had been early used to do many commissions for his father. For instance, he was employed by the latter to make purchases at the auction of the Art Collection of Baron von Häckel (died Jan. 1760—there was a lawsuit about the Baron's inheritance), and the boy had had to stay at the auction from beginning to end. He had made some small bids on his own account too. More tending to culture than such a commission were the appointments at which he met painters and goldsmiths, where he gained clearer and more exact knowledge of all that has to do with art. We hear of his valuable intercourse with Juncker, the painter of sixty; how he learned much about jewels and their setting from frequent visits to the goldsmith Lautensack, which he made on account of a beautiful new snuffbox ordered for his mother, to be worn at the peace celebration festivities. And he often went to the goldsmith Schöll whose silhouette plate and pantograph interested him. Appended is one of the silhouettes then taken. Often the boy visited the great oil-cloth factory of the painter Nothnagel, where he saw the painting of flowers of all kinds, of landscapes and of figures, grew familiar with the activity of many younger and older workers, nay probably at times used the brush himself.

A peculiar trait of Goethe connected with his craving for

rich suggestion and living experience, is his love of intercourse with older men of ability, though the idiosyncrasy might differ from his own, even to opposition. He

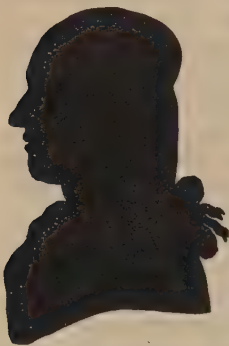


FIG. 5. After the Frankfurt
Gedenkblätter an Goethe.

names three such men each with his share of oddity, but of sterling value; no doubt his adhesion to them was the firmer because of the flattery of their peculiar fondness, and their high expectation of his worth; more than their own children they loved him, and each would have been glad to see in him the realisation of a cherished ideal. We have already met the first of these, the Sheriff and younger Bürgermeister von Olenschlager, "a handsome, agreeable, sanguine man," whose disposition was to court and state affairs; and so he wanted to make Wolfgang, with whom he

was often very confidential, a fine courtier: any attempt to distinguish oneself as poet seemed to him very little worth. The two others were more repellent natures. The Polish and Saxon Aulic Privy Councillor, Friedrich Ludwig von Reineck, of an ancient noble family, through his stubborn self-will had fallen out with every one; his own daughter had fled from the tyranny which had destroyed her happiness. This gloomy hater of mankind often asked his son's household playmate, young Goethe, to dine with them. He would have been only too glad to win Wolfgang to misanthropy; instead of this, intercourse with the charming gifted boy calmed and softened him and developed the benevolence which lay beneath his external acridity. Of poetry, he of course knew less than Olenschlager; he wished to direct Wolfgang to a diplomatic career, and accordingly talked to him much of the international affairs of the world. The third in this discordant trio was the Brandenburg-Ansbach Councillor and Anhalt-Köthen Aulic Councillor and Agent Friedrich Wilhelm Hüsgen, a decided pessimist, whose face was repulsive by the disfigurement of pockmarks and the loss of the left eye. But Wolfgang, while very young, came to know him, and drew closer and closer to him as time went by; the man attracted him so by wide knowledge, by cheerfulness and order of

surroundings, and even by their loneliness ; the only son, then of but little promise, claved altogether to his mother. Hüsgen was an excellent jurist, but being a Calvinist could not practise as advocate, and only in very important matters would people make use of him for consultation. Like Wolfgang's father, Hüsgen hoped to see the boy a lawyer yet ; a trade, he said, necessary that one may defend one's own against the pack of scoundrels called mankind : that there may be some one to stand by the oppressed ; and, perhaps, to expose the rascal, though that is not always either easy or profitable.

But also intercourse with younger friends, life spent in his wide branching family and its large circle of acquaintances, helped to stimulate in Wolfgang a fresh joyous power of sympathy. And yet at this period (1762-3) he was deep in the Bible idyll of patriarchal life, a whole new world of poetry to him. As for the manifold contradictions which he found in the Holy Books, he cleared them all easily enough after his fashion. From a very early age the touching story of Joseph had a deep charm for him ; on subjects drawn from it he had already designed and minutely described twelve pictures, some of which had been really executed by friendly painters. Now, a literary poetic treatment of the story hovered before his mind's eye, only the suitable form was wanting, for the verse of the *Messias* he thought too stately and measured. Since a distinct portrayal of the religious life of the patriarchal time would be necessary, it seemed to him of great importance to know the present customs of the Jews. The race had on a first acquaintance excited in him strong repulsion, but he had long ago put off his dislike ; and he was not content until he had not only visited their school, but been present at a circumcision and a wedding, and got a peep at their Feast of Tabernacles. And he now had a friendly greeting for the pretty Jewish maidens who on the Sabbath went to walk on the *Fischerfeld*, the Council having ordered that "all Jews and Jewesses should absolutely refrain from walking on the *Rossmarkt*," where polite society took its exercise.

By the 3d of November 1762 a provisional peace put an end to the war by sea between France and England ; three weeks later Austria and Prussia made a truce, though only within the bounds of Silesia and Saxony. In December

1762 Frankfurt was freed from her French visitors, who for almost four years [since January 1759] had domineered over and ill-treated her; who had thwarted her justice, scorned her freedom, and debased her morals. In the occupation of his native city by the talented frivolous neighbour race there had been much gain for Wolfgang's culture; but the evil air had at least blown on the delicate bloom of boyish purity, and if happily no disease was the result, he had been saved by the good moral discipline of his father, the love of his mother, the noble heart of the sister who clung to him so tenderly, and his own healthy nature.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TO WOLFGANG'S
DEPARTURE FOR LEIPZIG.

1763-1765.

IN honour of the sudden peace concluded February 15th, 1763, the Frau Rath was presented with the snuff-box, which through Wolfgang's unceasing urgency had been at last finished; it was adorned with diamonds and an image of Peace. In March the festival music composed by *Capellmeister* Fischer was performed; as to which the report ran: "The author of the words is a distinguished poet,"—perhaps the same "famed poet of our city" who had supplied the verses for the "*Thanksgiving and Harvest-festival music*," performed in the beginning of November 1762. Our Wolfgang was not excited to any poetic jubilation by the long anticipated peace. To his heart just then lay nearer his *Joseph* of the Eastern patriarchal time. The fitting form for his idea had been indicated by Friedrich Karl von Moser's prose heroic poem, *Daniel in der Löwengrube* (*Daniel in the Lions' Den*) just published. He had long thought out the details of his work, the far lands in which the action lay had grown very familiar to him, and he now flung himself eagerly on the complete development of it. Bound by no restraint of verse, aided by the external peacefulness, even exaltation of the time, he moved on rapidly; and then the happy progress freshened his ardour. It was, moreover, his good fortune that he had not to write down the poem himself, but could dictate it to a young man of weak mind then living in the house, who liked writing very much. This was that Clauer, who before the rebuilding had lived in the Goethes' neighbour house, and to have to leave it had so

pained him that he became deranged. Rath Goethe, interested in him, had later on taken him in again : he acted as a kind of scribe. It is said that the youngest sister of Goethe's mother—the sister who married Pastor Starck—had been intended for Clauer. Wolfgang made use of him ; to him had probably dictated Plitt's sermons. When *Joseph* was happily finished, it occurred to the young author to add a number of such earlier efforts as seemed worthy ; with the whole collection, under the name *Vermischte Gedichte* (*Miscellaneous Poems*), he meant next New Year's day to delight his father.

Meanwhile his father had with great energy urged on the boy's culture, had even already begun the special training to the law. He had placed in Wolfgang's hands *Examen institutionum imperialium*, the work—composed in question and answer form—of whilom Professor Joachim Hoppe of Danzig. Wolfgang was soon quite at home in this book. Beside this ran a diligent study of the Latin classics, while Greek, as not useful to a lawyer, fell back. In this year (1763) probably began lessons in fencing and riding ; for this father would have his son early skilful in all bodily exercises. Swimming, however, Wolfgang did not learn : inland Germany then cared little for it. His beginnings in skating too belong to a later time.

Now greater freedom being yielded to him, he lived a merry life with his playmates, and engaged in some not very dreadful youthful sallies. Among his young Frankfurt friends we find none of remarkable gifts. The boy drew gladly towards joyous, kindly hearty companions, among whom he could throw off reserve. Some of these we have already met ; here we shall make the acquaintance of two others, who just at this time emerge into greater importance. They are good-hearted, witty Johann Jacob Riese, three years older than Wolfgang ; and Johann Adam Horn, always ready for fun and mad tricks, called Hörnchen (*Hornkin*) because so small of stature. Both were to devote themselves to law studies at the same time as Wolfgang. In close intimacy with them was a certain Kehr, who was for some time a private tutor ; to whom Goethe later on sends greeting from Leipzig.

Now too, perhaps, he made the acquaintance of Johann Bernhard Crespel, who had been brought up in the Jesuit

schools, and who while still in the cradle had been appointed Councillor by Prince Thurn and Taxis. Born in Frankfurt two years before Wolfgang, and having been long absent from his native city, Crespel was now in the later half of 1763 living there with his father, a rich jeweller. Goethe's friendship with his fellow-townsmen Klinger must have begun about this time, for Goethe in his last years referred to having played near the pump of his father's house with Klinger, who was three years his junior. Klinger grew up amid hard circumstances: his father having died early in the boy's life, he had to earn his bread for a time by manual labour; but his talent was noticed by Professor Zinck, who had him received into the *Gymnasium*, where his progress was quite correspondent to the great expectations of him. To Rath Goethe's home the general stir about the poor young scholar would be one passport of admittance; another being that Klinger's father had been in the service of a now dead friend von Lersner; von Lersner's eldest son was godfather to young Klinger.

Of girl acquaintance in friendly families there was no lack to the charming bright, gifted boy. His sister had grown very intimate with the three carefully educated daughters of the rich merchant Gerock, all older than herself; they enjoyed life in easy comfort; the second seems to have been extremely attached to Wolfgang. Then there were Crespel's two sisters, also friends of Cornelia; the elder, Maria Katharina, was some days older than Wolfgang; the other, Franziska Jacobea, more than three years younger. There was, too, delightful intimacy with Charitas Meixner from Worms, who stayed for her education three years with her uncle, Councillor of Legation Moritz. Cornelia herself, to whom he was attached with the most confiding affection, loved natural cheerfulness and a free open manner speaking the real heart meanings; a cold bearing emptied of all feeling, was as distasteful to her on one hand as frivolous lightness on the other. No one could with deeper recognition than she greet and love the pure presence of a noble soul growing and opening free as a flower to the air, and so her devotion to her brother was noble and comprehending. By her personal dignity she ruled the circles in which she moved, though her features were not beautiful or imposing; a deep regret to herself. But her eyes were, as Goethe says, the deepest kind, behind which one expects the greatest things, and

when they expressed good-will or affection there was nothing like their shining. We give here a picture of her hurriedly sketched in 1773, by Wolfgang, on the wide margin of a proof-sheet of *Götz*. The mode of arranging hair then customary makes even longer the arched brow with which she was herself



FIG. 6. After: *Goethe's Briefe an Leipziger Freunde*; Herausgegeben von Otto Jahn.

so impatient; the great likeness to her brother is plain, but the sharp emergence of the outlines produced by the head-dress, the prominent eye, and the definite eyebrow and nose, contribute to give a certain *strongness* to the countenance.

Goethe himself relates, with the plainness peculiar to him, how he about this time had made the acquaintance of some young people of low social standing, who misused his verse-making powers to play mischievous practical jokes. He tells how he made little excursions in this company to Höchst, no very great distance; on one of these excursions they introduced an acquaintance of theirs to Wolfgang, who asked his grandfather to give to this stranger a place just

then vacant. In one of the homes thus opened to him, Wolfgang met a girl named Gretchen somewhat older than himself, and he became much attached to her. Once having forgotten his house-key he had to spend a night with the set—Gretchen included—in a sitting-room. Then they made a trade of selling the verses which Wolfgang produced; and still his passion for the girl grew, though she was far from encouraging it, on the contrary constantly gave him good advice.

Passavant, a friend of Goethe in later life, knew that the house in which Wolfgang met Gretchen was close to Peter's Church, which, with its large churchyard, was situated in the northern part of Frankfurt.

Meanwhile his father urged with unabated vigour his legal and general studies. Probably by this time the little *Hoppe* had been replaced by *Jurisprudentia Romano-Germanica forensis*, written by the Jena professor, George Adam Struve, dead since the end of the seventeenth century. Now again, after eighteen years, Frankfurt was to see the Election and Coronation of the German King; and so Rath Goethe thought it well with his son to go over the daily accounts of the last two Elections and Coronations, in order to make clear to the boy the additional capitulation conditions of this occasion, and the significance of this important Imperial Ceremony on the whole. By the end of November 1763, it was known that the Electoral Assembly was to begin its sittings on January 4th, 1764, at the old place, Frankfurt—not Augsburg, as at first arranged. By decree of the Council an official on horseback, accompanied by four trumpeters also mounted and a guard on foot, proclaimed in twenty-one parts of the city—and thus of course near the *Hirschgraben*—this ordinance;—“That all contracts with strangers about houses within the city should be void during the Election and Coronation, and that the said houses should be placed at the disposal of the City Quartering Committee for the new-comers of the time.” Heinrich Friedrich Moritz had soon after the departure of the French left Rath Goethe's first story; it was now given to a chevalier from the Electoral Palatinate who came in January; and the upper story was given to the Nürnberg Counsellor König of Königsthal, who did not come until February. So the family found its quarters for a short time narrower than even during the French occupation.

In order that his father might hear what was going on Wolfgang had to spend a great deal of time from home; he was even required to write little themes on what he saw. Everywhere bustle and life, especially since these days of splendour coincided with Shrove-Tide. There was Italian opera, there was French comedy and German drama, there were magic lantern exhibitions; every kind of spectacle indeed, beside no lack of public and masked balls. Amid all this Wolfgang found

many opportunities of meeting Gretchen. The postponed electoral assembly began on the 4th of March; the elective capitulation was settled by the 9th; on the 21st took place the public entry of the Elector Bishop of Mainz; three days later that of the two other Ecclesiastical Electors. On the 26th all strangers had to leave the city, for next day should see the actual election. Then on the evening of the 28th arrived the insignia of the kingdom; on the 29th the late chosen King was solemnly received. A festival of thanksgiving and rejoicing on the 1st of April was followed by the coronation on the 3d. How on that evening Wolfgang, in partial disguise, with Gretchen on his arm, saw the splendid illumination, is described in detail in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and how, when late that night, he parted from Gretchen at her door she for the first and last time kissed his forehead.

Meanwhile it had been notified to the Town-Council that in the Record Office (*Gerichtskanzlei*) monies had been purloined; and that other underhand work had been going on; in all which special guilt was laid to the charge of that assistant who had last year been appointed at Wolfgang's recommendation. When examined, he revealed how he had come to know Wolfgang, the kind of company kept by the latter, and how he passed his evenings. When all this was told to Wolfgang's father he was terribly stirred. With difficulty Frau Rath persuaded him to give the questioning of Wolfgang to their intimate friend Schneider (the smuggler of the *Messias*), who was so fond of Wolfgang. Almost half a century later Goethe, with great freedom of treatment, tells how, the morning after the coronation, Schneider, with tears in his eyes, came to the dear room on the top story; how sorrowful questioning was at first met by hesitation, by evasion—how at last full confession to the old friend was seen to be the best. The statement that every kind of deceit played its part in the subsequent inquiry has been refuted by an examination of the Criminal Registers of Frankfurt, which have come down to us entire. It was a great pain to Wolfgang that people should know of his intimacy with such companions; a still greater that so rude an end was put to his loving intercourse with Gretchen. He gave himself to the tempest of his grief: he *could* not go when his father invited him to see the last festivities of the Coronation time. Only when on April 12, their bitter reminder of his sorrow

ceased, could he be persuaded out-of-doors. According to his own account his pining lasted long; and at length it was thought well to bring into the house a friend of his older than himself, who had until lately been tutor with people known to the Goethes; the room next Wolfgang's was given to him. This may have been a certain Müller who seems to have been intimate with the family of Johann Friedrich Moritz. Two years later Wolfgang wrote that while Müller loved him he had supported his weakness, shared his joy, scared his gloom away.¹ In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe goes on to tell how this guardian, by repeating Gretchen's words, "I have always looked on him as a child," brought about the crisis of his melancholy-fever; for she then seemed to him a selfish coquette—still his heart was often tortured by the beloved familiar image of her. That with this friend he went through the history of ancient philosophy we may perhaps take as matter-of-fact statement of the truth; also that on long walks in the summer woods he tried his hand at sketches of the landscape, which, though imperfect and irregular, gave great pleasure to his father. Then his father ruled lines round each sketch, wishing to compel the draughtsman to completeness and thoroughness;—whereas Wolfgang, who only cared that certain things which he had seen should be represented, had not in the least wanted the pictures to be complete or thorough in themselves. We further hear that in this friend's company he went to Homburg and Kronberg, climbed the Feldberg, where the wide view filled them with fresh longing for the distance; Wiesbaden and Schwalbach he also visited; saw from the bordering heights for the first time the silver stretches of the Rhine; wondered at the splendours of Electoral Mainz; and then home, content and calmed and gladdened.²

At any rate, we may suppose that Wolfgang, with that gift which was his through life, recovered from this shock sooner than the Autobiography would lead us to believe. Then, though a mysterious whisper may have run through Frankfurt, telling with the usual heightening the story, how the dignified child of such wonderful precocity had fallen into bad company, in which story a girl would play an important part, still

¹ In a letter written in French to Augustin Trapp, dated "ce 2 du Juin 1766." *Der junge Goethe*, i. 15-17.—TR.

² *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, vi. Buch.—TR.

this new thing would, like every other, soon grow old. And if many a spiteful fellow was glad at Wolfgang's calamity, and the moralisers were horrified for the time, still all must have been soon forgotten as a childish escapade. The physician Senckenberg, whose account of so many things, and especially of all relating to the Chief Magistrate Textor, is harsh and biting, has not a word to say of this Gretchen episode. In a letter, of date seven weeks later than the painful discovery of his secret, we meet such a calm composed Wolfgang, that we cannot believe in an agitation of the enduring kind described in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. This letter relates to a *Jünglingsbund* of the time.

The young E.K.L. Isenburg von Buri¹ had at the estate Neu-hof on the Main, almost three leagues from Offenbach, founded a Secret Society (*Geheimbund*). It was called the Arcadian Society (*Arcadische Gesellschaft*), after the Roman Society (*Accademia degli Arcadi*), of merely literary purpose. It was dedicated to God and Virtue, and on its seal was an Apollo with lyre and aureole. The date August 22, 1759, assigned for the founding of this society, seems perhaps intentionally placed too early; for Buri was the first President (*Archon*) of the Bund, and no one under fifteen could be Archon. A candidate to be received into the Society's membership must be over twelve and of "the proper worthiness." The Archon by himself was the first grade; the three next were the Praepositors (*Aufseher*), then the Noble Freeman (*edle Freien*)—who must be of noble blood and who had all the rights of the Proctors,—third, the Freeman (*Freien*). None of these grades could exceed twelve in number. Lowest of all was the grade of the ordinary members—the Commons (*die Gemeinen*), with no limit of number. At a later time, girl members appear. Four times in the year there were meetings; on the 14th of February; the 20th of May; the 22d of August; the 15th of November. The alternating place of assembly was called *Philandria*—probably Love of *Man-kind*, not Love of *Men* is meant. The Archon might of his own authority enroll members. Young Archon Myrtill—viz.

¹ Born June 1747; his father was Friedrich Karl Buri, ennobled in 1753, first Directorial Councillor, then Privy-Councillor of Isenburg-Birstein and Governmental Director (*Isenburg-Birsteinische Direktorial, später Geheimrath und Regierungsdirektor*).—DÜNTZER.

Buri, the founder—tried to get grown-up men and men of high rank for his Bund, and with considerable success; Prince Ludwig, of Hessen-Darmstadt, five months older than Wolfgang, was already a member. Wolfgang heard much praise of the Society from his friend von Schweitzer, who, under the name Alexis, was a Praepositor (*Aufseher*) of the Bund. Still it was not in response to this friend's wish—expressed probably about the time of the Gretchen trouble—that Wolfgang joined. The resolve to do so was most likely due to his father. After the Frankfurt meeting of May 20th, 1764, Wolfgang, tired of endless delay, applied direct to the young Archon. The letter, dated May 23d, 1764, was dictated to a scribe, probably Clauer, from whose idiocy no understanding of the contents was to be feared. The composition of this remarkable letter is unusually formal. Since Buri, it says, must be aware that his merits have drawn hearts to him in lands more distant than the writer's, he cannot be astonished at the boldness of this letter. To the writer it were the deepest sorrow to be constrained to silence—to a prolongation of merely in secret revering Buri's great qualities—"Not one of those friends of mine who know you thinks that I shall be successful. Perhaps a little envy has something to do with this. But this moment the very best reason occurs to me; you will have no intimacy with a human being of imperfections such as mine, lest you should be called to account for doing so. Your Excellency (*Ew. Wohlgeboren*) must know well that we are only too glad to conceal our faults, when we wish to draw near to one whom we revere. I, however, am like the suitor in Rabener in this, that I make a preliminary confession of my sins. I know, of course, that the time spent over this rambling stuff will seem long to you; but what help for it? you must become aware of *this* fault of mine either before or after acquaintance. One of my chief defects is, I am rather hasty—you know what choleric temperaments are, do you not?—but then no one forgets an injury more easily than I. Further, I am used to giving orders; but where I have no authority, I can let things alone; and I will readily submit to such a jurisdiction as yours must be. At the very beginning of my letter, you will find my third fault;—I write to you in a way familiar as if I had known you for a century, but it cannot be helped; that is another habit which

I shall never be rid of. I hope that your spirit, which is not the slave of such puerilities as Ceremonial will pardon me the absence of it; though, believe me, I never neglect the due tribute of respect. A last item occurs to me; I have one thing more in common with the character mentioned above—I am very impatient and cannot bear to remain long in uncertainty. I beg you to come to a decision as soon as possible. These are my cardinal sins. Your keen eye will detect a hundred more, which, however, will not, I hope, banish me from your favour, but everything will speak for me, and my faults as well as my zeal will bear witness to you that I remain, etc. etc.” In a postscript he adds that he is about the age of Alexis, of whose conduct in putting him off, feeding him with hopes from day to day, he complains bitterly. Three days later Buri, with polite waiving of the compliments of the letter, referred Wolfgang to this very Praepositor Alexis, from whom Buri would await a report. But Alexis implored the Archon “for God’s sake not to connect himself with Goethe,” whose *vices* (*Laster*) have been to Alexis a reason for not making him known to the Archon, and who is, therefore, now “turning *recta*” to the Head. *Laster* points direct to the bad company that Wolfgang had kept, of which Schweitzer must have heard, then as Arcadian Shepherd of Virtue turning his back on the goat; beside there was personal grievance in Wolfgang’s bold setting aside his mediation. If Wolfgang’s petition had shown a certain stiffness, his reply to the Archon on the 2d of June was a complete outpouring of himself; that reference to Schweitzer made him hopeful; he had no suspicion of an evil report from his friend. (This reply is the first complete preserved letter from Goethe’s own hand.) Buri and Schweitzer do not seem to have had any further negotiations; the former merely tried to put the matter off. When he answered Wolfgang on the 25th of June, he excused his delay by alleging visits from many great people. But the ingenuous Archon, instead of admitting Wolfgang immediately, as he should have done were there truth in his words, observed that in the portrait of Wolfgang drawn by Schweitzer, he could not find anything but what was worthy of admittance. The collection of preserved letters of the Bund unfortunately breaks off with this June of 1764; yet from what is extant it

is evident that a higher age to qualify for entrance was about to be set ; the standard proposed was sixteen. By such a new standard of age a cunningly tacking young Archon could comfortably set aside a Goethe guilty of *Laster*. A Bund of Virtue of so dishonest practice might well be henceforth contemptible to Wolfgang. Such treatment must, of course, fill him with wrath, besides he would soon have turned his back on this hollow Pharisaic Bund, which protested that its honours were not for Birth, but for Virtue and Merit, and at the same time divided its Noble Freemen (*adlige Freien*) from its Burgher Freemen. To Wolfgang the whole business was a new bit of sad experience.

Summer found him no longer self-condemned to solitude, but able with fresh bright spirits to enter into the old cheery life in the always widening circle of friends and acquaintances. Yet with all his overflowing cheeriness and lightness he enjoyed discussing moral problems with his young friends ; very eager often was the contest with those whom he knew well. A year after he had left Frankfurt his friend Horn writes to Moors that "Goethe is a greater philosopher and moralist than ever;" and reminds Moors what solid seeming Goethe could give to merely probable grounds of belief ; there is also a reference to his pride.

Then there was the sweet attraction of Charitas Meixner, through whom he came to know young Trapp, her cousin from Worms. That Wolfgang's life at this time was not lacking in joyousness is plain from letters of the after Leipzig time to Riese ; in one he sighs for "the youths and maidens his friends,"¹ in another sends general greeting to the maidens of the city.² Nor did Wolfgang's adherence to friends of riper age slacken ; chief among these was Olenschlager, with whom, when writing the *Elucidation of the Golden Bull*, published 1766, Wolfgang spent much time. Wolfgang's compatriot, Johann Georg Schlosser (born 1739), held to be a bright example of well applied academic study, was by April 1762 back in Frankfurt, a doctor and advocate at three and twenty ; but Goethe will at this time hardly have seen anything of the serious man.

Councillor Goethe zealously urged on the legal training of

¹ Letter to Riese, 28th April 1766. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 13.—TR.

² Letter to Riese, 6th Nov. 1765. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 12 (*end of letter*).—TR.

Wolfgang, who felt little inclination for jurisprudence, and refrained from downright refusal to study it only because he would not shatter all his father's plans. The Councillor would sometimes describe the course of study which he had marked out for his son, to the torture of the latter, who cursed the law in secret. But Wolfgang's close study of the Latin classics gained much approval. Yet more, he longed for the most comprehensive knowledge of the wide domain of the sciences, and so he flung himself on Gesner's *Isagoge in eruditionem universam*, on Morhof's *Polyhistor literarius*, and on the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of the brilliant sceptic and sneerer Bayle. He was much stirred by the *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend*, the joint production of Lessing, Nicolai, Mendelssohn and others, which had been coming out in Berlin since 1759, and by the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, of which Weisse had since the same year been the conductor; these showed him the higher standpoint which criticism had won above the narrow-hearted limitation, the unintelligent dulness of Gottsched. With the older literature of Germany too he by this time had probably busied himself; at any rate the solid excellence of Geiler of Kaisersburg was known to him.¹ And his first acquaintance with the old French writers, with Rabelais, Montaigne, etc., had probably been made before this period. With the living French speech he remained familiar, through the Sunday sermons of the Reformed church of Bockenheim and the occasional visits of French actors to Frankfurt.

More than all else poetry was dear to him: he felt the divine inspiration. In one of his Leipzig letters he wrote, of course with exaggeration, that in his later Frankfurt period his hatred had gone out against those who, consecrating themselves for service in the sanctuary of the Law, had refused ear and voice to the soft allurements of the Muse.² Poetic forms he handled with extraordinary, almost wanton, facility. Though for the most part producing light playful verse, he could move with grace and readiness in the grave measure of the religious

¹ In the sixth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, talking of the fault-finding of his Leipzig instructors in dialect, Goethe says: "I was to forget that I had read Geiler of Kaisersburg."—TR.

² See the verses in his letter to Riese, April 28th, 1766. *Der junge Goethe*, vol. I. page 14.—TR.

ode, following in the steps of Andreas Cramer and Adoli Schlegel. An instance of his skill is the *Poetische Gedanken über die Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi*, written at this period, probably at the request of his uncle Pastor Starck. Wieland's *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* was among the poems which especially delighted him. Wieland's translation of Shakespeare—begun in 1762—must have fallen in his way, yet the boy was not ripe for this great appearance; which indeed the translator himself did not estimate aright. Wolfgang was still under the influence of the French Drama, notwithstanding what Lessing's *Miss Sara Samson* and *Philotas* and even Klopstock's plays had done for him.

He would fain have gone to the young University of Göttingen; Heyne was a special attraction there; but his father decidedly objected, and with grave insistence decreed that his son should, like himself, spend his university days at Leipzig. In this matter also Wolfgang did not venture to chafe his father by opposition, but the firmer became his resolve to shake himself free in Leipzig from the profession which was being thrust on him: to devote himself there to classical literature—he had put his hope in Ernesti and Gellert; this resolve he kept secret from every one but his sister.

The Autumn Fair of Frankfurt, after some introductory prelude on the 5th of September 1765, began on the 9th. During the Fair or shortly before, in the very last month of Wolfgang's stay in Frankfurt, his susceptible heart, notwithstanding sad experience, was thrilling in a new love affair. We know that before he left Frankfurt he had almost finished a tragedy—*Belsazar*, and had read it aloud to a maiden, to please whom, he wrote in October from Leipzig, was his sole desire. The piece, like Klopstock's *Salomo*, on which it was modelled, was written by turns in Alexandrines and in iambic lines of five feet, and since this maiden especially liked the latter kind of verse, he writes that it shall be chosen for the as yet unwritten fifth act. "I saw no more of that best of tragedy maidens," he writes to Riese in the letter spoken of. "If you don't find out what she thinks of *Belsazar* before your departure [for Marburg University] my destiny remains in the balance."¹ That is, he means to leave to the decision of this fair one the question whether he should try his skill further on

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 10.—Tr.

this drama. Fear of betrayal had prevented him from meeting the girl—probably an actress—in a hoped-for last interview before his departure. Perhaps it is the same girl who is alluded to a year later in a letter to young Moors:—"I have not to thank for the affection of my maiden [his beloved at the time, Käthchen] the miserable petty *tracasseries* of your ordinary gallant. No retaining gifts are needed with her, and I look down with contempt on the toils with which I formerly bought the smiles of a W——"¹

However the thought of separation from home, parents, the beloved sister who would so especially grieve; and from so many friends, may have weighed on his heart at times, the escape to freedom was a deep joy. In cultivated Leipzig he felt summoned to an existence, new, expansive, in which his spirit might unfold free wings, in which his life might mould itself as seemed good; he saw the leaden weight of law-studies drop from him; the benumbing religious exercises, to him unprofiting, would no longer shackle the fresh days and hours. When on his birthday he wrote verses in the album of his friend, Friedrich Moors, he signed himself "The Lover of the *Belles Lettres*;" in the verses he ridicules in Voltairean wise, those people who consider themselves "*die beste Welt*" (the unco' guid); one of his mockeries is a comparison of *die beste Welt* to the "heads of poets."² This wanton mood was soon to take its revenge on the self-conscious lad; he must be scared back on himself again before his nature could develop in the splendid blossom of his youthful manhood.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 19.—Tr.

² *Ibid.* i. 85.—Tr.

BOOK II.

STUDENT YEARS

CHAPTER I.

LEIPZIG.

OCTOBER 1765—SEPTEMBER 1768.

WOLFGANG was just sixteen years and one month old, in the fresh bloom of health, full of bright hopefulness, of youth's keen pleasure in the present, when in the company of bookseller Fleischer—Olenschlager's publisher, he left the city of his childhood; to return almost three years later with richer store of knowledge and experience, but ill, scared back on himself, half despairing of life.

Leipzig Fair was going on in the early days of October, and its stir amid which our traveller entered was a delightful reminder of home. Very interesting to him was his first sight of the merchants of Eastern Europe, Russians, Poles, and, above all, the Greeks. In the first story of the *Feuerkugel*, between the *Old* and *New Neumarkt* (now the *Universitätsstrasse* and the *Neumarkt*), he hired of the aged widow Straube two pretty rooms looking out on a court which was also a thoroughfare.

The evident bloom of prosperity, the lofty buildings, the bustle of life, made a considerable impression on him; beyond the city walls the many walks, the large and beautiful gardens and pleasant places of resort, seemed pledges of a life of enjoyment. Add to this the capital dinners, by no means dear, which he could not praise sufficiently. Setting dinners aside, however, Leipzig was a dear place to him; "groschen there were as kreutzers in Frankfurt;" yet it was possible to live at a

cheap rate, and he hopes to manage the year with 300 thalers (the allowance from his father?)—ay, even with 200. During the fair, there were indeed very merry doings; “parties, theatre going, banquets, suppers, pleasure-excursions.” “I cut a figure here, I can tell you,” he writes to friend Riese on the 20th of October, “but, for all that, I am no dandy, and never shall be. To be industrious here will require an art.” Accordingly, the object towards which the young student, with his craving for knowledge, strove was the mastery of this art.

On the 16th of October, the new Rector announced with bell-ringing, formally entered on his office; three days later Wolfgang was inscribed a member of the University. On his arrival in Leipzig, he had handed in his letter of introduction to the Professor of History, Johann Friedrich Böhme. The fair over, bookseller Fleischer departed, after having introduced Wolfgang to many of his acquaintance; and now only did Wolfgang venture to tell Böhme that he desired to study classical antiquity, instead of jurisprudence; a desire which Böhme seriously disapproved, and which he certainly would not gratify without Councillor Goethe’s consent. Now for the first time arose before the lad’s mental vision a formidable barrier of objections, hitherto overlooked. The thought of his father, violent in anger at such disobedience, of his mother’s and his sister’s suffering, while that anger lasted, frightened him; and this fear of proceeding to extremity, this feeling of duty towards those near and dear to him, proved stronger than his heart’s desire. Accordingly, he decided to begin with the first lectures on Law, on Institutes, and the History of Law; to which were added, with Professor Winckler, the unavoidable *collegium philosophicum et mathematicum* on the system of Wolff; with Böhme himself lectures on History and an introduction to Public Law. Besides, Böhme permitted attendance at Ernesti’s lectures on Cicero *De Oratore* and Gellert’s based on Stockhausen’s *Sketch of a Select Library*; nor did he object to Wolfgang’s interest in Gellert’s “Exercises in German and Latin composition, for the cultivation of understanding and style.” At first, the hot-blooded youth was a diligent hearer, though in the History and Law lectures there was hardly anything which he did not know—a new reason for hating his law studies; and though he wearied of the unrealities of the metaphysics and logic, while in Ernesti’s lectures, really instructive as

they were, he did not find what he hoped. There was depression too, in Gellert's dry treatment of the History of Literature; in his narrow-souled discouragement of poetic efforts, of fresh spontaneous emotion; in his painful correcting of mistakes without any helpful indications, without any spiritual elevation; in his altogether schoolmaster-like attitude, his anxious insistence on good handwriting, his interspersing of platitudes on moral and religious subjects. Once too, Wolfgang attended a lecture of the much abused Gottsched, and made merry over the lecturer in wanton verses addressed to Riese.

On the other hand, the excellently conducted theatre of Heinrich Gottfried Koch gave him much delight. At this almost immediately he saw with great satisfaction Weisse's Comedy *Die Poeten nach der Mode*, in which the father desires his daughter to marry the suitor Dunkel, who pours out his soul in turgid hexameters; while the mother favours the rival Reimreich, who speaks in tame rhyming verses. He saw with much pleasure too *Der poetische Dorfjunker*, by Frau Gottsched, after Destouches, a play which amusingly contrasts with more modern court manners the antiquated mode of life of the country aristocracy. Most excellent among the actors was Brückner, next to him was Frau Starke; the "first sweetheart" (*erste Liebhaberin*), Fräulein Steinbrecher, was not so good. Theatre-going had the more charm for Wolfgang since he had at last set to work writing drama, was busy finishing *Belsazar*, while many other subjects hovered before him. The "Great Concerts" conducted by Johann Adam Hiller, should be mentioned here as another powerful attraction of those days.¹

He spent many evenings in Frau Böhme's society. The refined Leipzig lady used with tender courtesy to point out to him his incorrect pronunciation, and the many irregularities which she perceived in the picturesque powerful speech of his Frankfurt home. Improving as this might be, it was rendered a little hard to bear by the almost invariable presence of another lady, her companion, by no means as merciful. And Frau Böhme spoiled all his pleasure in the modern poets,

¹ The Great Concert (*Das Grosse Concert*) had been founded so far back as 1743. The guidance of it was undertaken by Hiller in 1763. There were twenty-four concerts every winter. See Keil's *Corona Schröter*.—TR.

favourite passages from which were so familiar to his lips. Nor did he himself fare better when he repeated some lines of his own, without letting her know whose they were. Unfortunately he had no friend to tell all his worries to; no one could be less fit for his confidences than his poor weak-eyed fellow-lodger, the theologian Limprecht, an object of charity to Frau Straube. Though they were good friends, for Goethe pitied the poor fellow, sympathising in his lot, and lightening it with generous gifts, there was in the sufferer no *sense* for the joys and pains of the other.

The dinner-table at the house of the Professor of Medicine, Christian Gottlieb Ludwig, was frequented mostly by medical students, who, like their brethren in all times and places, talked of little but Medicine and Natural Science. So the only friendship formed there was with the sometime tutor in Ludwig's family, the excellent Humanist Morus, a Master of Arts, thirteen years older indeed than Goethe, a gentle and amiable presence. Goethe's desire for knowledge of classical antiquity led to frequent intercourse with this well-stored mind. Morus touched the weaknesses of the much-prized modern poets with a criticism keener than Frau Böhme's. And though this criticism failed, as Gellert's silence had failed, to take away Goethe's pleasure in these writers, it did make some change in his practice; he reviewed his own poems with more severe judgment.

Among the works which at this time specially interested him may be noted here the *Komische Erzählungen* of Wieland.

His ardour for dramatic composition had as the winter advanced grown thoroughly damped by seeing so many pieces so different from his win on the Leipzig stage a favour which he could not hope for his own efforts. But though thus limited for a time as to original composition, he did not slacken in his endeavour to gain thorough insight into the principles of correct taste, inadequate as were the sources within his reach. Perhaps at this time he read Aristotle's *Poetics* in the translation of Curtius (1753) with the many annotations and dissertations of the translator: one dissertation was *Concerning the Nature and True Conception of the Poetic Art*—(*von dem Wesen und wahren Begriff der Dichtkunst*). In May 1797, after he had sent this book to Schiller,

he wrote that he had read it thirty years before, but had quite failed to understand it.

That already mentioned cooling down of his ardour for authorship had made considerable advance even by January 1766, when a letter from home arrived, commissioning him to produce a festal poem for the marriage, to take place on the 17th of February, of his uncle the Advocate Textor. All real delight in his theme being absent, here was a delicious opportunity for a show-off piece (*ein Paradestück*), and by bringing in all Olympus he delivered a piece of writing which could hold its own beside the other manufactured goods of the day. Not only was there loud applause at home, he even thought well of the performance himself. In letters to his own home he could not, alas! pour himself forth in confidences. Very glad he would have been to open his heart to his sister, his chief correspondent, but all they wrote was seen by their father; who, indeed, made his daughter a kind of speaking tube for giving lessons, so that there was a *teaching* air about her letters, and hardly a word in them really from the heart. So, too, Wolfgang's letters were mostly on matters of pedagogy, or halted at mere superficial things. The only use of this correspondence was, that his handwriting, injured by scribbling hurried notes of lectures, gradually improved under the exhortations from home, which fell in with Gellert's on the same subject.

As the lectures gave him less and less satisfaction—the *collegium philosophicum* had been shipwrecked about Shrove Tide by the appearance of hot pancakes at the same time of day with it—as his belief in his own poetry faded; as he more and more bitterly felt the want of a friend, and of the delight of mutual confidences; his mood became a very dark one; and his endeavours to win cheerfulness in the open face of nature proved unavailing. It was at this period that he cut his initials (J.W.G.) on a linden. Perhaps before the end of the first half-year (1765) he burnt in the kitchen fire nearly all he had written,—outlines, or actual beginnings, or completed works. In his gloom he did not write even to his friends. He may have felt religious stirrings at this time; he withheld himself, however, from all church intercourse. Towards the middle of April (Easter Sunday in 1766 fell on the 30th of March) his merry friend Horn made his appearance;

he too, was going to begin three years of law study. He thought Wolfgang strangely altered, could make nothing of the "dreamer" (*Phantast*).

A vivid picture of his state at this time is given in a reply to Riese, dated April 28th, 1766. His single pleasure, he writes, is "to lie amid the bushes by the brook" thinking about those who are dear to him, but even at such moments the longing for friendly social life does not cease to be importunate. "I sigh for my friends and my maidens, and when I feel that I sigh in vain"—here follows in four rhyming stanzas the description of an imagined storm which rages over brook and thicket, driving him to "mourn in solitude within lonely walls." Immediately after this he says:—"But how merry I am, quite merry. Horn's coming has done away with a great part of my melancholy. He is surprised at the change he sees in me." Then he adds in a rhyming strophe, that Horn in vain sought a reason for this change, nor could he himself give any. Then in forty lines of five-foot iambics,—the beloved dramatic verse—he launches forth in a very strained description of his feelings; his pride is broken; when he first saw what the fame of great men really is, and how great must be the strivings which attain to it, it became clear to him—here there is an extremely forced metaphor—that he was quite without the poet's inspiration. Farther on, he advises his friend to put their names down for more lectures; Horn attends five lectures, he himself six! Lastly, he warns his friend against "academic morals." The lectures which he attended just then were:—his law lectures; History of the German Empire with Böhme; Batteux' book on Poetry and the *Belles-lettres* with Gellert; Exercise in Style with Clodius—this on Gellert's recommendation; finally, Physics with Winckler; for the living presence of Nature had already enthralled him, and there, rather than in gray metaphysical systems, he sought instruction.

About this time word came from home that Johann Georg Schlosser having been summoned to attend Duke Friedrich Eugen of Württemberg at Treptow, as private secretary, would take Leipzig on his way, and stop there for a while. Perhaps Wolfgang's melancholy had betrayed itself in his letters, and his father had asked Schlosser to look after him. Schlosser stopped with the wine-seller Schönpkopf on the *Brühl*—where

it is now No. 79. (Frau Schönpkopf was from Frankfurt-am-Main, and during the fairs, one of which began on the 28th of April, their guests were mostly Frankfurt folk.) Goethe, who felt a passionate longing to tell everything to this solid many-sided man, stayed close by him always, joining Schönpkopf's *table d'hôte* for his sake. The lad's fullest confidence was awakened by the kindness of the serious Schlosser, in whom high self-respect was accompanied by a restless pursuit of culture, with austerity on that bulging forehead intervening between the black hair and black eyebrows; and he revealed all his melancholy soul, wavering hither and thither, with no sure support or stay. Then the elder friend spoke encouragement, and roused him from his dreams to serious reflection and manful composure of soul.

Schlosser showed poems and themes of his own composition in several modern languages to Goethe, who felt a desire to make like efforts. After Schlosser's departure they became correspondents, and, if *Dichtung und Wahrheit* be correct, Goethe used to send his friend poems in German, French, Italian, and English, on the subjects they had often talked about.

His letters home, too, were frequently in French or English; it is not improbable that his sister wrote in the former language. Still preserved is a letter in French, dated June 2d, 1766, from Wolfgang to his friend Trapp in Worms, terminating with thirty-nine Alexandrines. Trapp had complained of Wolfgang's silence through a friend who was coming to Leipzig, and had promised news of Charitas Meixner as a reward for a letter. Wolfgang complains of his friend Müller, who is always talking about the train of lovers of Charitas; still Wolfgang is not frightened; he will try to live worthy of his beloved; love alone shall be his guide to the summit of fortune:—

“ Au sommet du bonheur par lui je vais monter.
 Au sommet de la science monté par l'industrie,
 Je réviens, cher ami, pour revoir ma patrie,
 Et viens voir en dépit de tout altier censeur,
 Si elle est en état d'achever mon bonheur.”

Lastly, he presses for fuller news of Charitas.

Probably French gallantry had more part in this than real passion; another magnet had begun to draw his soul. The

cure begun by Schlosser was continued in the happiest way by the family and guests of the little wine-shop ; for he liked his company there so much that he still went there after his friend's departure. The most powerful charm was in the daughter of the house, Anna Katharina, three years his senior ; he was at this period always attracted to girls somewhat older than himself. She was called K  thchen ; in Goethe's narrative she is always Annette or Aennchen. We give here her portrait taken just at this time. Horn describes her to his



FIG. 7. Anna Katharina Sch  nkopf. From *Goethe's Briefe an Leipziger Freunde*.

friend Moors as a well-grown though not tall girl, with a round, friendly, if not remarkably beautiful face, and an open gentle winning manner ; as having much frank simplicity of nature without coquetry, and a pretty intelligence though she has not had the best education. This pretty,

unaffected girl, with her high spirits, her saucy fun, and her affectionate kindliness, was very delightful to Wolfgang, who had now forgotten his melancholy and looked forth hopefully on the world. So delightful was her presence that the Schönpkopf's house became a second home to him; he soon felt like one of the little family, to whom indeed there was no dearer guest than the openhearted Wolfgang.

Two of his table companions here were of important influence on his culture. Johann Gottlieb Pfeil, seventeen years his senior, was the tutor of Freiherr von Friesen, who had been studying in Leipzig since 1763; they both dined at Schönpkopf's. Pfeil had become well known as early as 1755 by his anonymously published *Geschichte des Grafen P—*, a counterpart to Gellert's novel *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G—*; by his *Versuche in moralischen Erzählungen*; and by his domestic tragedy *Lucie Woodwill*. Pfeil, who was completing his law studies, tried to influence his young friend's literary judgment; he specially urged the necessity of weighty matter and concise treatment. Six years older than Goethe, Christian Gottfried Hermann, son of the Court Preacher at Dresden, was another important friend. Since 1763 he had been a zealous student of law; he was one of the most diligent and steady of the Academic citizens. Wolfgang put thorough trust in this good friend with his calm precision and earnestness; qualities which did not exclude a disposition to pleasant merriment. Hermann's importance was the greater in that he cared a great deal for Art, and had a special talent for sketching from nature: he thus roused afresh Wolfgang's fondness for drawing.

Another who took much interest in him was the Naumburger, Gottlob Friedrich Krebel, Receiver-General of the Excise: twenty years older than he; engaged just then on a *Book of Titles with Special Reference to the Electorate of Saxony*; a man thoroughly familiar with the genealogy, geography, and topography, not only of Germany, but of foreign countries. Always merry, with a bright look in his clear, somewhat prominent eyes, this big portly man delighted in railing at Wolfgang after the manner of Falstaff, in rousing him to wit-combats.

In the evenings there were many other guests at Schönpkopf's; among them Ernst Wolfgang Behrisch, tutor of a

Count von Lindenau, a thin, well-built man eleven years older than Wolfgang, with a long nose, rugged features, but fine manners. It was very natural that Wolfgang and Behrisch should become intimate. Each was interesting to the other ; the youth, scintillating intellect, free and mobile as quicksilver, compelled the attention of the original being, beneath whose oddities there was a genuinely cultivated mind and a good heart. Even Gellert had a very high opinion of Behrisch. For Goethe this new friend was of the greatest importance, because, although much of his time fled in foolish jestings and nothings, he remained a faithful friend and a severe critic. It is true that he sometimes ridiculed the good ; but then there was a spirited opposition which wrought for culture, and through which real weaknesses were the more irrevocably damned. Thus our youth had again found his way into a circle of friends older than himself, by whose rich store of experience he profited, while through the great differences of their characters his knowledge of men was widened.

In order to prevent word of his love for the host's daughter from going to Frankfurt, he sought strange means to veil it from common regard. He pretended to be enamoured of a certain young lady, to whom he paid court in the most ostentatious way. Probably with this affair is connected that change of wardrobe for which *Dichtung und Wahrheit* gives another cause. "He is with his pride a dandy too," writes Horn to Moors on the 12th of August 1766 ; "and all his clothes, fine as they are, are in such foolish taste as to render him conspicuous in the whole University. . . . His sole study is to please his lady-love and himself. In whatever company he may be he makes himself ridiculous, rather than agreeable. Just because the lady admires it he has put on such airs and graces that one can't help laughing outright. . . . She is a most insipid being. Her *mine coquette avec un air hautain* is all she has to bewitch Goethe with." Wolfgang quietly put up with all the ridicule, if only he might keep curious eyes off his real love affair. When Jerusalem, son of the celebrated preacher of Osnabrück, calls Goethe a coxcomb (*Geck*) it is perhaps because in Jerusalem's two years of study at Leipzig (Easter 1765-1767), that period by which he remembered Goethe was the strange one here described ; but in any case the lad's sparkling, versatile, or, as Herder wrote to Caroline Flachsland

in 1772, *sparrow-like* nature, with such a delight in mad escapades, could hardly have commended itself to the grave Jerusalem who was a few years his senior. It needed a more penetrating vision to recognise beneath that wild or foolish exterior the earnestness of purpose within, the depth and force of passion.

Of his attendance at lectures in the summer half-year of 1766 we know little. He made Böhme very angry by sketching on the margin of his note-book the authorities quoted in the law lectures, each with the oddest of periwigs; the students sitting near him of course laughed. As for Gellert, it was only too plain that he knew nothing of the poetry which flows of itself from a full heart and genuine feeling; and his silence regarding all modern poets was felt as an injustice. That poem written by Goethe in January 1766 for his uncle's marriage was later on submitted to Clodius, and underwent sharp criticism at his hands; the excessive use of the personages of mythology for such a petty human aim was one of the relics of a very pedantic age, etc. His mercilessness, which would allow no atom of merit to the poem, embittered Goethe the more because it was quite easy for people to find out whose was the poor piece of journeyman work they were laughing at.

In the spring of 1766 was published the *Laokoon* of Lessing, an important event to one so anxious for light as Goethe. Painting and poetry, hitherto supposed to be dominated by the same laws, now had their boundaries exactly determined; no doubt of their essential difference was henceforth possible. Probably about this time, and perhaps at Schlosser's instigation, he read William Dodd's *The Beauties of Shakespeare Selected*, a second edition of which had appeared in 1757. In these beautiful separate passages untranslated he felt far more than in Wieland's German the spiritual presence of the great poet, whom henceforth he reckoned among his veritable Masters.

All friends of the stage at this time hailed with delight the building of the new Leipzig theatre; for the erection of the framework on July 18th, 1766, the Carpenter's Speech (*Zimmermannsspruch*) was written by the young poet Michaelis—born at the close of 1746. Goethe must have come in contact with him, for Michaelis, beside lectures in medicine, attended those of Gellert and of Ernesti, and in this same year published a volume of poems.

At this period Goethe became intimate with the two sons of the printer Breitkopf: Bernhard Theodor, some months older than he, and Christoph Gottlob, born September 1750, wonderfully good and true-hearted. Their elder sister, Sophie Constanze, was in perfect youthful bloom. It was in this summer (1766) that the Breitkopfs' new house the *Silver Bear*, facing their old one the *Golden Bear*, was completed. Probably Fleischer, before his departure, had introduced Goethe to the Breitkopfs, as he had to those other friends, the bookseller Reich, and Reich's partner in business, Fräulein Weidmann.

The dissimulation of his love-affair grew by degrees unendurable. And when his friend Moors earnestly questioned him about the matter, even threatening withdrawal of friendship, Goethe confided the secret to Horn, whom he asked to write to Moors what he found it hard to write himself. Horn's letter, dated October 3, 1766, explains how Goethe had pretended to be in love with that coquette, and cut a dash only that he might unsuspected from time to time see and speak with his real beloved,—a girl beneath him in rank: Horn has often accompanied him on his visits to her.—“Since then he has honoured me with a more intimate confidence—has discovered to me the state of his affairs, showing that he does not spend as much as might be thought. He is more of a philosopher and moralist than ever; and innocent as his love is, condemns it. . . . I pity him and his good heart, and it is really a sad affair—to love without hope the best and dearest of girls. And suppose she loves him in return—why, it can only make him the more wretched.”

But two days earlier, Goethe—thinking that Horn had already fulfilled his engagement—had himself addressed Moors, and sought to justify to this twin-friend all his course of conduct:—“What is rank? An idle colouring which men have invented to daub on people who do not deserve it. And in the eyes of a thinking man wealth is just as miserable a pre-eminence. Here am I, who love a maiden without rank and without fortune; and now, for the first time, I feel the happiness which true love gives. . . . The good heart of my S—— (Schönkopf) is a pledge that she will not give me up until Duty and Necessity command us to separate. If you knew this good maiden you would pardon me my follies since I love her. Ay, she deserves the best happiness, which indeed I

wish her, without any hope of ever myself being able to contribute to it." Unable to endure this course of dissimulation any longer, he thus stood forth as Käthchen's open lover, and let her ladyship speed. Then he abandoned himself to the delicious passion, and thought no more of what the end might be. There was a sort of boyish fantastic in this love; he despised the world's prejudices, and yet had not courage to defy them. On the same day (October 1, 1766) he wrote to Trapp again in French, but without verses. He has heard with delight how Charitas had wished to possess his letter of four months ago, with its declaration of ardent love for her. Trapp may give her the letter only on condition that she will keep it as a frequent reminder of an unhappy lover who loves her without hope; who wishes her the happiest life, without any prospect of himself being able to contribute to her happiness.¹ Thus this affair was brought to a conclusion with be-seeming gallantry. Käthchen's power was now undisputed. This autumn he cut her initials above his own on his linden.

In the beginning of October (1766) the old theatre was closed, and the new one opened with Johann Elias Schlegel's *Hermann*. On the drop scene—painted by Oeser, Director of the Academy of Drawing—you saw the porch of the Temple of Truth, in which stood statues of the ancient dramatists, and of some French and German followers; but in the midst, straight towards the temple, moved a man in a loose garment—a solitary figure—to represent Shakespeare. The addresses at the closing of the old theatre and the opening of the new were written by Clodius in ample Alexandrines. Though the Professor had attacked the pompous mythological adornment of Wolfgang's Birthday Ode, here—caught from Ramler—was manifest the no less pedantic mania for the full sound of the dignified Greek and Latin words. Goethe, in whom the anger roused by Clodius's mercilessness was still awake, did not let the occasion slip. He made an irresistibly ludicrous parody by bringing together in a poetic address to the confectioner Händel² the foreign words used by Clodius. He wrote this address in pencil on the wall of the house in Händel's Cake Garden at the hamlet Reudnitz. No less was the spirit of mockery stirred within him later on by Clodius's play, *Medon oder die Rache des Weisen*. On the

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 17, 18.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, i. 86.—TR.

evening of the very day of its representation, he threw off at Schönpkopf's a Harlequin's Prologue, parodying the essential inanity of the play; and friend Horn immediately recited this prologue to the delight of all.

They had a merry time of it this winter (1766-7) in Schönpkopf's house, where the happiness of loving unlocked Wolfgang's soul. Sunday was an especially bright day, when a larger company than usual regularly assembled to drink punch together. Wolfgang used to sing with Käthchen from the collection of songs which Zachariä wrote and set to music, while Käthchen's younger brother accompanied on the piano. Occasionally other cultivated musicians played, and a Fräulein Obermann, from the opposite side of the street, who was training to be a concert singer, would add to the pleasure of the evening with her voice. Already, too, they had got so far as little dramatic representations; we hear, for instance, how in Krüger's *Herzog Michel*, Goethe won great applause in the part of the vassal who dreams of good fortune.

At the Breitkopfs' also there were frequent joyous evenings. Wolfgang, who had been very helpful during the house-changing, grew in intimacy with them all. Musical and dramatic performances, especially acting proverbs, at which Wolfgang was exceedingly good; parlour-games and pranks of all kinds made the time bright and delightful. How much happier he felt than when he had had to listen to Frau Böhme's corrections. That good and kind lady was dangerously ill, and could see no one; she died in February 1767.

The Concerts and the theatre continued to be sources of a manifold delightful culture; at the theatre he saw many merry operettas (*Singspiele*). At the concerts one much admired figure was the young Corona Schröter, then just sixteen,¹ who ruled all hearts, especially young hearts, by her beauty and her impassioned acting. There, too, Fräulein Schmebling, who was but eighteen, earned fame by her extraordinarily full, pure, powerful voice. Perhaps already Goethe had begun to write, at the request of Corona's adorers, little poems in which he could speak his own emotion; at Leipzig

¹ She was born January 14, 1751. She had begun singing in the Great Concerts in 1765, when she was but fourteen! See Robert Keil, *Corona Schröter*, pp. 10 and 33.—Tr.

it was then the custom to scatter such offerings in honour of actresses and *prima donnas*.

Beside lectures prescribed and necessary, he attended others prompted by his own desire for knowledge. Most important, because of their bearing on his soul's strong desire after a fixed central point in art, were the lessons in drawing with Oeser. This master, caring more for the significant than the beautiful, a sworn foe to ornament, tried not to make painters of his pupils; but to cultivate eye, intelligence, and taste, to a capacity for understanding and enjoying works of art. What the great Winckelmann had learned from Oeser—that the ideal is to be found in simplicity and repose; that beauty in art depends on delicate sensibility and a purified taste, rather than on deep reflection—this Wolfgang heard from the same teacher, who was now with glad enthusiasm watching the movements of his great pupil in Rome. Oeser listened with willing ear to all Wolfgang's often curious thoughts. "What is there that I do not owe to you!" writes Wolfgang, soon after his return to Frankfurt.¹ "Any feeling I have for the beautiful, any knowledge, any judgment, all, I have through you. What a certain, what a luminous truth is now your saying that for the development of the budding philosopher or budding poet the studio of the great artist is a far better place than the lecture-room of the thinker or critic. Precept does much, but encouragement (*Aufmunterung*) does everything. Who but you among all my instructors has thought me worthy of encouragement? Neither unmixed praise nor unmixed blame, than either of which nothing can be more injurious to faculty. Encouragement after blame is sun after rain—a rich increase. Ay, Herr Professor, had you not aided my devotion to the Muses, I should have despaired." So completely was Oeser's teaching the central point of Goethe's art-culture.

Wolfgang, alas! often clouded the happiness of his love by jealous grumbling; for the host's pretty daughter had to show a friendly face to many besides himself; and, indeed, he had no exclusive rights, for he was unable to propose marriage to her. One day, when he came to his linden, he was much moved by seeing that the sap had flowed over his initials from the place where hers were cut; for this brought to his mind

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 35.—Tr.

with sudden force the tears which his rudeness, dear as she was to him, had often made her shed. Immediately he hastened to beg her forgiveness. Also he felt impelled to put this incident in an idyll which he never could read without emotion.

On the Wednesday after Easter, April 22, 1767, the gifted Caroline Schulze, accompanied by her brother, a well-known ballet-dancer, made her appearance in the ballet, *Das Leben der Bauern*. She took her benefit as Julie in Weisse's *Romeo and Julie*, which was acted for the first time on the 6th of May. Oeser, who had the decorations in charge, painted her as she appeared in this part. When a very old man Goethe remembered her brilliant performance. He never missed seeing her; and he extolled her acting in verse, in which he entreated her to condescend no more to the ballet.

About Easter the poet Zachariä, Professor of Poetry *am Carolinum* at Brunswick, came to Leipzig for a fortnight; he dined at Schönpkopf's, which his brother, a reserved silent man, regularly frequented. The poet, now forty years old, might be proud of the hospitable reception which the company at the *table d'hôte* gave him. The ode which Wolfgang addressed to this "*Liebling der Muse*," soon after his departure, shows how close they had been drawn together. The yearning complaint of this ode has an extremely forced affected note, and the Greek Mythology is quite unnecessarily summoned to aid, so Clodius might, had he chosen, have paid out the parodist in his own coin. Oeser's Simplicity and Repose is the last thing to be found in it. Goethe's poetry had just then arrived at the midmost stage of a process of fermentation; and here he unfortunately feels inspired to the height of the antique Ode, without, however, possessing the mastery of the antique form. When, on the 6th of May, he was asked to write a verse in a friend's album, he pressed into his service a little poem by Gleim, in which the happiest of moods finds utterance. The slight changes introduced are very significant; Gleim's maiden is "*schön zum Küssen*;" Wolfgang's is "*willig ihn zu Küssen*," and instead of *one* friend there are many.

About this time appeared Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, the first National Comedy which Germany possessed; sure, too, to be specially effective in Leipzig, in that it, as it were,

puts on the stage the loveableness of the Saxon ladies. To Wolfgang there must have been special interest in the light thrown on his old hero the King of Prussia, not such a hero to him now as formerly. About this time he got into a scrape without being really to blame. Friend Horn, by adding some lines of his own to the verses (the Händel verses) written to ridicule Clodius's theatre-speeches, had made them refer to the *Medon*; and because, among his intimate friends, he did not, for his own part in them, get all the praise he desired he was so unwise as to make them rather widely known; soon many copies of them were about. Clodius and his by no means unimportant party were deeply hurt. It was asked who the author was, and it was not hard to find out Wolfgang, about whose eccentric behaviour there were many stories. Not content with thinking him a malicious mocker, they painted him an immoral abandoned being like Günther, who, almost half a century ago, had died in the extremest wretchedness, before he had reached his twenty-eighth birthday. Word of the attack on Clodius reached Dresden too, where the father of young Count Lindenau heard that this wicked Goethe was the nearest friend of Behrisch; that the two went about together late at night; and even that his son in their company had been to a certain garden, which belonged to girls who were better than their reputation. The Count immediately dismissed the unprincipled tutor. Behrisch indeed, through Gellert's agency, was engaged as tutor to the Hereditary Prince of Dessau; but Goethe's loss of a very winning sympathetic friend remained the same. When Clodius soon after published his *Medon* in the second part of *Versuche aus der Literatur und der Moral*, he observed that, should this win the approval of other men of worth;—"he would think little about the attacks of those who were beneath criticism." This was the "*Wise Man's Revenge*" (*Die Rache des Weisen*) on the pert student from Frankfurt.

In this summer (1767) we note a growth of closer acquaintance with Oeser's daughter Friederike Elizabeth, who was a year older than Goethe. During the winter he can hardly have seen anything of her, since he did not know Oeser well enough to be invited to those evening assemblies; at which, among others, the highly valued poet Christian

Felix Weisse;¹ his friend Christian Garve; the Academic professor of languages, Huber; the merchant Kreuchauß, a collector of objects of art, were frequent guests. Oeser, who delighted in our brilliant youth, would often walk with him round the city from gate to gate, and in summer invited him to Dölitz, a country residence. Here Goethe often met a joyous circle of friends; but the chief attraction was the daughter of the house; not beautiful—for small-pox had left its traces,—but cultivated, intellectual, full of roguish wit, cheery and kindly. She felt much interested by his spark-



Lindensch, Oeser. 24. Göggen geb. Oeser.

FIG. 8. After a picture by Johann Heinrich Tischbein.

ling intelligence; by the independence and teachableness in such rare union. We give here her likeness and that of her sister, the wife of the engraver Geyser. There were often lively wit-combats. Beside Dölitz, another frequent place of call for Wolfgang was Sellerhausen, the summer

¹ Weisse held the post of Circle Tax-Collector (*Kreissteuereinnnehmer*)
—DÜNTZER.

residence of Reich, situated about a league outside Leipzig. An alley between trees on the shady bank of the Rietschke towards Reudnitz was long called the "Poet's Walk;" at the stone table, on a garden eminence, it is said that Wolfgang often sat.

There was all this time no lack of the rash deeds born of a mettlesome humour; partly was our young student in them compliant to the wishes of friends; partly did he in adventure find a spice to life. Only incidentally do we hear of a slight wound in the arm in a duel with a theological student, the Livonian Bergmann, who came to the University in Easter 1767. The story has it that Wolfgang brought about this duel by deliberate provocation of the freshman (*Fuchs*). Merry tricks of mystification were much in vogue. Poor Horn was a special object of these tricks; he began to be called the *Pegauer*—Pegau is the Saxon Abode of Fools.

Wolfgang must have written a good deal in that spring and summer of 1767; Behrisch's beautiful transcript of his poems could have contained no work earlier than the burning already spoken of. Probably the volume had for its chief contents the poems called forth by the sight of the engravings and drawings in Leipzig collections; poems, some of which, we learn from Goethe himself, describe the situations preceding or following those represented in the pictures; some are songs which one might suppose sung by the persons depicted.

That departure of Behrisch at the close of Goethe's second summer Semester (1767) left a great gap in his life. At the end of August, or the beginning of September, he hurried to Dresden, for he yearned to refresh heart and spirit before the masterworks of the Picture Gallery; and this would be closed by the end of September. From that peculiar belief of his, that every important resolve if communicated to others fails to be carried out, he told no one of the journey he proposed. Because he had inherited his father's dislike of inns—still more, probably, because he wished to remain quite unknown in Dresden—he oddly enough boarded with a shoemaker in the suburbs—a cousin of Limprecht. This shoemaker's character was known to him through the man's letters to Limprecht. The visit to Dresden was almost exclusively devoted to the Gallery. His own preference led him to the

Dutch masters, whose works were the chief treasures of the collections of Leipzig and Frankfurt. Not denying the merits of the Italians (he has just read of D'Argenville's *Lives of the Painters* the first part, which treats of the Italians), and having some real joy in their august magnificence, he nevertheless finds them far removed from his experience of life up to the present; while in the Dutch he can admire the triumph of Art above a Nature with which he is familiar. So did the spirit of the Netherlanders transfuse itself in him that, on leaving the Gallery, he used to see everyday scenes through the eyes of an Ostade, a Schalken.

After his return his life was soon drawn back into the old round, in which the absence of Behrisch was bitterly regretted. Just at the beginning of his third student year (October 1767) he wrote—in free, unrhymed stanzas of four lines—three odes to Behrisch, in which, indeed, there is mastery of language and evidence of vivid imagination, but which are forced and extravagant to obscurity. They complain how calumny prevails in Leipzig—weaving round the good man a foul garment of ill report, which makes him shunned, and compels him to seek another abode. Let Behrisch burst the flower-chains of friendship which would keep him at Goethe's side; let no thought of the fellow-prisoner stay the footsteps of him who can fly. His own last year at Leipzig has begun; it will pass rapidly, and then—freedom! This fantastic gloom did not last long; there was so much to delight him—chief of all, his love, to which he gave himself without concern for the future.

The lectures of his professor of law were become a merely secondary matter; more than from them, or indeed from his own industry, he learned from his companions of the *table d'hôte*. Of these it may be mentioned that Hermann in this year graduated, and became *Supernumerarassessor* in the Supreme Court of Justice; and that Pfeil, the year after, obtained the Doctor's degree. Art, concerts, and the theatre, absorbed Wolfgang more and more. Beside keeping up his regular lessons with Oeser, he studied the history of Art; and grew, as time went by, more frequent in his visits to the Leipzig collections, all the owners being very friendly to him. His passion for reading at the book-market was unappeasable. Weisse's *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und*

freien Künste was especially the order of the day, but the magazines of Nicolai, Klotz,¹ and others, were also eagerly devoured. Then there were numerous pamphlets. Still, he writes from Frankfurt in the following year, clings to him the reading of little old books (*Schartekchenlesen*), which in Leipzig often passes for erudition.² It is not wonderful that the concerts attracted him, when two such singers as Gertrude Elizabeth Schmebling and Corona Schröter could be heard in the same piece. Four lines addressed to Corona on her performance in Hasse's oratorio, *Santa Elena al Calvario*, in December 1767, have been preserved.³ At the theatre he was greatly delighted by Fräulein Schulze in *Minna von Barnhelm* (November 18, 1767). The play was received with the warmest applause, and was represented six times afterwards before the close of the year. On February 24, 1768, Fräulein Schulze played for the last time in Leipzig. Goethe was unable to take part in the festival celebrating her departure, in which Oeser and Weisse were active, and where the still hostile Clodius handed her a poem; but he was probably one of those students whose parting verses the actress preserved in a large volume all her life.

The amateur theatre under "*Directeur Schönkopf*" flourished this winter (1767-8) in especial vigour. We hear of a brilliant representation of *Minna*, in which Corona Schröter played the heroine, Dr. Johann Jakob Engel, afterwards Chief Director of the Theatre of Berlin (he was ten years older than Goethe) played Tellheim; Goethe was the sergeant Werner; Constanze Breilkopf was Franziska, and Horn was the servant Just. And in a representation of Diderot's *Hausvater* (*Père*

¹ Nicolai's magazine at this time was the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, which was started 1765. The *Literaturbriefe* already mentioned (see p. 50), ceased to appear in 1765. Professor Christian Adolf Klotz (1738-1771) edited the *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, published at Halle.—Tr.

² Goethe to Friederike Oeser, 13th February 1769. The remark here quoted is near the end of this long letter. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 55.—Tr.

³ "Unwiderstehlich muss die Schöne uns entzücken,
Die frommer Andacht Reize schmücken;
Wenn jemand diesen Satz durch Zweifeln noch entehrt,
So hat er dich niemals als Helena gehört."

Der junge Goethe, i. 92.—Tr.

de Famille) Engel was one of the company. Goethe was particularly good in comic parts, his best was "the lover Don Sassafras" (?) And his own dramatic faculty was stimulated by all these theatre-doings; as usual, that which deeply interested him called forth his creative power. He wrote the pastoral drama *Die Laune des Verliebten*, as a poetic atonement to Käthchen for the rudenesses of his jealousy; for the shepherd Eridon is an image of his own behaviour, while Horn and his maiden are perhaps shadowed forth in the happy pair of lovers. To this winter also falls *Die Mitschuldigen*, which had at first only one act. In this play one cannot but feel the influence of Lessing's *Minna*, especially in the character of the Host; Goethe is still, however, true to the Alexandrine, since verse had a certain artistic restraining power which he missed in prose. The play shows how deep Goethe had seen into the ills of society; but the mild judgment of sin implied in its winding up is rather of the art of the writer of comedy than a reflection of the young Wolfgang's real views. According to *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Bk. vii.) he at this time sketched and began several other plays, to ease his mind of the gloomy reflections to which he was compelled at sight of the sins undermining family life around him; but he let these beginnings drop, because in each the complication became painful and threatened a tragic end.

In the New Year (1768), the course of Wolfgang's love affair took a very distressing, though a very natural turn. He had brought to Schölkopf's an advocate, Johann Gottfried Kanne, his senior by four years, by birth a Saxon. After having suffered so much from Wolfgang's jealousy, and being unable to see in his love-making anything except a trifling, which his return to Frankfurt would soon bring to a close, Käthchen could not withstand the *bonâ fide* wooing of the new-comer, and Wolfgang had soon to acknowledge that her love for Kanne was real and deep. We know that Kanne as well as Horn lodged with the Schölkopfs—at any rate a little later. Wolfgang grew immeasurably wretched when he found that the girl, though still very fond of him, had really given her heart to another. In vain he sought out every way of pleasing; he gave her books, he painted fans for her, he paid her all thoughtful and courteous attentions. When, however, he saw that it was all no use, "he was violent towards his physi-

cal nature to spite his moral ;”¹ he abandoned himself to an irregular life, which made demands on his powers too great to support.

As two years ago he had fled to the bosom of Nature in the freshness of its young spring life, so now did he flee. Especially frequent were his visits to Dölitz (he probably in this spring, as in preceding springs, had an attic at a hostel in Reudnitz), for at Dölitz was there not always the chance of finding in the garden or the fields the kind and bright Friederike?² Nor did he fail to visit Sellerhausen often. In this trouble his Muse was not silent, as two years ago she had been ; she inspired him to lyrics, some breathing the yearning and pain of love, but also some which speak courage and spirit, and mock at the inconstancy of maidens ; these Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf set to music. Under the Breitkopfs’ roof he spent a great deal of time, not only in that family, whose most intimate friendship he had long enjoyed ; but also with the engraver Stock, who with a wife older than himself and two little daughters, was living in the top story. Here Goethe practised etching landscapes, and did tolerably well ; one of his pictures he dedicated as “most obedient son” (“*ganz gehorsamer Sohn*”) to his father, another to his true friend Hermann, a third to Behrisch. For Schönkopf he designed a Bill of Fare (*Wirthschaftsetikette*), for Kätchen a book-marker. He also practised many little vignette woodcuts.

With all this activity the fresh enjoyment of life would not come back. When in May 1768 Lessing stopped four weeks in Leipzig, it was the humour of Goethe and Horn to make no endeavour to see the rare mortal who was so near them ; chance, they hoped, would bring him across their path. Lessing was present at a performance of his *Minna* ; but even from this Goethe was absent. And chance was not good to him ; and he was never to see Lessing.

With great joy did he look forward to the coming of Winckelmann, who, on his journey to Dessau, was to visit Oeser. Of course Wolfgang never thought himself worthy to speak with the great Expounder of Ancient Art ; but what

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, vii. Buch.—Tr.

² See Goethe’s letter in verse to Friederike Oeser, 6th Nov. 1768. See especially lines to be found *Der junge Goethe*, i. 32, 33.—Tr.

plans he had of riding to Dessau with his friends; he hoped often to see Winckelmann in that beautiful neighbourhood, especially in Wörlitz.¹ What a terrible overwhelming effect the news of Winckelmann's murder on the very confines of Germany had may then be imagined; Goethe first heard of it when going to Oeser, who was so shaken, that for a while he shut himself from almost all communication.

At about this time Goethe made the acquaintance of Behrisch's successor, Ernst Theodor Langer; for, although Count Lindenau had strictly forbidden intercourse with the wicked friend of the former tutor, Langer could not resist the wish to know one of whom he had heard so much. There was the youth possessed by the noble thirst for knowledge and culture; breathing intellect and life, though just then of such a melancholy mood; it was nothing wonderful if the disciplined learned earnest man, superior in age by five years, was so completely won that a close comradeship grew between them, which was nurtured by eager talk on long afternoon walks together. Langer introduced him to many fields of knowledge, especially Greek Literature, in which the teacher had wandered far.

The same power of attraction drew towards Wolfgang Georg Gröning of Bremen, his senior by four years, who, in Easter 1768, had come from Göttingen to win a Leipzig Doctor-of-Laws Degree; his love for plastic art (he was Wolfgang's successor with Oeser) effected and maintained their union.

The painful disquiet arising from the loss of Käthchen; restless excitement; irregular living; heavy Merseburg beer; coffee with milk drunk after dinner; a cold caught when bathing; the unwholesome vapours breathed when etching on steel; perhaps, too, the chest affection which he had brought on himself at Auerstädt on his journey to Leipzig three years before by over-violent exertion; all combined to disturb the sensitive balance of his organisation so violently, that one July night he was attacked by a violent hemorrhage. In the next room slept the poor theological student Limprecht, whom Goethe's ill-humour had often of late made suffer. Just enough strength he had to rouse quickly this neighbour, and

¹ It is interesting to note that Goethe in 1778 planned the Weimar Park on the model of the beautiful one at Wörlitz, then unique.—TR.

to send him to Dr. Reichel, a friendly physician who lived at the Breitkopfs'. By Dr. Reichel's exertions immediate danger was staved off, but there was still imperative need of rest. Then a tumour that formed on the left side of the neck would need long care. The families Breitkopf, Reich, Stock, Oeser, and Schönpkopf, were interested in the sick lad as if he were one of their own; and of his younger acquaintance, beside his good next room neighbour, Horn, Hermann, Langer, and Gröning, proved their true friendship. Langer not only would often talk by his bedside till the deep of night of matters intellectual, but would guide the sufferer in a calm and peaceful way, which itself was healing, towards thoughts of religion; laying before the vexed and restless heart his own sure belief in the Divineness of that Christian Revelation which enjoins patience under tribulation; to all which Wolfgang gave the more willing heed because it came from one whose clear and well-trained intelligence he had in other relations learned to respect. Yet he could himself accept the Christian Revelation solely in moments of glowing emotion, of overflowing soul, in no wise by the critical reason. A noteworthy incident of this time comes by his own account—he made over to Langer whole basketfuls of his once so much prized German poets and critics, receiving in exchange some Greek classics.

As he grew better his friends took him on many walks, and tried every way of amusing him. Since his recovery went on steadily, he hoped to leave Leipzig on his birthday—the day which he always liked to choose for important acts. His strength, indeed, would not be restored so soon; his nerves had suffered too much. Almost a year and a half later he writes to the younger Breitkopf:—"However sound and strong one may be, in that accursed Leipzig one burns out as fast as a bad torch. Well, well, the poor fox-cub will little by little recover."¹ If, in this letter, he exhorts the recipient to beware of loose living,² there is here no proof that loose living had been a cause of his sufferings; the expression—"the poor

¹ Goethe to Gottlob Breitkopf; date guessed at in *Der junge Goethe* is August 1769. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 67.—TR.

² "Nur eins will ich dir sagen, hüte dich vor der Liederlichkeit. Es geht uns Mannsleuten mit unsern Kräften wie den Mädchen mit der Ehre, einmal zum Henker eine Jungferschaft, fort ist sie."—TR.

cub will recover little by little" refers to his ill-fortune in love, so in the *Zueignung* (*Dedication*) of his *Neue Lieder* we have the allusion to the fox of fable.¹

Reich, who through Weisse had got the publishing of Wieland's *Musarion*, showed the convalescent its first proof-sheets—it was just then getting into type. Peculiarly impressible at the time, and with a new impulsive leaning towards the ancients, he thought he saw the antique rise again in this charming poem with its thorough interpenetration of reality.²

He often went to Dölitz to see Friederike, who met him "with great glee, and almost laughed herself to death at the absurd notion of anybody's dying of consumption at twenty."³ By cheerful description of her enjoyable days in the country, she imparted to him some of her own delight in life. He saw her frequently, on one occasion in the theatre; when he was leaving Leipzig he gave her a copy of his songs with Breitkopf's music, and begged her to sing them in memory of him. Breitkopf promised to set Goethe's other songs too, and already publishing was talked of. All his friends felt the warmest concern at his departure. His hardest trial, which he yet could not deny himself, was the farewell to Käthchen, whom he saw for the last time on the evening of August 26. It was agreed that there should be a correspondence, only he must pledge himself never to write before the first day of each month. Of course there was no denying that he had lost Käthchen, and how could he, as he then was, put forward any claim to her. But this he might hope, little as it was, that though he had been such a torment to her, she would often think of her "good youth," and wish for his presence. On August 27, the eve of his departure, he set out to see her

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 109, 110. The poet who sees young people love-making warns them, whereupon they laugh and exclaim:—"The fool! The fox who has lost his tail would be glad" to see others like himself, or to that effect; to which the poet replies:—"The fable does not hold good in this instance, the honest fox-cub without a tail warns you to beware of the trap."—TR.

² *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, vii. Buch.—"*Musarion* wirkte am meisten auf mich. . . . Hier war es, wo ich das Antike lebendig und neu wieder zu sehen glaubte."—TR.

³ Goethe to Friederike Oeser, 13th February 1769. The passage here quoted will be found *Der junge Goethe*, i. 47.—TR.

once more, but he became so very sad that he did not go through with it. "I was as far as the door," he writes from Frankfurt to explain why he had not taken a final leave; "I saw the lamp burning and went to the foot of the stairs, but I had not the heart to go up. For the last time!—how should I ever have come down?"¹

¹ Goethe to Christian Gottlob Schönkopf, October 1, 1768. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 23. That he saw Käthchen for the last time on August 26, 1768, is fixed by a letter of August 26, 1769, in which he says to her:—"This day a year ago I saw you for the last time." See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 65.—TR.

CHAPTER II.

INTERIM BETWEEN LEIPZIG AND STRASSBURG SPENT IN FRANKFURT.

SEPTEMBER 1768—APRIL 1770.

ON the 3d of September 1768 Wolfgang saw old Frankfurt again. He was received with passionate tenderness, the bright lad who had gone forth in blooming health now returning wasted and pale, life half despaired of. His father was in his gentlest mood, and did his very best to hide the disappointment which he felt at seeing that all his plan of study for Wolfgang had fallen to the ground. Cornelia's gladness at her brother's return was the warmer since she had much to tell him which even her mother might not hear. She wished to learn and read more as she liked, and it had been hard on her to be the only object of her father's teaching activity. Her whole soul was opened to her brother; he had been and was her model in all things; even her stiff hand-writing had become exactly like his; and there were many notes in his style which she too struck. One deep secret regret of hers was that with her bold features it was unlikely that she should ever win love; and a noble man's love was, she felt, the first and chief thing required to make life a real good. Though her father did not interfere with her coming and going or her amusements, his never-ending schoolmaster-like instruction had been excessively oppressive to her, and she had grown more and more hardened against him; it was no use that her mother tried to qualify the bitterness of this relation; poor mother, she had plenty of trouble, with Wolfgang, too, a cause of so much anxiety to his parents. In her distress she had drawn closer and closer to the pious Fräulein von Klettenberg and her circle; not indeed that her natural healthy trustfulness in an all-wise and all-gracious Guid-

ance had in any wise been darkened. That dear friend, clear-sighted in temporal as in spiritual things, was a wise counsellor in all difficulties. Shortly before Wolfgang's return, his grandfather's tongue and right arm had been paralysed when he was in the midst of official duty, and he could not yet speak. Also Wolfgang had to lament the recent death of his friend the painter, Seekatz of Darmstadt, on whose advice and help he had so much reckoned. He himself could look forward to being well soon, for the doctor said that his lungs were quite sound though the passages to them were affected. He had of course to arrange his rooms; then there were visits; and the fair just beginning with its sights and sounds laid claim to his attention. Very soon after his return, Jung, a maker of lay figures, whom Wolfgang had known as an attendant at the Leipzig Art Academy, and who had letters of recommendation from Oeser, came through Frankfurt on a business journey, and found a kind reception in the Goethes' hospitable home. Wolfgang met again in Frankfurt many of his old friends, among them Crespel, who stayed until November. It was now that he made acquaintance with his fellow-townsmen, the painter George Melchior Kraus, son of the host of the White Snake. Kraus was in his thirty-fifth year, and was just back from Paris. Cornelia's friends—few of whom he did not already know—were something quite different from the bright refined Leipzig ladies; their sentimentality, their finical prudery, their prim manners, their tedious dulness, repelled him. But there was one new friend and correspondent of his sister's, Katharina Fabricius of Worms, in whom he felt much interested, so much that he began himself to write letters to her.

His heart clung to Leipzig, and especially to the households Schönkopf and Oeser. Already on the 13th of September 1768, we find him turning in loving remembrance to his "dearest instructor." To Kätchen about the same time, he sent a pair of scissors, a knife, and leather for two pairs of shoes; these were her fairings. To Schönkopf he writes on the 1st October that, though yet uncertain whether he has not got consumption, things are looking better; his thin cheeks are filling out, and since he has "neither maidens nor the cares of life" to trouble him, he hopes to progress in his recovery. The latter part of the letter is addressed to

Käthchen ; her neck-handkerchief is ready, the fan is in hands ; and he will paint materials for slippers for her. The girl's reply was wayward and saucy, as it might have been in the happiest days of their mutual intercourse.

The doctor tried with tonics to revive the lad's relaxed forces, and pronounced extreme calm indispensable. Nevertheless, Wolfgang could not help pushing on with many occupations ; he drew, etched, and wrote ; and his professional studies might not be entirely neglected in the face of his father's anxiety. Generally he was so busy that his sister hardly liked to disturb him in his attic-room. He became intimate at this time with an amiable young English fellow in a Frankfurt boarding-school. With this new friend, Cornelia fell passionately in love, but alas ! he did not stay long in Frankfurt, nor had she success in a scheme of getting her Harry's portrait sketched by Kraus at a concert party which the Goethes gave — Cornelia played the piano well. Several of Wolfgang's Leipzig friends in passing through Frankfurt called to see him ; there was one of them who resembled the young Englishman ; Cornelia felt the attraction. Once Wolfgang went with a medical friend, Strassburg-bound, to see the great Senckenberg Institution which had sprung up during his Leipzig absence. His greatest pleasure was in visiting the private art collections of Frankfurt ; but he did not succeed in his attempts to diffuse among the owners the ideas which he had derived from Oeser.

His monthly letter to Käthchen of the 1st November (1768) strikes the usual note of cheery jesting. Now, indeed he is being punished for his sins against Leipzig ; his present sojourn is as disagreeable as the Leipzig period might have been agreeable, if certain persons had thought fit to make it so. Five days later we find him replying to Friederike Oeser lightly, in irregular rhyming verse. The songs which he has left her she may sing in happy mood there in her Dölitz, where he had sung them from heaviness. This letter was enclosed with one addressed to her father, dated three days later (Nov. 9th, 1768), in which he expresses his deep gratitude.¹ About this time he read Wieland's *Idris* (published by Reich), Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*, Weisse's *Grossmuth für Grossmuth*, and a *Treatise on Engraving* translated from the

¹ This letter has been already quoted from. See p. 67.—TR.

English.¹ In a letter of the 24th November to Oeser he says that his reflections on these works are "perhaps tolerable for a spoken conversation, but are far from having either the order or exactness which would make them fit for writing down." So little was it his way to make ado with any hastily grasped theory. Cornelia writes on Nov. 16th to her friend Katharina Fabricius, that Wolfgang is drawing her the nicest heads, and that he is just engaged on a new comedy. As further on she says that he is reading to her all that he writes, while she listens with great pleasure, we may be sure she has long ago heard both the pieces which he brought from Leipzig. But he had already begun to suffer again, and the chief cause this time was want of care in using the acids necessary for his engraving.

On Cornelia's birthday (December 7th, 1768) Wolfgang was attacked by a violent internal pain; all the remedies tried failed to lessen his fearful sufferings. Cornelia, unable to bear the sight of his agony, went away in despair. His mother in her utter need tried her old pious plan of opening a Bible with a sharp point. The text, "Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria" (Jeremiah xxxi. 5), filled her with joyous confidence, and all her life she remembered that beautiful promise, as indeed did Wolfgang too. When the orthodox methods of the pharmacopœia failed, resort was had to alchemy. Fräulein Klettenberg's good physician, Dr. Metz, a student of alchemy, had not long before effected a wonderful cure on that pious friend, with a salt prepared in the method of alchemy. Wolfgang's mother, who had chosen this physician for herself and her son, entreated him, going to him in *almost* the last resort, to give the sufferer this magic salt. And lo! there was at once a change for the better, the threatened suffocation was at least averted. Cornelia writes to her friend, that Wolfgang's dreadful state of danger had lasted two days, then things had become somewhat better, yet he could not remain a single quarter of an hour in upright posture. For three weeks he could not leave his room, during which time he saw almost no one but the doctor, the surgeon, and the members of the family. A new tumour had formed on his neck; first they

¹ So we learn from the letter spoken of immediately after. — *Der junge Goethe*, i. 37, 38.—TR.

tried to reduce it, then to bring it to a head, at last they had to lance it. His chief consolation at this time was his power of drawing; he made sketches of the room with its furniture or the people who might be there, and illustrated the stories of the city which he heard.

His sufferings roused general sympathy; the only one who remained cold was his friend Müller. Cornelia tells her friend in Worms, that Wolfgang is no longer on such good terms with Müller, because their principles are so different; Müller's philosophy is deduced from what he has read; her brother's from what he has felt and seen; and she now perceives that the former is unpractical. When the doctors were able to assure Wolfgang that his digestion was the only thing out of order, he became so content and light-hearted that he was even able to cheer the anxious family; yet in the few days of such near neighbourhood with death,—such closeness, as he himself puts it, to the awful strait that we all must pass over,¹ in those few days solemn thoughts had been his.

“In a fit of great folly,” he threw off a *Neujahrslied* (*Song of the New Year*), and even had it printed for his own amusement.² Other occupations were sketching and writing tales. The drawing was a great delight to his father, who got an old friend, the painter Morgenstern, to put in the lines of perspective correctly. Another matter about which Councillor Goethe began to talk, and not to annoy him his son fell in easily with his wishes, was the speedy resuming of law study at Strassburg. As to a third matter there was not the same harmony,—the father would fain have seen his recovering son less interested in the alchemic theorisings and experiments in which the doctor who was thought to have saved his life, and their good friend Fräulein Klettenberg were zealously occupied.

Horn was the first to hear from Wolfgang of his recovery; Horn was to tell Kätchen, whose extreme concern had been a salve to Wolfgang's heart. “There is good in misfortune

¹ In a letter to Oeser, Feb. 14, 1769. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 57.—Tr.

² Goethe to Kätchen Schönkopf, Dec. 30th, 1768. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 40. In this letter he also speaks of the drawing and writing tales (*Mährchen*). The curious interference of his father with his sketches is from *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, viii. Buch. The result on the sketches was rather amusing. A like interference three years earlier has been described. See p. 45.—Tr.

too," he writes to her on December 30th (1768): "I have learned much in illness, that I could have learned nowhere else in life. . . . When I get better I shall go to foreign places, and how soon I shall see Leipzig again depends solely on you, and some one else" (the preferred suitor Kanne, of course); "meanwhile I think to visit France, to see how life is lived there; and to learn French." Should he, however, for all this pleasant scheming, play the foolish stroke of dying before Easter arrives, he will order a gravestone in Leipzig churchyard.¹

The early days of the New Year (1769) found him able to go out of doors again. Good *Legationsrath* Moritz, who hoped great things from Wolfgang, gave a party to celebrate his recovery. Since farces were just then the order of the day, Wolfgang began one with the title *Lustspiel in Leipzig*, which was also to be printed.² He confides to Oeser his doubts concerning Nos. 28 and 30 of Lessing's lately published *Antiquarische Briefe*. But before Oeser's reply arrived, Wolfgang had had another severe attack which kept him in his room for four weeks. When well enough to write he turns—full of annoyance at not having heard from Leipzig—to his Kätchen, who was still a constant presence in his thoughts. "During the last fortnight I have again been aground" (*sitz' ich wieder fest*), he writes (Jan. 31st, 1769). "At the beginning of this year I was let out on parole; that little bit of freedom too is past, and I shall probably also spend part of February in the cage, for God knows when it will be all over; however, I am quite calm about it, and I hope you will be so too. . . . Dear God, here I am merry again even

¹ That she may visit his grave at least once a year on his Name Day. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 41.—Tr.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 50; Goethe to Friederike Oeser, 13th Feb. 1769—"Hierher gehört auch dass ich in diesem neuen Jahre eine *Farce* gemacht habe, die ehstens unter dem Titel: *Lustspiel in Leipzig* erscheinen wird. Den [denn] die *Farcen* sind ietzt auf allen Parnassen *contrebande*, wie alles aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Vierzehenden [Vierzehnten]." Does the following translation contain the natural sense of this passage? "Here I should mention that since the New Year began, I have written a farce, which as soon as possible shall be published in Leipzig, as a comedy" (not as a farce.) "For on every Parnassus farces are at present contraband" (not allowable); "as indeed is everything of the Louis Quatorze Age." The *Lustspiel* was destroyed by Goethe before he went to Strassburg.—Tr.

in the midst of pain. If I were not so cheery how should I bear it all. Continuously shut up in one place for almost two months.”¹ Still on the 14th of February, as he informs Oeser, imprisoned by illness, though with the best hope of recovery; with the winter, he hopes, his winter too will pass away, his spring return. Yet Leipzig, whither Oeser had invited him, he cannot revisit so soon, perhaps not within a year; when he comes he wants to make a good stay. He seems at this time to have played waywardly with the imagination of himself, a settler down in Leipzig, yet leading Käthchen to his home a bride. Oeser had replied that Lessing had in those letters enormously erred in his remarks on the passage from Pliny; let Wolfgang only watch a heraldic engraver for an hour, and he will laugh away his sickness, to think of the observations of Christ, Klotz, and Lessing on the subject. Wolfgang, when thanking Oeser for enlightening him on the matter, adds this characteristic utterance:—“Lessing! Lessing! if he were not Lessing I would fain say something. I cannot write in his dispraise; he is a conqueror, and will be a rude hewer of wood in Herr Herder’s Wäldchen” (the first number of the *Kritische Wäldchen*—*Critical Groves*—treats of Lessing’s *Laokoon*), “if he falls upon them. He is a phenomenon of intellect, and after all such phenomena are not common in Germany. Whoever does not wish to agree to all he says, need not; only let him not be contradicted! Voltaire has not been able to do our Shakespeare any wrong. No smaller spirit will overcome a greater.” In this letter he sends greeting to Clodius, who, at Oeser’s intercession, had at last to Wolfgang’s great relief forgotten his ancient grudge.

In a letter to Friederike, dated a day earlier (Feb. 13th, 1769), he speaks very amusing, but true words of the whole so-called “Bardic Poetry,” and especially of the *Gesang Rhingulphs des Barden als Varus geschlagen war*. All that is strange and forced displeases him; the poet’s task is to make us feel what we have not felt before; but mere noise and exclamation instead of pathos is ineffectual. Gerstenberg he reverences; it is a great spirit with *principia* apart. Of Gerstenberg’s *Ugolino* he observes that grace and deep pathos do not combine to a worthy subject of a noble art. Lessing,

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 42, 44.

he thought, gave poetry too wide a scope.¹ One must differ even from the great spirits ; who err as do small ones, the latter because each conceives his own horizon the world's boundary ; the former because they know no boundary. Light is Truth, yet the sun, the source of Light, is not Truth. Falsehood is Darkness. And what is Beauty ? Neither Darkness nor Light, but Twilight ; the offspring of Truth and Falsehood. In his confinement—all his instruments a pair of compasses, paper, pen and ink, and two books—he thinks that he penetrates in knowledge of Truth as far as—nay farther than many a man with all the apparatus of libraries and learning.² Nothing is true which is not simple. Humbleness and Reflectiveness are the qualities most needful to guide our steps in the path of Simplicity. Thus did he during his weary illness solace himself with the most penetrating contemplations on Art and Poetry. Indeed, the general cheery tone of the whole letter—in which he, as usual, breaks a lance with Friederike—betrays nothing less than that he who wrote it was an invalid. If his poems, as she says, have not pleased her, she has not viewed them aright ; let her throw them into the fire, for he is one of those patient poets who when one poem is not approved make another. He would be very glad to hear from her something about the last good books out ; in Frankfurt you heard nothing of them until a quarter of a year after the fair. Though he had almost entirely given up reading new literature, and though his own verse will not flow—except in a little bit of intoxication—he cannot all at once completely refuse to satisfy the longing for literary novelties.

Though Wolfgang was soon able to leave his sick chamber, the old vigour was not there, just as the old freshness of soul was not. No departure for Strassburg could at present be thought of ; this was a great disappointment to his father. Wolfgang buried himself deeper and deeper in books on Alchemy and in pietistic meditation ; for Fräulein

¹ Here I have taken the liberty of adding from Goethe's letter some links of connection that seemed necessary. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 53.—TR.

² Immediately after the letter runs thus :—" A great savant is seldom a great philosopher, and he who has painfully turned over the leaves of many books despises the easy simple Book of Nature ; and yet nothing is true, etc." *Der junge Goethe*, i. 53.—TR.

Klettenberg and Moritz had gained great influence over him during his recovery. It was a matter of course that with them he again began going to the Lord's Supper. About this time (March 1769), he had the pleasure of a visit from his Leipzig friend Gervinus—a native of Zweibrücken and very intimate with Oeser. From Gervinus he heard that "Rhingulph the Bard," was *Oberamtsadvokat* Kretzschmann of Zittau, who had just visited Leipzig, where he had been received with all honours. Meanwhile Friederike had emptied all the vial of her saucy wrath on Wolfgang, especially because he had spoken ill of her sex. His answer (April 8th, 1769) is in the same strain. Of his own sex, he says, his estimate is but low; he does not rate woman higher, and that is woman's own fault. He still maintains that girls are in general too easily credulous; Friederike's distrustfulness shows him that the more prudent ones are full of suspicion. And though "Rhingulph" is, he hears, Friederike's friend, yet he cannot retract what he has said of the Bardic poems. Saxony has tamed the savage and bold nature of his republican spirit, but it has not made him a singer in mutual admiration concerts. To her father he owes that perception of the Ideal which is his guide in criticism; of course he at the same time yields to each kind of art, by its own standard, its due praise.

At the beginning of April (1769) Horn, whom he had eagerly desired to see, returned, his three years of Leipzig study over. Horn thought not only that Wolfgang looked unhealthy, but that the air of the Kingdom had made him "*stipide*." And Wolfgang too, was disappointed in Horn. Love sickness sat so oddly on his merry friend, and sentimentality was nauseous to one who professed no faith in maidens. As Horn was pursuing his law studies with great diligence, and found in Wolfgang no response to his ecstasies, it came about that the friends saw each other less often than before.¹

When Wolfgang was again able to make use of his attic, he provided himself with a little draught-furnace, and all things needful for alchemic experimenting; his father, though

¹ Horn was in love with Constantie Breilkopf. See as to his sentimentality, Goethe's letter to Käthchen, June 1st, 1769. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 62. As to their isolation from each other, see Goethe's letter to Käthchen, Jan. 23, 1770. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 72, 73.—TR.

viewing this enterprise with unfavourable eyes, did not interfere to prevent it. With the assistance of his physician and Fräulein Klettenberg, he made many successful experiments; one often renewed with great pleasure was the demonstration of *Liquor Silicum* (*Kieselsaft*). Books on Alchemy became almost a craze with him, though he, seeking exact knowledge, was sometimes made desperate by their strange mystifications. The bookseller Fleischer—Wolfgang's old travelling-companion to Leipzig—brought out in this very year (1769) a new edition of Welling's chief work, *Opus mago-cabbalisticum*. These were dark studies, but they led him to Boerhaave's clearer Chemistry (*Elementa Chemiae*); and to the same author's *Aphorismen*—on the diagnosis and cure of diseases. With peculiar zest he used to read in the four volumes of Arnold's *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte*,¹ the pious author of which finds true Christianity to be exactly with those whom the Church has cast out; this accorded well with Wolfgang's temper; he being a passionate advocate of intellectual freedom. The various theories of God and the World which he met in this book were full of interest to him; and his active intelligence knew no rest until, borrowing the main features from Welling, he had thought out a system of his own.

By degrees he became again interested in his sister's circle of friends. Though among them he could not find the roguish wit, the culture, and versatility of the Leipzig ladies, there was a kindly good nature and a cheery capacity for enjoyment in them, not without considerable attraction for Wolfgang. And now about the 20th of May (1769) Käthchen sent him word through Horn of her betrothal with Dr. Kanne. Long as he had been prepared for this, it was a heavy blow. Not until the 1st of June did he pluck up spirit enough to wish her joy. Through his whole letter you feel the presence of his piercing misery alternatively with the bitterness of his contempt for woman's fickleness. Maidens' hearts are indeed anything but marble. He will not write again until October. That she calls him her dear friend, her best friend, scorches his soul when he remembers all the lovers she has salted down with "friendship." "I have always told you that my fate is bound up with yours. Soon,

¹ *An Impartial History of the Church and of Heresies.*—TR.

perhaps, you will see how true my words were ; you will soon perhaps hear some news which you do not expect." This is a dark hint at his resolve to leave Germany immediately. When in August (1769), a report spread in Leipzig that he had again become ill, Käthchen wrote inquiring very anxiously about him. Exactly a year from the day on which he had last seen her, he then replies in a short letter ; with few sharp outlines you find his bitter grief imaged there. The report of his illness had not been quite justified ; he is in tolerable health ; often, however, not so good as he could wish. "You can if you like suppose that I was prevented from writing to you by indisposition only ; other causes will soon perhaps prevent you from writing to me. . . . I am intolerable to-day. If I were in Leipzig I would sit beside you and make a long face ; you doubtless remember such a spectacle. Yet no ! if I were with you now, what content ! O could I call back the three and a half years that are gone, I swear to you, Käthchen, dear Käthchen, I would be wiser."¹

At about the same time (August 1769) he wrote begging the younger Breitkopf—Gottlob—to write him one letter even. "I am spending my life tolerably content and quiet ;" he confides to this true friend. I have half-a-dozen English girls whom I often meet ; and am in love with none of them ; they are charming beings, and make my life uncommonly pleasant. One who had never seen Leipzig might do right well here ; but Saxony, Saxony ! ay ! ay ! that is the strong tobacco." Among the girls whom he now often met were four Gerocks and Crespel's two sisters. In this circle he could often muster brightness enough ; though it was rather good animal spirits, as he himself says, than a genuine joy of the heart ; still in the fresh Present he could often forget his distant sweetheart, and how he had lost her. It is noteworthy that in the letter last quoted he does not directly speak of his songs—they had been printing since Easter ; only he begs his friend to let him know what the elder Breitkopf—the publisher of them—had to say.

Weak in body, and suffering from the smart of unrequited love, the bond which drew him to the godly grew closer, so that on the 21st and 22d of September (1769) we find him in Moritz's company, present at the Synod of the Herrnhut Com-

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 65, 66.

munity at Castle Marienborn in the County Oberisenburg. This castle Zinzendorf, when the old line of Counts who lived there died out (1725), had rented of the Count von Isenburg-Büdingen, whose man of business was Goethe's friend Moritz. At this Synod Goethe met a still living immediate disciple of Zinzendorf, the Moravian Neisser, who had been a cutler; a Swiss Loretz, once a captain; a French ex-major of noble birth, etc. These excellent men, he at a later time tells us, had his entire respect; yet they, not less than Fräulein Klettenberg, refused to the young student the name *Christian*, because he could not accept the doctrine that man is not to expect anything from his own strength, that all his good is to be an outflow of the Divine favour.

In this autumn (1769) too he went to Worms, perhaps in Moritz's company. Here he saw Charitas Meixner, probably by this time formally engaged. Then there was Charitas's cousin Trapp, and Katharina Fabricius, whom he now learned to know personally; it will be remembered how they had been correspondents. At the *Eulenburg*, then the residence of the family Kampf, beyond the Mainz Gate, he scratched his name, with the date, on a pane of glass.

Not until the end of September (1769) was the printing of his songs to Breitkopf's music completed. On the 30th of October there was an article on them in Hiller's *Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*. It says that the writer by no means lacks talent for this light and sprightly kind of poetry; the songs had well deserved to be made public, and to have such good music composed to them. Wolfgang, whose name remained hidden, was painfully moved by the publication of these poems, the remembrancers of so different a time. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than to suppose that they had any particular merit.

Soon after this he saw his first great man, the Corsican Paoli, who when going to England passed through Frankfurt. Paoli met all the curious flockers around him with good-humoured politeness. Another arrival in Frankfurt was J. G. Schlosser, who had given up his place at Treptow to practise again as an attorney. He maintained friendly intercourse with Wolfgang, who had changed so much since they last met.

Very painful were his feelings when Käthchen asked him

to write a poem for her near approaching marriage-day. He did not answer the letter; even at a much later date (December 12, 1769), he but incidentally refers to it, saying that he had attempted some marriage odes, but all his attempts had expressed either too much or too little of his own emotions, and how could she have expected him to celebrate worthily in verse any joyful festival?

In this winter (1769-70), Wolfgang's health, by degrees, became so far re-established that he was again able to take a thorough pleasure in the theatre, in concerts, and parties. But there were still throbbings and shootings of the pain for his lost love. In December (1769) a dream, in which he saw Kätchen—married, so stirred him that he could remain no longer silent. He wrote next morning, asking whether the marriage has really taken place; if it has, he hopes that it is the beginning of happiness for her. "Physically, I am restored to health," he writes, "but my soul has not yet healed; I am in a silent, inactive calm, but that is not happiness. And in this languor my imaginative powers so drowse that I can conjure up no shape of what was once most dear to me. . . . No marriage ode have I to send you. . . . Since—ay, this long time back, my poems have been dreary and disordered as my brain, as you can perceive by the greater part of those already printed, and as you will perceive by others which are not printed yet."

He has been unable to restrain himself from writing to her once again before the certain tidings of her marriage has come to him. She is not to reply herself, since he would fain see her writing, hear her voice no more, it is ill enough that his dreams are so busy. Yet within three months shall she receive one last letter from him, saying whither he is to travel, and when. The books which she wished for he sends to her address.¹

His departure for Strassburg at Easter (1770) was now a settled thing. Father and son were equally eager for it; the former, because he thought that Wolfgang's law studies had been too long intermitted; and Wolfgang, because he earnestly desired to put a still greater distance between himself and Kätchen; in a foreign land—in France—his pain would find

¹ Goethe to Kätchen Schönkopf, December 12, 1769. *Der Junge Goethe*, i. 68-71.—Tr.

ease. Strassburg might be called a French city, for, though the French reckoned the inhabitants of Elsass mere German subjects of the king, France had yet made the plundered territory an assured possession.

An indication of the formation of firm resolves is to be found in the setting aside at this time of a quarto note-book with the superscription : *Ephemerides. Was man treibt, Heut dies und morgen das.* 1770. The contents are various ; short quotations from books read, titles of books, original reflections, written in French or Latin for practice. The first third of this book, written before he had left Frankfurt, shows how he was occupied with the languages and literatures of France and Germany, but not to the exclusion of Wieland's Translation of Shakespeare ; trace of Greek studies there is none, a little law, a great deal about the theory and history of plastic art, of poetry, and of music ; meditations on God and the world ; finally, many indications of alchemic and cabalistic studies.¹

When he heard from Horn that the wedding was put off to Easter (1770), his heart leapt at the wild thought that fortune might yet give him Käthchen for himself. Writing to her on the 23d of January (1770), he says, that he is living in content, is healthy, and bright, and industrious, for he has no girl in his head. But he is tired of Frankfurt, and will leave for Strassburg at the end of March. There he will be always glad to get a letter from *Käthchen Schönkopf*. "You are, and always have been, the loveable maiden, and will also be the loveable wife. And I—I shall still be Goethe. You know what that means. When I name myself, I name all of myself, and you know that ever since I saw you I have been only a part of you." From Strassburg he will go to Paris, where he hopes to stay a good while. "And after that, God knows whether anything will come of it !" Should her marriage not take place within the year—well he will not hang himself because of the delay—perhaps he would himself yet bring her the so long-promised neckerchief and fan, and address her as "Mademoiselle Schönkopf," or "Käthchen Schönkopf." Talking of Horn and his Constantie, Wolfgang says it may end with a wedding after all, and that would be a wonderful sight ; but there might be another wedding much more strange, and yet

¹ Reprinted in A. Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze von Goethe aus den Jahren 1766 bis 1786.* Weimar, 1846. S. 63-140.—TR.

not impossible, only improbable. When Cornelia marries and goes away, he will divide the house with his parents; ten rooms, handsome and well furnished in the Frankfurt taste, will fall to him.¹ Since, however, it seems unlikely that she will have him, he begs her to woo, on his behalf, that friend of hers who most resembles her. For his travelling need not prevent the consideration of such things. "In two years I shall be back again. And then—I have a house, I have money. Heart, what desirest thou more? A wife!" This free outpouring to one who was looking forward to her marriage-day, he intends to excuse when he adds the concluding remark that, for once, he has to-day been merry.²

The painful tension of feeling resulting from this impracticable love-suit could not remain hidden from his father, whose ill-humour and disquiet were thus, of course, increased. Wolfgang had excited his father's violent anger by imprudent criticism of the architecture of the house, which we know had been so carefully planned, and by suggesting that it might be rebuilt in Leipzig taste. Through the Frau Rath's agency the violence of this anger had been appeased, but she could not prevent a sense of injury and vexation from lasting some time.

One important reason why, at this time, poetic labours seem to have been set aside, is to be found in the diligent professional study to which Wolfgang had to give himself. On the 6th of February (1770), he writes to Assessor Hermann:—"I am glad if you have found something to your liking in my poems. I hope that in time I will do something better; with us *Quasimodogenitis*, people must be indulgent. Painting, and music, and all that is called art, I have just as much at heart as ever." His friend Reich has sent him Wieland's *Dialogen des Diogenes*,³ by post, and he has read it by post—at post haste. "The engravings" (by Oeser) "are excellent, and the book is—by *Wieland*. One must just name him and leave it, for to describe, to criticise the character, the mood of this man, is no task for us."⁴ To the friendly pub-

¹ Probably this was the plan of his father, who wished to keep Wolfgang always at his side.—DÜNTZER.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 72-5.—TR.

³ Published by Reich himself.—DÜNTZER.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 75, 76.

lisher he writes (February 20, 1770):—"Feel and keep silence is all that one can do on this occasion, for even to praise a great man is not permitted, unless you are as great as he. But I have sometimes, indeed, been angry on the score of Wieland, and I think with reason. Wieland has the ill-luck to be often not understood; sometimes, perhaps, it is his own fault, but sometimes it is not, and *then* one cannot but be angry when persons vend to the public their misunderstandings as explanations." After Oeser and Shakespeare, Wieland alone he can reckon among his genuine teachers; others had pointed out his mistakes, these alone had shown him how to do better. In conclusion he begs Reich to tell the poet Wieland of one not yet man enough to fully estimate his worth, but with heart pious enough to yield to it all reverence.¹

Of all that he had himself yet written *Die Mitschuldigen*—the new draft of which, in three Acts, belongs to this winter (1769-70), and that record of penitence, *Die Laune des Verliebten*, alone pleased him; all else composed since the Leipzig *auto-da-fé* (p. 57), whether merely sketched or actually begun, he calmly gave to the flames a short time before his departure. Among these must have been several unfinished plays—some carried as far as the third or fourth Act—and many poems. Letters and miscellaneous papers too went into the fire. Only Behrisch's beautiful transcript of his poems was spared; the story that Behrisch had this buried with him is without foundation.

The best of his friends, his Leipzig comrade Horn, who was just about to graduate, went with him to Mainz, through which the diligence from Frankfurt to Strassburg passed. By Horn he had sent a last greeting to Kätchen on the 5th of March (1770). The news of her marriage, which took place two days later, severed the bond of yearning and hope which had held his thoughts to Leipzig so long.

Thus after an invalid seclusion of more than a year and a half (September 1768—April 1770), Wolfgang for the second time left home. The mad overweening spirit of youth in him had been scared back into reflection and thoughtfulness by long weariness of pain, yet it was not dulled and tamed; he saw deeper than the surface of things now, yet they had not thereby become staled and discarded; the grief of unrequited

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 77, 78.

loving had clarified and ennobled emotion, had rendered more clear and definite his desire for a pure union of souls; close intercourse with pious natures had made belief in all things high come easy to him, while his persuasion remained unweakened that each one ought to work out his own free development; busying himself with art and literature, he had effectually furthered his endeavour after the ideal and grace, but Wieland was still to him the master of these. In Strassburg, just a hundred years before it was won back to Germany, Goethe was to turn aside from the influence of that France whose capital he had desired to see; he was to be penetrated for the first time with the glow of a pure ideal love, and be consecrated as its priest; by Herder he was to be irresistibly led to the basis of all true poetry deep within the soul.

CHAPTER III

STRASSBURG.

APRIL 1770—AUGUST 1771.

NOT so joyous as four and a half years before when entering the Athens on the Pleisse, Wolfgang arrived at Franco-German Strassburg on the second Monday before Easter (April 2, 1770). Sorrow for the loss of Käthchen interwove with religious melancholy; his belief in his own poetic inspiration was gone; the world was not so bright as it had once seemed, the irritability and depression of sickness was still upon him.

He secured rather comfortable and convenient lodgings on the south of the very lively old Fish Market, in the house now No. 80; the landlord's name was Schlag. Goethe had a letter of recommendation to a pious tradesman, in whose business one of his cousins—perhaps a young Melber—was an apprentice. Through this connection many other good but dull people became known to him; his chief intercourse at first was with them, it was but of a superficial character.

We have evidence of the state of his mind in two letters to the poor theological student Limprecht, to whom alone he could turn in Leipzig, now grown so strange. The first of these letters was written on the eve of Good Friday (he wished to do a good work on this holy day); he sends to Limprecht, who, he feels sure, needs money, the enclosed louis d'ors, and begs that the letter be taken as it is written, without ceremony and with all his heart.¹ But this was not despatched until the 19th, after having received a quite unexpected letter from Limprecht on the 18th. In the letter of the 19th Wolfgang writes:—"I am changed, greatly changed, for this I thank

¹ This letter is dated *Good Friday 1770, the 12th April*. But Good Friday 1770 was the 13th of April. See *Der junge Goethe*, i. 231, 232.
—TR.

my Saviour ; I thank him too that I am not what I should be. Luther says—‘I dread my good works more than my sins.’ And while one is young one is complete in no respect. I have now been here fifteen days, and I find Strassburg not a whit better or worse than anything else I have yet seen, that is, middling enough, yet with certain aspects which, for good or bad, have power to excite, to rouse from the dull everyday condition.” It will be observed how very pietistic his tone of thinking remains.

On the same day (the new half year had just begun) he was inscribed among the university students. His tradesman had recommended the *table d’hôte* kept by the old maiden ladies named Lauth, at No. 13 in the *Krämergasse*. The president—by right of seniority—was the Licentiate Salzmann, Registrar of the Administrative Court, now in his forty-ninth year, a man of great benevolence and calm intelligence, who moved with measured pace, always in shoes and stockings, his hat under his arm, an umbrella his defence. He was greatly interested by Wolfgang, who, with characteristic trustfulness, yielded all his heart to him, and acted on the wise counsel of his rich experience. Frequent visits were paid to Salzmann in his yellow chamber with the Silenus on the chimney-piece. Salzmann explained to Wolfgang how best to prepare for the law examinations. There were no distinguished professors in the law school : you had only to amass learning sufficient for practical purposes, and to give evidence of it by passing an easy examination. Wolfgang had, at home and at Leipzig, acquired so much information that, with the aid of note-books, he could easily make himself ready. The little company of Germans who made up the *table d’hôte* spoke German mostly, and the majority of them were medical students. Goethe became intimate with a law student who had nearly completed his studies : his name was Engelbach ; he was five years older than Goethe ; he came from Buchsweiler, where his father was *Kammerdirektor*. The medical student Weyland, also from Buchsweiler, son of a doctor then dead, attracted Goethe, a year his senior, by his kindliness, his good disposition, his vivacity : he was, it is true, rather easily irritated. Salzmann had some years before founded a Literary Society, not limited to the frequenters of the *table d’hôte* ; in this Society new French and German books were procured, and on fixed days

the members read essays and held debates. Here was, of course, another object of great interest to Wolfgang. Then Secretary Salzmann had friends everywhere, and through him Wolfgang came to know many families who made him welcome, with or without his Mentor, in their town houses, or in their country places beyond the gates. As his days grew more sociable, and as his youthful spirits were repaired and strengthened by cheery open air living, so by degrees did he withdraw from the companionship of the pietistic, who, ignorant of everything but their indoctrinated creed, incapable of unfettered thinking, had become very wearisome to him.

His intellectual thirst was of course not to be satisfied by the studies of his professional school. But the Latin and Greek classics which he had brought with him remained almost unused. The books on Alchemy were not yet put away ; however he entered gladly into philosophic speculation, to which Salzmann also was inclined. In *Ephemerides* we find Moses Mendelssohn's *Phädon* compared with the *Phædo* of Plato ;¹ this belongs to the early Strassburg period.

When the Austrian Arch-Duchess, Marie Antoinette, the betrothed of the Dauphin, journeying to Paris, entered Strassburg on the 7th of May (1770), Wolfgang hastily threw off a satirical poem in French.² A Frenchman of his acquaintance criticised with great severity his verse and his choice of language, and, so far as Goethe himself remembered, this was his last attempt to compose poetry in French. Indeed about this time we find as little done in German verse-making as in landscape sketching. He was differently employed. There was so much dancing in and about Strassburg, that he, having neglected the art in Leipzig, had to get lessons ; his master was a Frenchman, the celebrated Sauveur. With the help of his two daughters Sauveur soon made Wolfgang a good dancer. The love story which is connected with these dancing lessons

¹ Schöll : *Briefe und Aufsätze*, S. 89 *et seq.*—TR.

² He satirised the order which forbade the presence of deformed, or lame, or blind persons, on the route of the Arch-Duchess. These were, said Goethe, precisely the people that Christ desired to see around him. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ix. Buch. See also in this context the extraordinary effect produced on Goethe by the horrible subjects of the pictures which decorated the chief hall of the pavilion erected to receive the young bride ; the history of Jason was portrayed in them. In the less important apartments were copies of Raphael's cartoons.—TR.

is well known from Goethe's charming but probably freely heightened account.¹

Very late in the half year came a third native of Buchsweiler to Strassburg and to the *table d'hôte*. The theological student, Franz Christian Lersé, six weeks older than Goethe, matriculated on the 8th of June (1770). He was remarkable for calm prudence, for clear decision, for exactness and love of order; he was kindly and true-hearted, with plenty of dry humour. In all that furthered the cultivation of intellect and of heart he earnestly sympathised. Goethe and he became fast friends.

In the early midsummer holidays (1770), setting out on June 23, Goethe rode with his friend Weyland to Saarbrücken. There Weyland's half sister lived, wife of the *Regierungsrath* Schöll, and at the house of Privy *Regierungs- und Kammerpräsident* von Günderode, Goethe could reckon on a friendly reception, for Frau Günderode was daughter of von Stalburg, a Sheriff of Frankfurt. Engelbach went with our travellers as far as Buchsweiler, where they stopped a night. Evening of June 26 saw them ride into Saarbrücken, where they were most hospitably entertained for three days, and were received in the best society of the place. On the 27th, a rainy day, Wolfgang felt impelled to write to some girl friend in Frankfurt. He speaks the praise of a light, unshackled heart, which gives us courage to woo great joys, while to be in love makes us timid and weak; love is an emotion which lulls us into inactivity, one's heart floats in it, always confined to one charmed spot, though restless and unappeased. "Tell my Fränzchen" (Franziska Crespel), he playfully writes, "that I am now as ever hers. She is very dear to me, and I was often provoked that she teased me so little; one likes to feel one's fetters when in love."² In the happy mood of this summer ride he wrote at Saarbrücken the love song, "*Wo bist du itzt mein unvergesslich Mädchen?*" in which the lover calls his beloved to return, for all her absence has been rainy weather.³

Numerous and varied conversations about the enterprises of the late Prince gave Wolfgang his first insight into the significance of mountain districts considered as human

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ix. Buch. (the concluding pages).—TR.

² This letter will be found, *Der junge Goethe*, i. 255.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 265, *Als ich in Saarbrücken*.—TR.

property. On their home journey our travellers saw several machine factories, an alum manufactory, the Duttweiler coal-mine, a mountain mine on fire, the resin manufactory at Sulzbach, and the glass manufactories of Friedrichsthal. At Neukirch, where they stopped a night, Wolfgang without companion visited at a late hour the lonely hunting-seat on the hill; there he sat long deep in thought. Any opportunity of subduing by the awful impressions of gloom and loneliness the nervousness which still lingered within him was welcome. Next day their way, leaving Bitsch to the left, led them through the large wild scenery of the Bärenthal. Here Wolfgang was much interested by the general good report of Baron von Dietrich, as one who by developing the mining resources of the country largely benefited men. But of yet more significance was a visit to Niederbronn. Here the spirit of the old Roman Age revealed itself amid strange circumstance to his intelligence; for in the familiar bustle of rude farm-yards he found broken antique pillars; sacrificial altars with their bas-reliefs and inscriptions; and Roman vessels of many kinds. The *Wasenburg* between Niederbronn and Oberbronn, built on a hill—its foundation Roman ruins—was not left unvisited; Goethe here read an inscription of dedication to Mercury.¹

Soon after his return from the Lothringen journey, he went (July 1770) to see a place still held in great veneration, where, in the basement story of a Roman castle, a Duke's daughter was said to have found a place of refuge from the persecution of a cruel father: "with a hundred, ay, a thousand of the faithful" he made the pilgrimage to the *Odilienberg*, near Baar. The eight-day devotion in memory of the elevation of the bones of the Saint falls in the first half of July. Not far from the chapel you are shown St. Odilie's Well. Goethe also went to see the convent *Hohenburg*, said to have been founded by Odilie, where you can see her likeness in nun's garb. The memory of the Saint impressed the poet so vividly, that nearly forty years later it hovered before him when delineating the pure, almost supernatural sufferer of the *Wahlverwandtschaften*.²

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, x. Buch.—TR.

² *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xi. Buch. So Franz in *Götz von Berlichingen* is named after Franz Lerse.—TR.

Amid all his temporal enjoyments and gaieties, amid all his earnest endeavour after wider knowledge and experience, the pietistic mode of thinking was not yet disused; he even employs the pietistic phraseology. On the 28th of July (1770), he begs his friend Trapp to pardon his discourteous silence; his unfixed life has prevented him from answering Trapp's letter. "I am living I may say for each day as it comes" he writes, "and I thank God, and often his Son when I can, that I am so circumstanced as to seem enjoined to this mode of living. . . . There was once a time when the world seemed to me as full of thorns as it now does to you. The Heavenly Physician has renewed the flame of life in my body, and I have joy and courage again." Love-likings, those "unripe stirrings of our heart," he calls fools which lead us by the nose. He declares that wise reflections are light wares, but prayer is a profitable trade;—"a single uplifting of the heart in the name of Him whom we call Lord, until we are able to call Him *Our* Lord," will load us with countless benefits.¹

As the Law Examination drew near he had to work harder at his professional studies. Though it was only needful that he should prepare himself to answer questions of the usual difficulty and scope—in which task the note-books lent him by Engelbach were of great service, he could not rest satisfied with this: he was impelled to closer study of many points. So we understand him when he says, writing on the 26th of August (1770), to his dear Klettenberg, that Jurisprudence is beginning to give him much pleasure; he, however, adds the confession that *die Chymie* is still his secret beloved. When he adds:—"Still, you see, the featherbrain (*Geck*) of old times! the——" (the rest of the letter is lost) he is thinking of the many-sided activity which had grown second nature to him. His letter so long due had been at last prompted by a special occasion; that morning he had gone with the Christian community to celebrate our Lord's sufferings and death. As to his condition he observes:—"The many men whom I see, the many incidents which fall across my path, supply me experiences and knowledge of which I had not dreamed. For the rest I am just well enough to support a moderate and needful amount of labour,

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 235-7.—TR.

yet to be reminded at times that neither in body nor soul am I a giant." So little as yet had the old strength returned; his health was precarious. And so far is he now from overweening confidence in his own strength that, referring to his birthday, the day after the morrow, he begs his friend to pray for him, that all may be as it should be. Yet he mentions too the opinion of Salzmann, who with his cold-blooded way of looking at the world, believed himself to have found:—"That we are placed in this world specially in order to be useful to it; that we can make ourselves fit for this destination, in which task Religion will also be found of some service."¹

Soon after this he passed the examination in law, and immediately began to work at his Doctor's Disputation;² probably he intended to take his degree at the close of the winter half-year of 1770, but various influences were to prevent the speedy realisation of any such plan.

One of the many good things which befell our poet during his long life was his meeting with Herder in Strassburg. Herder was born in 1744, at Mohrungen, a town of East Prussia, of poor parents. He had fought his way up from poverty to distinction; he had tasted much bitterness; and now was about to spend a passionate and restless six months in Strassburg, his excitable nature stirred to the depths. He had sat at the feet of Kant in Königsberg; he had imbibed the philosophy of Hamann also; at Riga he had worked with admirable result as a minister and as a teacher in the Cathedral School (1764-1769). While there he had made himself well known with his *Fragmente zur deutschen Literatur* and his *Kritische Wälder*, though they had been published without his name. But, alas! the malignity with which Klotz and his followers had tried to undermine the position of the bold inquirer had hurried him away to assert that he had no part in these writings. By this frantic act he made his position quite untenable, for the untruthfulness of his assertion was plain as day; so he made up his mind to disappear from ken of German eyes. He went to France by sea (June 1769), landing at Nantes. He spent some time there, and then two

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 239-241.—TR.

² See Goethe to Engelbach, September 10, 1770. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 242.—TR.

months in Paris, in acquiring knowledge of the language, the literature, and the people, and in developing his mental culture on all sides. Then he felt a mission to be the Reformer of Livonia; he cursed such authorship as his had been hitherto; he vowed in future to write nothing which would not add to the stock of thought amassed by the human race. Then, however, he had responded to the advantageous offer of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp; had actually set out from Kiel (July 1770) as chaplain and conductor of the delicate young Prince of Holstein on a tour to Italy. In Darmstadt, at Merck's house, he met and loved the portionless Caroline



FIG. 9. Herder and Caroline Flachsland; portraits taken at the same period. From *Johann Gottfried von Herder's Lebensbild*; Herausgegeben von seinem Sohne.

Flachsland; and to make a home for her he accepted the post of Counsellor of the Consistory and Head Chaplain to Count William of Bükeburg. In Strassburg, where he arrived on the 5th of September (1770), he intended to gain as speedy a release as possible from the tutorship, which had become so little accordant with his plans, and to get surgical treatment for a lachrymal fistula, which was a weary disfigurement and burden. While he, in great anxiety, was awaiting day by day formal appointment to his new post, Wolfgang met him by chance at the foot of the steps of the inn *Zum Geist*, which they were both about to enter. Wolf-

gang knew Herder only by his *Kritische Wälder*, and, so far as the first part was concerned, he sided with Lessing, whose views are there combated. He already knew of Herder's arrival, and was prepared for his somewhat remarkable, though, on the whole, pleasing appearance. So in the stranger clergyman with the high *toupé* and the black silk cloak carelessly gathered and shoved into a pocket, coal-black eyes full of power, and a winning expression on his somewhat pouting mouth, he immediately recognised the celebrated newcomer. Wolfgang's reverential accosting was met by Herder with gentle friendliness; it must indeed have been very welcome to him, with his "thirst and weariness of soul," and his dislike of Strassburg. They got on into free, earnest talk, so much was Herder interested; and the youth took courage, and asked leave to call. (This first meeting cannot have taken place later than the 12th of September; for on that day Herder left the inn to live at the Prince's. On the 20th he told the Prince of his resolve to leave.) Herder accepted kindly the open trustfulness and respect which Goethe showed, and being then in an agitated and tender mood he revealed the sunny side of his nature. Thus Wolfgang became more and more devoted to this new friend, who stood so high above him in experience and judgment, illuminating by flashing glances many things which had been obscure. If, as *Dichtung und Wahrheit* relates, he showed Herder *Die Mitschuldigen* without getting rebuked, it must have been in this first period, before Herder's "*repellent pulse*" ("*abstossender Puls*") had returned.

A month after this meeting with Herder began that acquaintance with the Brion household, in which Goethe's heart was so deeply stirred. Pastor Johann Jakob Brion of Sessenheim¹ was of Strassburg origin, and belonged to the Lutheran Evangelical Church. The little hamlet Sessenheim, girt round with pleasant orchards, stands about five minutes' walk back from the great highroad between Strassburg and Mainz, not far from the village of Drusenheim. The parsonage was a simple unpretentious building, which had already done service for two centuries. Pastor Brion, its present occupant, was in

¹ This spelling was that current in Goethe's time. The name, of which there is very early mention, had originally but one *s* in the middle; the duplication marks that the preceding vowel is short.—DÜNTZER.

his fifty-fourth year, a man of strict orthodoxy, very kindly and hospitable withal. He had the spiritual charge of six parishes. Wolfgang owed his introduction to his friend Weyland, whose half-sister was married to the brother of the pastor's wife. The "*Frau Pfarrerin*," Magdalena Salomea, now forty-six years of age, was, like her husband, of Strassburg origin; her maiden name was Schöll; and the brother just mentioned was the *Regierungsrath* Schöll whom we have already met in Saarbrücken. The eldest daughter of the Brion family was the wife of a pastor in Baden; in the



FIG. 10. The Parsonage of Sessenheim in 1770. From the monograph of Ph. F. Lucius; *Friederike Brion von Sessenheim*.

parental home, beside a boy, Christian, seven years of age, were still three daughters—Maria Salomea, who was only a few days younger than Wolfgang; Friederike Elisabetha, who was eighteen or nineteen; and Jakobe Sophia, who was about four years younger than Friederike. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* there is a wonderfully fresh and vivid account of the impression—doubtless idealised in the poet's memory—which the light slender Friederike made. Bright blue eyes, a delicate small face, her pretty nose, tip-tilted, made saucy inquiry of the air, a neck that seemed too slight for the dark-gold masses borne on the dainty little head, a charming German

costume which well became her—with such charms did Friederike—they called her Riekchen—present herself before Wolfgang, whose passionate heart of youth she was to fill for the first time with the deep throbbings of an ideal love.

The delicacy of chest from which she suffered escaped Wolfgang's knowledge at this time; she went and came so fast in almost bird-like flights without losing breath, he thought her parents' anxiety about her excessive. Her more robust elder sister, solidly prudent and decided, presented a contrast which heightened the loveliness of her refined, tender, ardent presence. She stood charmingly on the boundary which divides the girl of country life from the girl of city life.

Two letters remain to us which relate to that first visit to Sessenheim, the free poetic rendering of which, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, is so instinct with imperishable breath. To a girl, probably the friend to whom he almost four months ago wrote from Saarbrücken extolling the fortune of having a light free heart, he writes on the day after his return from Sessenheim—the 14th of October (1770):—"I have never had such vivid experience of what it is to be merry without the heart having any share in it, as at present, as here in Strassburg. An acquaintance widely extended among nice people, a lively cheery society chases day after day away, leaves me little time for thinking, and none at all of the calm needful for feeling, and when one is not feeling one's friends are certainly not in mind. To sum up: my present life is exactly like a sleigh-ride, plenty of brilliance and bell-tinkle, but just as little for the heart as there is much for the eye and ear." Why he now writes he does not, indeed, plainly confess:—"I have been spending some days (*einige Tage*) in the country among very charming people. The society of the amiable daughters of the house, the fair country scenery, and the kindest autumn weather, awoke in my heart every emotion that had fallen asleep, every memory of what I love."¹

Next day (October 15, 1770) he must write to Friederike herself, venturing to address her as "dear new friend," since at first glance his eyes read in her eyes that there was hope

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 243-5. An Mamsell F. Immediately after the point at which the above quotation stops is this chronologically important sentence:—"dass ich kaum angelangt bin als ich schon hier sitze und an Sie schreibe." October 14, 1770, was a Sunday.—TR.

of friendship between them, and for their hearts he would answer. What exactly he would write to his "dear dear friend" he does not know; but he notes by a certain inward unrest that he longs to be with her. At farewell she must have seen how sad was parting to him:—"You would not believe that the city bustle, contrasted with your sweet country joys, would be distasteful. Yet in truth, Mamsell, Strassburg never seemed so vacant as it does now. I hope indeed for better days, when time has a little dimmed the remembrance of our dainty and humorous merrymakings, when I no longer feel so vividly how sweet and good my new friend is. Yet could I, or would I, forget that. No, I will rather keep my slight heartache and write to you often. And now many thanks, and many sincere remembrances to your parents. To your dear sister many hundred——what I would gladly give you again."¹ We have only the sketch of this letter; for none of the many which he afterwards wrote to Sessenheim was a preliminary sketch needful! These letters are lost to us. Friederike's elder sister, in chagrin, burnt them all at a later time.

Meanwhile many new-comers joined the Lauth *table d'hôte*, the number of those who surrounded the table rose from a dozen to about twenty. Among these new-comers was Heinrich Jung, called Stilling, who entered the University on the 18th of September (1770). Jung was now thirty years of age, and his fortunes had been remarkable. Charcoal-burner, tailor, tutor, schoolmaster, help in a business establishment in turn, it was at last revealed to him that his Heavenly Father had been preparing him for the study of medicine by sharp and weary trial from his youth up. After six years' endeavour to learn all that medical books could teach, he at length made up his mind to enter a regular medical school—and this brought him to Strassburg—though he had no means, and had betrothed himself to a girl poor as himself; his support was in the motto *Jehovah jireh*—the Lord will provide. And he was not put to shame for having thus made God his paymaster. Wolfgang felt a sincere sympathy with this earnest man whom it was so easy to make fun of; he won Jung's heart completely by the noble decision with which he brushed away the cheap ridicule which a witling made of Jung's wig. Such a sincere

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 245-247.

belief in miracles, such a direct reference always to God as the pole-star of life, were met by Wolfgang with that respect which he already gave to like peculiarities in Fräulein Klettenberg and other pious friends; from whom, indeed, at this time he was not far removed. Jung's earnestness won Wolfgang, and in their scientific aspirations they found many points of union, for just at this time Wolfgang was about to widen his field of knowledge by attending lectures in natural science and medicine. Thus he went with Jung to the elder Spielmann's chemistry class, and to Lobstein's anatomy class; he heard Ehrmann's clinical lectures, and even studied midwifery under the younger Ehrmann, not being deterred by the high fee of six new louis d'ors. And another fostering cause of his intimacy with Jung was their fellowship in attendance in Herder's sick-chamber.

Since we last saw Herder he had taken new lodgings, the prince having departed; and in these lodgings his next room neighbour was a Russian medical student,¹ cousin of a Riga acquaintance. This Russian (who matriculated on November 13) stood faithfully by Herder in the operation, and during the weary after-time of suffering. The operation—the bone of the nose had to be drilled—was performed on October 21 (1770); a painful treatment followed, involving long confinement to the sick-room, and alas! the hoped-for result did not take place. During this dreary time Herder was to be seen by hardly any one but his Russian, Wolfgang, who came every morning and evening, and Jung. That all these, but especially Wolfgang, who revealed his feelings and enthusiasms so unreservedly, often suffered a good deal from Herder's easily roused bitterness, was a matter of course. But Wolfgang felt the extraordinary value of that deep insight, of that comprehensive knowledge, and aspired to turn these things to account for his own mental enlargement; nor could it escape his notice that Herder, scold as he might, did yet estimate the gifts of his young friend at a high rate. Thus was he enabled to endure.

At this time, beside researches on the First Book of Moses which led deep into the History of the East, Herder's chief preoccupations were Shakespeare, Ossian, the Psalms, and Klopstock; and in the main these were the subjects of his

¹ Named Peglow.—TR.

conversation. So soon, however, as he was in any degree fit for original work, he with speed completed his long prepared Prize Essay on the Origin of Language, which had to be sent to Berlin before the close of the year. Goethe, reading it in manuscript, learned a great deal, for he had not yet thought on the question with which it dealt. The proposition which Herder works out to such irresistible demonstration, that God had not been a direct teacher of language in paradise, but rather had given to man the powers by which he might develop a language, this proposition thoroughly fell in with Wolfgang's view that the growth of all things was according to natural laws. He talked with unreserved animation on this subject, and indeed on all that came uppermost, not escaping frequent sharp sarcastic correction. Herder was especially fond of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, which he perused again and again; the German version he would read aloud to his friends in the easy quiet way peculiar to him, from which every trace of declamatory fervour was banished. Even here his bitter remarks found occasion, now in the outbreaks of feeling of the listeners, now in their want of acuteness as to the course of the story or its beauty. Wolfgang was the more captivated by the *Vicar* because the family in it reminded him forcibly of his Sessenheim friends.

The correspondence with Friederike meanwhile briskly ran its course; probably there were often little gifts, and *perhaps* another visit. There was a letter in December 1770 to friend Horn, which Goethe himself thought worthy of preservation. Here, according to Eckermann's account,¹ are already traces of *Werther*; the Sessenheim relation is accomplished, the happy youth seems to be lulled in a delirium of the sweetest emotions, loitering away his days as in a dream; the perfect content of the happiness is indicated even in the smooth neat and elegant handwriting. Two little poems, which have been preserved, are addressed to the two sisters, and refer—one to a visit soon to be paid despite the harshness of winter,² another to an evening ride from Sessenheim, performing the commission of the girls.³

¹ Eckermann, April 11, 1829.—Tr.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 266. — "Ich komme bald, ihr goldnen Kinder."—Tr.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 263. — "Nun sitzt der Ritter an dem Ort, Den ihr ihm nanntet liebe Kinder."—Tr.

He probably visited the parsonage at Christmas, and probably he then gave Friederike the book of songs which he made by putting his own words to well-known airs.

In the beginning of the year 1771 Herder's discontent at the absence of the promised result of the operation reached such a pitch that "he began to stamp" (*zu pochen anfang*). He applied to the most famous surgeon in Strassburg, Busch, whose operations seemed at first successful; but at the beginning of spring it appeared that "after all pains, expenses, exhaustions, negligences, uneasiness, and mortifications,"¹ the treatment had failed, all hope was gone, nay, perhaps dangerous consequences were to be feared. If in this sad time Herder's letters to his bride even were cold and "discordant," how much must Wolfgang and Jung have suffered, the constant eye-witnesses of his dreadful need! But they steadfastly endured the fretfulness, the bitterness, the contemptuous ridicule of the man whom they revered and pitied, from whose mind such store of living thoughts, of penetrating insight, of rich knowledge, was lavishly poured. The story of the human race which tells of all nations—what each might have been, what destiny each has actually had, how each has found a happiness after its own fashion, and at the same time how the nations, following one on other, have in turn taken up and continued the great progressive development of humanity—how radiant clear did Herder make this! It was a special pleasure to him to speak his thoughts on plastic art, which he considered the art for the sense of touch, as opposed to painting, the art for the sight. Goethe remembered at a later time that he often said that sight was everything with Goethe. In poetry Herder condemned all elaboration, and accordingly Wolfgang's favourite Ovid fared ill; the Greeks he set above all others, and among them the greatness of Homer. He said indeed, later, that with Goethe beginning his study of Homer in Strassburg, Homer's heroes seemed all conceived as beautiful great storks freely wading about; he still thinks of Goethe when he comes on one of those excellent passages where the Father of Poetry peeps over his lyre and smiles in his venerable beard. As the greatest Poet of the North Shakespeare was extolled; his dramas are leaves from the Book of Events—of Providence—

¹ From a letter of Herder's to Caroline Flachsland, spring 1771.—Tr.

of the World—fluttering across the storm of Time. In front of Shakespeare's picture he often embraced the poet-lad, into whom he, as it were, desired to transfuse his whole admiration of one, who, spurning all the lumber of dramatic rules, unities, and such like, sets man and nature before us with large and generous portrayal. The strange old world of Ossian too Herder revealed to the younger friend, teaching him to recognise the powerful popular spirit which breathes in this poet. He pointed out with enthusiasm that the gold of genuine poesy is the general dower of the human spirit; is to be found—not in the old Scottish ballad alone—in the popular song of every country, not excluding even Lapland; and he would then urge Wolfgang to search out what might still live among the peasants of Elsass. Among modern literatures he especially loved English: Sterne, Swift, Richardson, and Fielding, were his favourite English authors. In French Literature he could, on the other hand, see nothing but decline—the feebleness of old age; even Rousseau with all his greatness was yet the Frenchman, intent on seeming; of all French books he most abhorred the *Système de la nature*.

These remarks on France had the more weight with Wolfgang, as Herder, made for the thorough comprehension of a national character, had himself been in France, and knew personally many of her living men of name. That in Strassburg Goethe so decidedly turned away from the power of France has for most essential cause the influence of Herder; though indeed the idle pride and haughtiness of *La grande nation*—there were plentiful instances in Strassburg—contributed to the same result.

In German Literature, beside Klopstock, Herder esteemed above all Gessner; but he did not deny Winckelmann, Lessing, Wieland, Gleim, Gerstenberg, and others. Wolfgang's own efforts found little favour with him, and so the young poet grew guarded in his confidences on that head.

He indeed kept secret from Herder many other things; his dabbings in alchemy, his mystic piety, his collection of seals, and of course, especially secret, his love for Friederike. For every little weakness that emerged in social intercourse Herder had his small stinging arrow of sarcasm; he ridiculed Wolfgang's hobbies, and would not let pass uncorrected any extravagant or groundless piece of criticism. Though Wolf-

gang knew to divide the just blame from the bitterness of a sick mind, yet he probably did not always good-humouredly swallow the dose. When about the close of this year (1771) Herder had given a public chastisement to a voluminous book-maker of the day, Wolfgang wrote quite frankly that though the scribbler's chastisement had given him pleasure it was pleasure mingled with the hound's reminiscence of old floggings; old wales had itched, as do recently healed wounds when the weather changes.¹ Such cruel harshness would have overcome the most enduring patience, had not Herder at times put it off for very loveable moods. In this memorable friendship the direction of Wolfgang's thoughts acquired a bent altogether new, though quite accordant with his nature; even in Herder's handwriting he felt a certain magic power.

With Salzmann, and with those younger friends, Wolfgang meanwhile kept up a constant and animated intercourse, and there was no lack of social amusements. The concerts were a great pleasure. During the Strassburg period he learned to play the violoncello; Salzmann loved music, and one of his *table d'hôte* associates, the somewhat devil-may-care and mocking medical student Meyer, was enthusiastic about music and song, even wrote a comic opera. There were in Strassburg two theatres; one French, one German. At the former Wolfgang saw at this time—if not earlier, in spring or in summer—the actor Aufresne, who with great success strove after the highest truth and genuine nature in his playing of tragedy; and thus having broken with the dramatic art, as delivered to that age by the age of the classic writers, he found that Paris would not accept him more; he must go to foreign places for acknowledgment. Wolfgang had the delight of witnessing several important performances of the great actor. That Aufresne had met with such opposition in Paris, was a fresh proof how little nature and truth were valued in France.

Beside natural science, and medicine, we find him studying the antiquities of Elsass, to which Niederbronn first prompted him. Schöpflin's *Alsatia illustrata* led him to Oberlin's description of the Museum Schoepflinianum, and to this museum itself; he was allowed by Professors Oberlin and Koch—both friends of Salzmann—to visit it again and again. The endeavours of these two men to win him for Strassburg

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 302-4.—TR.

and the French service must have at least begun at this time. But they were unsuccessful. Herder's earnestly expressed conviction of the decadence of French literature; French political discord so often forced on one's notice—a discord which made German affairs seem at least tolerable; Goethe's own steadfast desire for wider culture, and for a poetic activity possible only in his mother-tongue; last, his love for his German Fatherland—all contributed to make him put away the tempting offer; even the prospect, did he accept, of being summoned to the German Office at Versailles overcame him not. Another matter which must have occupied his attention at this time was the Disputation needful for his Doctor's degree. He had at length made up his mind to maintain the thesis that the State is not merely justified in fixing a form of religion to which all must adhere, but bound to do so.

Through all this manifold activity, all this eager and stirring course of life, wound the golden thread of his Sessenheim love. It was a bliss to which he had yet been strange; for Käthchen's bright personality had possessed rather his fancy than his soul, and that while he was yet unripened. Then Käthchen had given him up, and he clung to her with a sort of love-sick obstinacy; while here the clear voice of like soul yearning after like soul guided him along. During the first three months of the new year (1771) the correspondence continued to grow constantly more affectionate. Wolfgang probably also visited the parsonage once. It is highly probable that he went at Easter (31st March); in that neighbourhood Easter Monday was marked by great family gatherings. Probably then this Easter Monday witnessed that merrymaking at which Wolfgang "won Friederike's heart in play,"¹ and kissed her for the first time. At her kiss he thrilled with the glowing certainty that she loved him; but it seems as if even then there arose within him the foreboding of his possible faithlessness: for in verses written immediately after, he begs Destiny to let him be to-morrow of the same mind as he is

¹ "Jetzt fühlt der Engel was ich fühle,
Ihr Herz gewann ich mir beim Spiele,
Und sie ist nun von Herzen mein.
Du gabst mir, Schicksal, diese Freude,
Nun lass auch Morgen seyn wie Heute,
Und lehr' mich ihrer würdig seyn."

Der junge Goethe, i. 263.—TR.

to-day, and to teach him to be worthy of her.¹ It remains uncertain whether this was the day on which the tablet with the names of the family and the guests was hung up on one of the four beautiful beeches in the little wood called "Grove of Nightingales" (*Nachtigallenwäldel*). On this tablet Goethe set his own name last, and wrote in verse his desire that if any name is to grow marred it may be his own.² These lines Friederike's sister Sophie knew by heart so late as 1835.

Immediately after Easter (1771) Herder left for Bückeburg. Whether Wolfgang returned to Strassburg to say good-bye, or stayed in Sessenheim for the pastor's birthday, April 10th, we do not know. Shortly after, probably, falls that visit of the *Pastorin* with her two daughters to Strassburg relatives, of which there is a full account in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Friederike and Wolfgang went together on walks in the neighbourhood, during one of which he cut their names on a tree. After her departure for home he felt extremely unhappy; especially because in her leave-taking her girl-friends had seemed of more account than he.

When Herder was gone Jung pressed more close than ever to Wolfgang, who made him know Shakespeare, Ossian, Sterne and Fielding, and induced him to go to the theatre on the 9th of May, when Frau Abt played Julie in Weisse's *Romeo und Julie*, in which part Wolfgang had seen Caroline Schulze at Leipzig. Soon after Jung had to be comforted about an unsuccessful literary endeavour of his—so we learn from one of Goethe's letters to Herder, the date of which is fixed by a reference in it to the *Julie*.³ Jung was thrown into painful anxiety by news which came on the 14th that his betrothed was seriously ill. How sympathising Wolfgang was at this time; how he packed his friend's valise, and

¹ See the lines just quoted.—TR.

² "Dem Himmel wach's entgegen
Der Baum, der Erde Stolz.
Ihr Wetter, Stürm' und Regen,
Verschont das heil'ge Holz!

Und soll ein Name verderben
So nehmt die obern in Acht!
Es mag der Dichter sterben,
Der diesen Reim gemacht.

Der junge Goethe, i. 270.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 257.—TR.

procured him travelling necessities, and had them taken to the Rhine boat, finally parting with tears, Jung himself has told us!

Before Whitsuntide (the 19th of May 1771) Wolfgang—just then troubled with a cough—went to Sessenheim, whence he had had word that Friederike was ill. He found her still poorly; but could not help promising to the elder sister to go with her to a dance on Whit Monday. From two in the afternoon until midnight he danced almost without interval with her. “I forgot my feverishness,” he writes to Salzmann; “and since then it has been really better. You should have been a looker-on at least; the whole Me sunk in dancing.”¹

He found himself detained in Sessenheim longer than he had intended, as he could not leave the invalid. He had already perceived how great a mischief he was to be cause of, having roused in Friederike’s soul desires and claims which he could never satisfy. If he had at first quite abandoned himself to the sweet ecstasy of loving her, he now had wakened from his dream of delight to survey the matter with cold and deliberate prudence; he saw that he must renounce his beloved in order to save his own happiness—and with it hers—from shipwreck. Already, when he saw Friederike in the city, he had been compelled to acknowledge that she seemed out of her place; now he was forced on the thought that, should his father accept this rustic daughter-in-law—a most unlikely thing—she would in the dignified austere Frankfurt home but lead a life of constraint and unhappiness. This being granted, he must, in order to make her happy, leave his father and set up on his own account. But how was he to do this? he had never regarded law as more than a secondary episodic part of the business of life; he had never thought of earning his bread by it; his serious endeavour had always been to further his own development and his creative literary activity. And like a warning wraith to dissuade him from such a course, arose the thought of all his good father’s plans slain by his cruel indifference. In this strait, to which his heedlessness had brought him, he gave up the happiness of his heart to save his intellectual development—ininitely painful as it was to sacrifice with his own happiness that of the tender sick girl who loved him, and who, he felt, could never belong to any

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 252-3.—TR.

other. It was a hard struggle. From the first there was no doubt of the issue; but still it was hard. Eight years later, Goethe told Frau von Stein that Friederike had loved him more beautifully than he had deserved;¹ which reminds us of his observation elsewhere that women love more beautifully than men. While the former listen only to the voice of the heart, man is actuated by the impulse to gain free development, to protect his full unmutilated life. Twenty years later, Goethe makes the Princess complain to Tasso:—

“Wir sind von keinem Männerherzen sicher
Das noch so warm sich einmal uns ergab.”²

Wolfgang with bleeding heart gave up Friederike that he might not lose himself. It was his first great renunciation—in truth a tragic one; for one of the noblest women—one worthy of the highest happiness—was almost heart-broken by it.

From four letters to Salzmann still preserved we learn about this stay at Sessenheim, which lasted more than four weeks. “For the honour of our Lord God I do not leave this place just at present,” he writes in the second week after Whitsuntide. It is impossible to leave his beloved in her illness, however dreary and bitter staying has become. “The atmosphere of the place is not very clear, the little one continues sadly ill, and that makes everything seem awry. Not to forget the *conscia mens*, and alas! Not *recti*, which plagues me. Yet there is ever land.” He finds, at any rate, a certain calm in seeing Friederike, while were he far from her his mind would be tossing in uneasy care. Then he begs Salzmann to send him a couple of pounds of sweets, which will make sweet mouths, sweeter than the faces around have been for some time.³ On June 5 he writes:—“Here I am tight and fast; ⁴ my cough continues; I am indeed pretty well in other respects, still one is but half alive when unable to fetch one’s breath. And yet I will not go to town. The exercise and fresh air do one good as far as anything does good, not to reckon——” Here he breaks off, not venturing to name the real cause of his

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein: Emmendingen; Tuesday, 28th September 1779.—Tr.

² Tasso, ii. i.—Tr.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 252.—Tr.

⁴ “Hier sitz ich zwischen Thür und Angel”—“Here I sit between door and hinge.” *Der junge Goethe*, i. 253.—Tr.

detention. "The world is so fair! so fair!" he goes on, "could one but enjoy it! I am often peevish when I think of this, and often deliver to myself most edifying discourses on the *to-day*, on that doctrine" (the *Carpe diem* doctrine), "so indispensable for our happiness, yet which many a professor of ethics never grasped, and which none expounds well." It was a dreary pursuit of shadows this life that he for more than four weeks led in Sessenheim; an expiation, as it were, of his former careless walking. Where now was the glad rapture which once at Friederike's side had lifted him to heaven? If he had not yet distinctly said that his return home was to put an end to the alliance, his silence as to any prospect of marriage spoke as effectively as the restraint which he now put on his manner. It might well seem strange to the Sessenheim folk, and to the friendly callers at the parsonage, that the young student should stay so long, and still nothing said of marriage; that his health needed the country air was but a lame excuse.

Meanwhile Wolfgang provided many kinds of entertainment, and made himself useful in general. Thus he painted the pastor's coach, which old friend, eight years after, he found still in existence,¹ he cobbled (*künstelte*) many things with the help of a neighbour, and the plan of a rebuilt parsonage belongs to this period. He was on friendly terms with the villagers. He is said to have amused himself by learning basket-weaving at this time. In fact he busied himself in all sorts of ways, probably with his Dissertation among the rest. He diligently read Homer in the edition which Herder recommended; he was at last able to get on almost wholly without a translation (that which he used being the Latin one in Clarke's edition). As afterwards he used to read Homer aloud in free extempore rendering to his sister, so did he now read to the Sessenheim sisters—sometimes to Friederike alone—especially the most powerful passages. He translated Ossian's affecting *Songs of Selma*, which he read with a fervour which spoke his own pain, then giving his translation to Friederike. He also gave her a copy of *Die Mitschuldigen*. In her song album he wrote a great deal. He hunted after what fragments of native song might still linger in Sessenheim and the region around. Whether Friederike herself sang any

¹ See the letter to Frau von Stein indicated above.—TR.

such remains a matter of doubt. When she at last got well there were many excursions and walks by her side in the lovely country, then very lovely indeed through the continuance of fair weather. On one fine morning he spoke in an exquisite song his impatience that Friederike, after having promised to go to the Grove of Nightingales with him, now kept him waiting over long.¹

From Strassburg, meanwhile, came from Salzmann and others calls to return, nor can he have failed to get from home many exhortations to proceed with the business of the degree. But it was hard to leave the spot where lived she who was dearest in the world to him, who through him had become so happy, and now was to have that happiness shattered. Even at the end of the fourth week, about the 15th of June (1771), he cannot man himself to the needful resolve. "I am coming, or I am not coming, or—I will know all about it better when it is done than now," he writes to Salzmann in extremest agitation. "Rain without and rain within, and the rude winds of evening rattle in the vine leaves round the window, and my *animula vagula*" (my poor wavering soul), "is like the weather-cock yonder on the church tower; 'turn again and turn again,' so the day wears; though 'bow thyself and stretch thyself'" (calmer movements) "have been long quite out of use." Then he adds mockingly that should he grow girl-natured and forget his stops it will not seem at all strange. His deep regret that he could not lead the chosen of his heart to his father's house speaks in the emotional close:—"God guard for me my dear parents, God guard my dear sister, God guard my dear Notary, and all kind hearts. Amen!"² May one guess that a warning word had been spoken by his sister, who might have heard through Horn of his Sessenheim love, and have put before him the consequences of such a union. Not long after, perhaps on the 18th June (1771), he begs Salzmann to give the female bearer of his letter a louis d'or; he is stuck fast in Sessenheim for want of money, not having provided for such a long stay. Even yet he cannot leave the dear circle, however sternly he wills it. "What can willing it do when opposed to the faces I see around. The state of my heart is strange, and my health halts after its old

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 261. "Erwache Friederike."—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 249-50.—TR.

fashion through the world, which is lovelier than I have seen it for a long time. The most charming country, people who love me, a round of joys." Thus he sees all the dreams of his youth fulfilled, but he is not one hair's-breadth happier. "The appendix! the appendix! with which destiny always supplements our good things!"¹ The appendix is, of course, the torturing consciousness that he must renounce his heart's desire, and destroy the happiness of Friederike. Immediately after this, perhaps on the 20th, just before the midsummer holidays, he tore himself away.

Into Strassburg just then pressed—his head full of intrigues and wild fancies, not without considerable poetic gift—the Livonian, Jakob Lenz, about a year and a half younger than Wolfgang. Desiring to see the world, and to play his part, he had defied the will of his relatives and joined himself to the two eldest sons of a nobleman of Courland, a Herr von Kleist, who wished to take military service in Elsass; they gave Lenz free bed and board and occasional presents, but no fixed income. Through the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* he had become intimate with Salzmann, and being a good listener had been told of the love distraction of Goethe, now so long detained in Sessenheim. To Lenz nothing could be more alluring than the notion of captivating the gifted Frankfurter whose unhappy love affair made him so much more interesting. A very attractive presence was that of this new-comer to Strassburg—a lovely little head, pleasant though somewhat snub features, an agreeable but not quite fluent mode of speech, a manner timid with a child's reserve, such were one's first impressions. With all his true-hearted loveableness and trustfulness, dashed with crackbrained frolicsomeness, he threw himself into the arms of Wolfgang, now in a mood very accessible to earnest friendliness. A close alliance grew between them, cemented to a most perdurable toughness by Lenz's poetic endowment and enthusiastic admiration for Shakespeare. He delighted in strange pranks, and was furnished with an inexhaustible stock of notions and rhymes.² Wolfgang, followed about by the tender-hearted Lenz as by his own shadow, felt inseparably bound to one in whom, through all his wild behaviour, he

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 250-1.—TR.

² Goethe thought the English word *whimsical* the best word to describe Lenz's mind.—TB.

recognised an aspiration and effort like his own. They often went together to the inn at the *Wasserzoll*, beside the river Ill, where the lindens were witnesses of their most intimate confidences. The road to Sessenheim ran by.

Soon after, too, Jung came back; he had during his absence married his Christine, still an invalid, by the bedside. "His first visit was to Goethe," he tells us himself. "The noble fellow leaped up when he saw who came, fell on his neck and kissed him. 'Here you are again, good Stilling!' he cried, 'and how goes it with your maiden?' Stilling answered, 'She is no longer my maiden, she is now my wife.' 'That is well done,' answered the other; 'thou art an excellent young fellow.'¹ That half day they spent altogether in friendly conversation and stories. The well-known gentle Lenz was by this time also of the party. . . . Goethe, Lenz, Lersé, and Stilling, formed a circle in which any one would feel happy who can feel what is beautiful and good."

The Doctor's Dissertation was now quickly brought to a close and transcribed; we only know the beginning of the title: *De Legislatore*. One copy went to his father, the other to the faculty. But the faculty would not permit to be printed an essay which quite ignored Christian Revelation, and treated Religion merely as an institution. Great offence also was given by the assertion that what stood on the Tables of the Law was not the Ten Commandments. If, as *Dichtung und Wahrheit* asserts, Wolfgang, from disinclination to see himself in print, really designed to have his treatise rejected, he could have chosen no better way. The Dean Reisseisen acknowledged the thoroughness and acuteness of the author, to whom the faculty would give the licentiate degree if he would maintain some theses by disputation. Nothing could have been more welcome to Goethe. So a great number of theses, many of the most general character, were huddled together and printed. The public Disputation came off on the 6th of August, and everything went tolerably. Lersé was one of the opponents chosen, and he beset the licentiate *in spe* so hard that the latter, in the best humour, clapped his hand on his sword and called out in German, "I think, brother, you would like to be my Hector." That Wolfgang, with his energetic sharply pronounced personality, was not a very great favourite

¹ "Du bist ein excellenter Junge:" a pun on Jung.—TR.

in Strassburg, is nothing to surprise us. In letters of that time he is called a man of genius, but also of unbearable arrogance, an over-witty fellow of *half-knowledge*, a deranged mocker at religion; always a splinter too much or too little. Meyer of Lindau speaks of him to Salzmann as "that foolish Goethe" (*den närrischen Goethe*)—this however is in direct reference to his love affair.

After taking his degree Wolfgang seems, in the company of some friends, to have made that trip on horseback to the southern limits of Elsass which is mentioned in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Between Colmar and Schlettstadt resounded "waggish hymns to Ceres" ("*possierliche Hymnen an Ceres*"), in which even the question of free trade was discussed. It is hard not to feel certain that Lenz was one of the party. On this journey, too, Wolfgang must have hunted after Alsatian popular ballads. Later he writes to Herder that "on his peregrinations" in Elsass he had dragged a dozen ballads from the throats of the old grandmothers; the grandchildren had no song except, "Ich liebte nur Ismenen."¹

Just before or after this excursion must have arrived that "Hellebore-letter" (*Niesewurzbrief*), in which the young fellow who would be too fond is made feel how humble he ought to be before Herder, and has indicated to him all that there is yet to do before firm sufficiency to himself be attained. "My whole Me is shaken," wrote Wolfgang in the first burst of emotion. "Apollo of the Belvedere, why dost thou show thyself to us in thy nakedness, that we must humble ourselves before thee! Spanish costume and paint!" He begs Herder to remain to him what he is now. Gladly will he, if unable to strike out a path for himself, follow his friend as the friendly moon accompanies the earth. Still his vivid consciousness of worth breaks forth with all energy in the words: "But this—take it home to you—I would rather be Mercury, last, and, what is more, smallest of the seven, to circle with you round *one* sun, than first among the five who own the influence of Saturn." He will not loose his grasp of Herder, even though, like Jacob with the angel of the Lord, he wrestle until he be weary.² The fiery youth would not have borne with these bitter words had he not felt that they were not wholly undeserved, and that he owed much to that ripe judgment and that cultivated taste.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 297.—TR,

² *Ibid.*, i. 259.—TR,

In a life of intimate union with friends after his own heart, he tried to forget his sorrow and his wrong-doing. He thought of writing a drama, *Julius Cæsar*; a couple of prose passages intended for it are to be found at the end of the *Ephemerides*.¹ It may be conjectured that Aufresne's large, free presentation of heroic characters had wakened in him the old ambition to write tragedy. But he seems about this time to have dashed off a comic opera also; for when he writes to Jung from Frankfurt, begging that "the opera the *Mondo alla riversa*" be returned to him, he cannot mean *Die Mitschuldigen*.² This must rather have been a treatment of the theme A Harlequin's Adventures in Wonderland, like Ulrich König's adaptation (1725) *Le monde renversé*, which was probably from an Italian source. Rather may we find *Die Mitschuldigen* referred to in the *Comædia* which, a couple of months before, he had begged Salzmann to get back for him "from O-Ferol, or the person, whoever he may be, that has it." Salzmann is to send it to Herr H—— (?), addressed to Goethe, and sealed.³

But all these distractions failed to make him forget Friederike. Once again he must see her, to take personal leave. To this the following note to Salzmann relates:—"My eyelids are falling with weariness; it is only nine. A strange disposed time! Last night full of excitement; early this morning chased from bed by plans." (Plans relating to Friederike?) "Oh! there is in my head the same disorder that there is in my room; I cannot even find a scrap of paper but this blue kind. Yet any paper is good to say to you that I love you, and this doubly good; you know what I had meant it for." (For the envelope of a letter of farewell to Friederike.) "Be merry until I see you again. I am not quite cheerful; I am too much awake not to feel that I am catching at shadows" (for he still would fain win his beloved). "And yet, at seven in the morning my horse is saddled, and then—adieu!"⁴ The pain of the final leave-taking must have

¹ Schöll: *Briefe und Aufsätze*, 137-140.—Tr.

² A letter to Jung enclosed in one to Salzmann, dated February 3, 1772. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 305-6.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Salzmann, November 28, 1771. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 300-302.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Salzmann (August? 1771). *Der junge Goethe*, i. 254.—Tr.

been very great. He himself felt that he was deeply to blame ; but Friederike in all her desolation uttered no reproach.

During the very last days in Strassburg the poet's union with the city grew by chance closer still through the cathedral ; on the platform of which he so often, amid a circle of friends, had greeted the departing sun with brimming goblets ; where too he had chiselled his name on the right corner post at the south-eastern spiral staircase. One day, in a considerable company at a country-house near Strassburg, the talk fell on the cathedral. They had a fine view of the front, with the one tower lifting itself high above. Somebody remarking what a pity it was that the other tower had not been built, Goethe expressed with his usual vivacity his conviction that even the tower already there was not finished ; above the four spiral staircases ought to be four light pinnacles. To his joy the organ-builder Silbermann, who was present, assured him that the original sketches, still preserved, confirmed what he had said. His request to have these shown to him before his departure was granted, and he traced on transparent paper the forms of the four pinnacles **unbuilt**.

That personal leave-taking had not contributed to banish the memory of Friederike, and he was impelled to utter his yearning in verses written on a gloomy morning of one of the last Strassburg days and immediately sent to Sessenheim.¹ No light thing either was the parting from his friends—especially Salzmann, Lerse, Lenz, and Jung. “To Lerse, my worthy friend and Shakespeare’s, in never-ending remembrance,” so runs the inscription subscribed by him in a copy of *Othello*. Lerse wrote underneath :—“May my heart be ever thine, dear Goethe.” At that time, too, he wrote in Lenz’s album these verses :—

“ Zur Erinnerung guter Stunden,
Aller Freuden, aller Wunden,
Aller Sorgen, aller Schmerzen
In zwei tollen Dichterherzen,
Noch im letzten Augenblick
Lass’ ich Lenzen das zurück.”

On the 23d of August he could depart with the glad consciousness of leaving behind him many true hearts ; but his

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 268 ; “Ein grauer trüber Morgen Bedeckt mein liebes Feld.”—TR.

lightness in love had wrecked the happiness of the fairest and dearest of all.

On his return journey he stopped at Mannheim to see the museum of casts from the antique; where before him Herder had spent two whole days of enjoyment, gaining therein new insight on the subject of Plastic Art. The statues made a grand and fruitful impression on Goethe, which did not let him rest until he had a small collection of casts of his own. The Laokoon especially fettered his attention, and he agreed with Herder and Winckelmann against Lessing that the father does not shriek; he thought that the serpent-attacked abdomen is so contracted that shrieking is impossible. This view he promulgated more than a quarter of a century later.¹ He wrote a letter on these matters to Oeser, not, however, entering with any particularity on this theory of his own. Now that the loss of Käthchen was forgotten in a deeper grief, he could again think of that Leipzig from which he had so long turned away his face.

Of the grandeur of ancient architecture he had a foretaste when he saw a cast of a capital from the Pantheon, and the vast beautiful acanthus leaves made him somewhat waver in his faith in Gothic Art.² Fifteen years later he recalls in Venice this deep impression.³

Thus from Strassburg he returned much stronger than from Leipzig; if not a doctor he was yet a licentiate; but on his soul there was a heavy burden. However he had known what pure and beautiful love is, and through Herder he had been consecrate a German poet, with his work proceeding from the depth of the spirit, and from genuine feeling and seeing.

¹ More exactly, he promulgates this view:—That neither of the sons is yet bitten (the younger son's exhaustion to be explained by compression in the serpent's coils); and that the whole attitude of the father is only comprehensible if we consider him as bitten at the very moment here chosen by the sculptor. Goethe's essay *Ueber Laokoon* appeared in the *Propyläen*, I. i. 1798.—TR.

² *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xi. Buch (last page or two).—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 8, 1786. He had by that time quite made up his mind:—"Diese" (Gothic Art) "bin ich nun, Gott sey Dank, auf ewig los." The love for Gothic Art had been lately awakened by the great Cathedral of Strassburg, of the influence of which on Goethe Herr Düntzer perhaps does not tell us enough. Note later on the influence of Cologne Cathedral.—TR.

BOOK III.

ADVOCATE AND POET.

CHAPTER I.

INTERVAL SPENT IN FRANKFURT BETWEEN THE STRASSBURG
AND WETZLAR PERIODS.

AUGUST 1771—MAY 1772.

MOTHER and sister received Wolfgang with perfect love, and his father was heartily glad to see him back again so bright and well, and qualified at last to begin a life of regular professional activity. Grandfather Textor had died in February (1771).¹ On Wolfgang's birthday (August 28, 1771)—he had probably reached Frankfurt the day before—he sent to the Chief-Magistrate and Sheriffs his "*most dutiful beseeching petition, that these honourable sirs would most graciously be pleased to admit him to the number of so-called Advocatorum ordinariorum,*" in order that he might "*thereby prepare himself for the weightier duties which it might please a high, authoritative, and venerable magistracy of its high will and pleasure to require of him.*" In the latter paragraph do we not see the hand of his father? His admission followed on the 31st of August. Three days later Wolfgang took the advocate and burgher oath before his old friend the senior Bürgermeister von Olenschlager.

There was no thought of any considerable amount of lawyer work at present. Such work, consisting in the drawing up of legal documents, the ordering and administration of affairs of property, quite wanted any charm which might be

¹ See Wolfgang's letter to grandmother Textor on this event, *Der junge Goethe*, i. 247-9.—Tr.

found in public appearances, and it would have been interrupted by a contemplated half-year's stay at Wetzlar, which was to begin at Easter 1772. Through his uncle Textor, who, elected a councillor in this month (August 1771), had to give up his business as lawyer, he got only *one* case. Not even one came through his close connection with J. G. Schlosser, nor through Schlosser's brother, Dr. Hieronymus Peter Schlosser. The latter was in his thirty-seventh year, an extremely refined man, skilled in Latin verse, steadfast, wise, learned; in his ten years' practice as legal adviser he had won every one's trust. Only two cases were entrusted to our young advocate during the first seven months. In the first his friend Dr. Moors represented a plaintiff father, Wolfgang the defendant son. On the 16th of October he made his first memorial. He was severe on the "*big-talking, dull, text-bookish, schoolroom wisdom*" of the father's bill of complaint, on the "*most commonplace rules of an undigested legal dogma*;" he ridiculed a pair of "*absurd mice of text-book definitions which, indeed, bore witness to their mother*;" but he was especially severe in demanding that an example should be made of the plaintiffs, who had assailed the sacred person of a judge, "*one of the most venerable elders of the city*." To pay him back friend Moors called him an incipient advocate, the sworn foe of actual grounds of evidence, one who seemed to have for friends and colleagues witty young hares, one who let out mice which he ought to have had caught by his legal tom-cat; adding that he was ignorant of law. Wolfgang's reply is dated March 30, 1772. In the judgment delivered on April 22, in favour of the son, both advocates were "*seriously reprimanded for their unseemly violence of tone, the issue of which could only be to embitter the already enraged clients*."

The second case, the one in which the defence was transferred from the shoulders of uncle Textor to those of Wolfgang, was an action against the exchequer; the first memorial was presented on the 6th of November (1771), and the opposing party handed in its defence on the 10th of February 1772. The documents were then sent to the Faculty at Tübingen.

This limited professional business Goethe could, as he writes to Salzmann,¹ master in spare hours, and the more easily

¹ Goethe to Salzmann, November 28, 1771, *Der junge Goethe*, i. 300-302.—TR.

since his father carefully went through the documents with him and talked them over, and then he had a practised scribe, Liebholdt, at his side. It was only needful to set forth the circumstances skilfully, and to dismiss the arguments of the opposite side, mere play to the fresh vivacity of Wolfgang. His real earnest at this time lay in his endeavours to conquer the pain of the loss of Friederike, and to further his mental development, which urged on towards poetic embodiment. "My *nisus* forwards is so strong," he writes to Salzmann, "that I can seldom compel myself to take breath and look backwards."¹

His most intimate confidant was Cornelia. To her he told the story of his enduring love-pain, and she acknowledged that he was right to break off an impossible connection. Before leaving Strassburg he had commissioned Salzmann to send to Friederike two volumes of copper-plates which she had particularly admired. But as Salzmann did not feel sure about the selection of them he wrote to Goethe, who tells him to rely on his own taste; he may, when sending them to the "good Friederike," enclose a note or not, as he wishes.²

Wolfgang had from Cornelia an account of Herder's visit to the house; he had been very friendly, and had expressed a wish, which could not be gratified, to see some of our poet's youthful experiments. In return Cornelia had much communicated to her from the papers accumulated during her brother's stay in Elsass, including the popular ballads he had gathered, which he urged her and her friends, the Geroock and Crespel girls, to sing. By this time he had probably begun reading aloud to his sister, in his own animated way, the great passages of Homer.

His mother's good friend Fräulein Klettenberg still took a kindly interest in him, changed as was his religious mood; she did not give up her hope that he would yet be a servant of the Lord. Of his abilities she had the highest estimate. At a later time an observation of hers was recalled with pleasure by Goethe's mother:—"When thy Wolfgang goes to Mainz he brings back more new knowledge than others bring

¹ Goethe to Salzmann, November 28, 1771. He had begun on *Götz von Berlichingen* at the time.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 296.—TR.

from London or Paris." Her religious friend, the good *Legationsrath* Moritz, had died in March 1771.

As for Wolfgang's younger friends, he was specially intimate with Riese and with Dr. Horn; the latter, who had now lost all hope of winning his Leipzig sweetheart, was the same cheery companion that he had been in former days, not being dispirited even by the smallness of his professional gains. Riese, who had become Secretary to the Vestry Board, was very fond of meeting Wolfgang's ardent assertions with cold doubts and considerations, on which ensued lively discussions. Crespel too was back in Frankfurt; he had come in the course of the previous year, and had obtained a place as supernumerary (*Accessist*) in the Post Office. His quaint humour and honest kindness were a real gain to the little circle of friends. These four—Goethe, Horn, Crespel, and Riese—used to play chess on a great double board which belonged to Riese. Crespel was a great lover of music and a master of the *Viola d'amour*. Goethe practised diligently on the violoncello, probably sometimes taking parts with others. To Salzmann, the witness of his disturbed Strassburg days, he writes very soon after his return to Frankfurt:—"What I produce (*make*) is nothing. So much the worse! As usual more scheming than performing. And so not much will ever come of me." He asks Salzmann to procure him from Silbermann a sketch of the ground-plan of the cathedral, and to ask, in passing, whether one could procure a copy of the great original design, and in what way.¹ Perhaps we may ascribe to this period the first sketch of the essay which he dedicated to the founder of the cathedral (p. 160). On the 21st of September (1771) we find him writing to a friend then living in sight of the cathedral. This great masterpiece of German architecture speaks with more emphasis than he can, that a great intelligence differs from a small one mainly in that its work is self-sufficient, seeming to have been co-existent from eternity with its idea, without regard to what others may have done.²

His whole soul was now possessed with enthusiasm for Shakespeare and Ossian. He was seized with the bold notion of celebrating the Name Day of the former, October 14,—the birthday, April 23, was too far away for a disciple's eagerness.

¹ This letter already quoted, *Der junge Goethe*, i. 296.—Tr.

² Goethe to Johann Gottfried Röderer; *Der junge Goethe*, i. 315.

Through Jung he called on the Strassburg "*Gesellschaft*" to do likewise, and it did, Lersé making the speech demanded by the occasion. To Herder, who had lately written with the usual sharpness, Goethe sent this autumn the dozen popular songs culled from those which the grandmothers of Elsass chanted by their firesides. His letters will shortly say something about Celtic, Gaelic matters. He has not yet got certain necessary books, but soon must. On behalf of his sister he invites Herder for the 14th of October, Shakespeare's name-day, which is to be kept with great pomp; and he must, if not in body, be with them in spirit; let him send them by that day, if possible, the Essay on Shakespeare (which just then occupied him), that it may be a portion of their Liturgy.¹

This letter was very soon followed by one with which Wolfgang enclosed passages from the supposed original *Temora* of Ossian, with literal German translations. He again begs Herder to send the Essay on Shakespeare for the festival. "The first health drunk after that of the Will of all Wills shall be yours," he goes on; "I have already preached together a capital public for the Warwickshire man, and I am translating passages from Ossian, that him too I may proclaim out of the full heart . . . Apostle or Philistine! I remain towards you what I have been."² Wolfgang's speech at the festival, which has been preserved,³ betrays Herder's influence even in the style, though that is more bright and free than Herder's. The Greek drama, it says, set before the people great isolated acts from the lives of their fathers in the clear simplicity of perfectness, roused large undivided emotions in their souls, for it was itself complete and great. "And what souls! Greek souls! I cannot expound to others what I feel to be the significance of that word, but I do feel it, and let me save time by an appeal to Homer, Sophocles, Theocritus; they have taught me to feel it. Now I add quickly, all this being so:—Little Frenchman, what dost thou with Greek armour! 'it is too large and heavy for thee.' Thus it is that French tragedies are themselves their own sufficient parodies. . . . The drama of Shakespeare is a casket of lovely rare things; before our eyes the history of the world undulates past, along the thread

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 297.

² *Ibid.* i. 298-300.—TR.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 39-43; *Zum Schakespear's Tag*.—TR.

of time—the thread itself unseen. His plots are, in the common sense of the term, no plots ; but his plays all circle round that mysterious point, not yet seen and fixed by philosopher, at which the Idiosyncrasy of the Me, the shaping which our Will would fain assume, clashes with the necessary course of the Whole.” He goes on to say that Shakespeare’s men are absolutely natural, on a colossal scale. Often he has to stand shamed before Shakespeare, confessing himself a poor sinner against nature, who prophesies through Shakespeare, while “my human beings are soap bubbles puffed upward from unreal fantasies.”

And very soon after the young poet was to come upon a noble German figure, whose likeness he felt compelled to set forth in the free Shakespearian manner. The autobiography which Götz von Berlichingen left to defend his name excited in the young Goethe a feeling, which, in a letter to Salzmann of November 28 (1771), he calls a “passion.” He flung himself on the task of dramatising the story ; of “saving the memory of a brave man from darkness.” All his strength he expends on this object, which he strives to grasp and carry ; and what will not go easily he drags to its place. Homer, and Shakespeare, and all are forgotten ; as for Strassburg Cathedral, there is no hurry about that original design of it which he had lately asked after. Towards the middle of December (1771) the play¹ had been completed in a rapid run of about six weeks, during which Cornelia’s praise had encouraged and inspired him ; he used to read aloud to her every evening what he had written during the day. He worked mostly in the early morning hours.

Soon after this he gained a new friend, Johann Heinrich Merck, now Army Paymaster (*Kriegszahlmeister*) at Darmstadt, where he had been born eight years before Goethe. After completing his studies, he was charged with the care of a young Herr von Bibra on his travels, during which they stayed a considerable time in French Switzerland. At Morges on the Lake of Geneva, he met and wedded the daughter of an important Officer of Justice (*Justizbeamte*). On his return from Switzerland he got an appointment in the Privy Court of Chancery (*Geheimkanzlei*) at Darmstadt, changed a year later for one in the War Department. He was especially

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 44-196.—TR.

familiar with English literature, and had done some translation from the English. In all directions, indeed, did his keen restless intelligence search after comprehensive and thorough

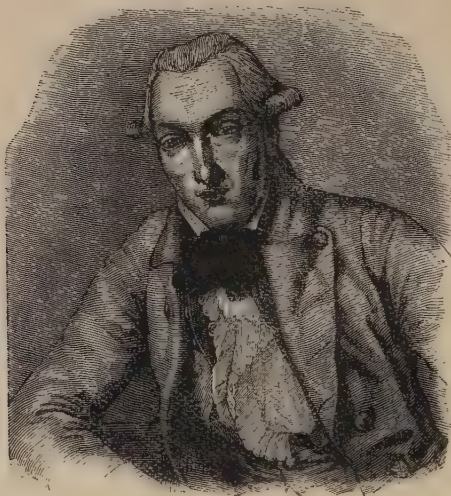


FIG. 11. After an engraving of the time.

knowledge on which to base a powerful and efficient activity. He was long and lean ; his nose was prominent and sharp ; his eyes "light blue, perhaps gray, roved hither and thither, noting everything."¹ Whether his exterior were winning or not, you were subdued by that keen understanding, that easy play of intellect, that ingenuous good-will, that quiet self-reliance. Goethe's description, in which there is an adumbration of the embittered Merck of later days, has done unintended wrong to a noble and capable man. On Goethe, whose genius he recognised and affectionately strove to develop, his action was most beneficial. To his beautiful spirit we have the testimony of his many letters ; of the esteem in which his name

¹ "Somewhat tiger-like" (*etwas Tigerartiges*) Goethe says. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xii. Buch.—TR.

was held, even in distant circles ; of the deep, abiding friendship with Goethe, and with many others, men and women, who all delight to praise him. It is true that he had a sharp eye for all weaknesses ; but he had also a natural good taste, which had been perfected by culture. If he censured what was bad, it was always his impulse to point to what was better ; he delighted in furthering the development of real genius : in fact, so far from being a steadfast Denier, he himself was irresistibly impelled to activity in various fields : poetry, art, science, practical affairs. All his life he remained in a situation beneath his deservings ; the feeling of wrong rankled within him ; and this, alas ! together with misfortune in his family, brought out the gall which lay in his character. But at bottom he was always a noble man. Beneath his picture should be written the words which he wrote late in life to his daughter (then fifteen) :—" Our little bit of a good name is all that is left us ; and if I had lost that, I could never have endured the cruel strokes which Fate has dealt me."

Now when Herder, gloomy in Bückeburg, treated our Goethe with almost scornful bitterness, at last relapsing into galling silence, it was special good fortune to meet this keen critic, who stimulated and renewed the lad's ardour by gladly recognising his genius, and by cleaving to him with warm-hearted good-will. True, Merck had already become a sufferer from physical ailment, and was dispirited about many things, particularly that unsatisfactory situation. But a beneficial impetus was given to him just then, when Deinet of Frankfurt, who had married the widow of the bookseller Eichenberg, put in his hands the management of the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*¹—just such work as he desired. The new Review it was that had brought him to Frankfurt. He there visited J. G. Schlosser, whom he reckoned on as one of his chief fellow-workers. At Schlosser's house he seems to have met Goethe, who, towards the close of 1771, writes to Herder :—" Some time ago I had a rich evening in Merck's company. I was as happy as I can be to meet again at last a human

¹ The *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* began to appear in 1772, under the guidance of Merck and Schlosser. Chief contributors—Merck, Goethe, Herder, Hieronymus Schlosser, Rector Wenck of Darmstadt, Prof. Petersen of Darmstadt, the Jurist Höpfner of Giessen. At the end of 1773 the Review fell into other hands, and lost its merit and its high fame.—TR.

being in intercourse with whom emotions develop and thoughts take shape.”¹ And Herder’s Caroline says in a letter of December 30 that Merck is delighted with Goethe’s enthusiasm and genius. This is not the acrid fault-finder, whom we usually figure to ourselves under the title Mephistopheles-Merck.



Joh Georg Schloßer.

FIG. 12. After an engraving of the time.
See above, p. 58.

No, we find him taking pleasure in the fresh ardour of his young friend, whom Herder—directly opposite to Merck in this—in writing to his bride nicknames a “crow,” a “sparrow-like nature.” Merck, with wise toleration, permitted free course to his young friend’s thoughts, as equally entitled to existence with his own; never discouraging a difficult mental process by intrusion of his own higher insight. It may have been at this time that Goethe was enlisted as one of the future contributors to the new Review. Of *Götz* no mention was as yet

made to Merck. To Salzmann and Herder transcripts of the play were sent about this time. The transcripts were probably made by Philipp Friedrich Seidel, a lad of seventeen, son of a Frankfurt tinman, left an orphan at an early age, and now a servant of the Goethes.

In writing to Herder Goethe calls the play a “Skizzo;” into it, however, he has put all his strength, because he desired to submit it to the “dear man,” whose criticism would not only open his (Goethe’s) eyes as to that piece, but guide him in his work at it in the future. In the same letter he

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 304.

confides to Herder that he has in his head the "Life and Death of Socrates" as a subject for drama; he wished to set forth the hero-philosopher-spirit falling victim at length before the infinite massive strength of human worthlessness. Time is needed to ripen the "thought out" (*das Gedachte*) into emotion. Indeed he feels uncertain whether he will be able to soar from the service of the idol which Plato gilds, and to which Xenophon offers incense, to the true religion which recognises in place of a saint a great Man, whom we can take to the heart with enthusiastic love. In his usual submissive way, he begs the reverend priest, while caring for the altar, not to forget the acolyte race, whose fantasy goes forth in wild yearning for the chasuble, but whose strength, alas! setting more before it than it is able for, too often finds its *non plus ultra* in mere *Adjunctus* and sacristan offices.¹

In a letter of the 3d of February 1772 he thanks Salzmann for the trouble he had taken about *Götz*; Salzmann had been much pleased with it, and had written a letter of careful criticism. There is a period of pupilage, replies Goethe, which we cannot overleap; a remark which reminds us of what we have just heard him say to Herder. Salzmann having inquired about the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, Goethe observes that no Review will surpass it in honesty and independence of feeling and thinking; the staff of writers for it is considerable, and daily increasing; he is not himself connected with it, otherwise than that he knows and esteems the director (Merck), and that an important co-operator in it (Schlosser) is a particular friend.² Yet we find Deinet writing on the 8th, calling Goethe—for only Goethe can be meant by "friend of Merck,"—calling Goethe a very industrious *collaborateur* in the department of *Belles Lettres*. And on the 14th comes from the *collaborateur's* pen a criticism of the *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*; the anonymous production of Frau von Laroche, published under the auspices of Wieland. The uninvited critics had been hard on the book; Goethe defends, saying that these gentlemen are mistaken in thinking that a *book* stands for judgment, when it is a *Human Soul*.³ The three following months saw several more articles by Goethe, and the few that came out in June would have been written before the middle of

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 302-304.—TR. ² *Ibid.* i. 305.—TR.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 411.—TR.

May, about which time he went to Wetzlar; we know that, for the sake of variety and on account of the profusion of matter, articles often waited a considerable time their place in the Review. Goethe criticised not only lyrical poetry and drama, but many kinds of books, even some on religious subjects; he always speaks with animated decision, often with scathing wit. A little anonymous work by Wieland,¹ in the philosophic humour of which one cannot fail to recognise the author of *Musarion* and *Agathon*, is dismissed with the significant remark:—"Of all earthly possessions the most precious is a heart careless of the foolish praise and blame of the crowd: among thousands you will hardly find two such hearts." In an article of Merck's the observations on Gellert's lectures were written by Goethe.

That "The Life and Death of Socrates" remained an unrealised plan was not due so much to Herder's long silence as to the intractability of the material, to pre-occupation with the Review, and to a life spent more and more in society. Towards the close of the year (1771) appeared a collection of Klopstock's Odes, the first which he himself published. Goethe was familiar already with the most important of them, though in not quite the same form; those on religious subjects interested him little; the bardic garb he liked not at all; he was not moved by the excessive Fatherland and "Cidli" enthusiasm of others. It is true that he recognised the strength of the well-wrought periods, the culmination of art in the verse, and by sympathetic reading aloud strove to illustrate these their merits; still he could not but deal them hard measure while Greek poetry was such a passion to him. Let us remember, too, how in his *Götz* he had just been making the last German knight live and move again (*not* to the advantage of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation), and we shall realise what a watery dream this shapeless *Bardenthum* must have seemed. The primary effect of Klopstock's volume was to make him a skating enthusiast; he used, as he swept over the ice, to make the night air ring with passages from *Der Eislauf* and *Braga*, and (probably) the two other Ice Odes. He trained himself to skate in a place where he was alone, and then invited others to join him. The scene of this skating

¹ "Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift," Leipzig, 1772.—See *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 420.—TR.

was probably either the frozen flooded Rödelheim meadows, or those at the *Kettenhof* beyond the Bockenheim gate.

Eager pursuit after indications of Socrates had led our poet to some depth in Plato and Xenophon; but before long, feeling how far he was yet from being able to comprehend the former, he turned from him to the Greek poets. "Then my eyes were opened, and I saw my own unworthiness," he wrote at a later time to Herder, from Wetzlar; "and I fell to at Theocritus and Anacreon; at length something in Pindar fixed me, and there I still remain. Otherwise I have done nothing, and everything is in a dreadful state of confusion with me."¹

At the beginning of March 1772 he went with Schlosser for a few days' visit to Merck, in Darmstadt; and to Merck's kindly sympathy the young poet opened all his heart. He had at length overcome the grief for Friederike, and revealed himself on this trip in his extraordinary, all-bewitching loveableness; but he watched to prevent his too sensitive heart from any new passion. Herder's betrothed, Caroline Flachsland, who was stopping with her sister, the wife of Privy Councillor (*Geheimerath*) Hesse, met him on two afternoons and at a dinner; she writes to Herder:—"Goethe is a good-hearted, cheery mortal, without any learned adornment; he finds a great deal of occupation and interest in Merck's children. . . . The first afternoon was spoiled by a game of *Trisett* and two visitors. Only one moment Goethe, my sister, and I sat together in the afternoon sunshine, which was lovely, and talked of you. . . . The second afternoon we spent in a pleasant walk, and in the house over a bowl of punch. We were not sentimental, but very gay, and Goethe and I danced minuets to piano music; and then he repeated for us an excellent ballad of yours that I never heard before" (the Scotch ballad *Edward*). "At my request, often repeated, he sent me a copy of it the day after his return to Frankfurt; but he wrote no letter. Herr Schlosser is good, very good; only he has a little too much society varnish. He likes me very much; and more, I think, than Goethe, which however I regret. In one of his letters to Merck he has talked of me through six lines long. They will come again in the summer." On this visit Goethe also made acquaintance with Merck's more intimate

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 307.—TR.

friends, Rector Wenck, Court Preacher Jaup, *Magister* Petersen, and *Geheimerath* Hesse. And he showed *Götz* to Merck, who gave him kind and clear-sighted criticism.

He had now become so thoroughly at home again in his Frankfurt life, and at the same time had found such an inspiring circle of friends in Darmstadt, that he fell into a silence towards those whom he had left in Strassburg, even towards Salzmann and Jung. Not that the image of either friend was effaced, it was rather hidden away beneath the cares and interests of his stirring intellectual and social life. Spring advancing awakened afresh his delight in song. The power of Niederbronn was on him when he wrote the dialogue, *Der Wanderer*; in which there is a moving plaint over the destruction in modern days of the relics of antique art that have survived the former storms.¹ Herder's betrothed writes that it is an excellent poem of a hut built amid the ruins of an ancient temple. About the middle of April (1772) Goethe, going to Darmstadt on foot, was overtaken by a violent storm, which for some time he calmly permitted to do its worst; at last, quite exhausted by its force, he sought shelter in a cottage. On this occasion he spoke aloud, as he used to repeat the *Ice Odes* of Klopstock, dithyrambic verses about the might of the great Genius who lifts him above the commonplace conditions of life, surrounding him with warmth and purity; of the great sweeping force and rage of Pindar, how unlike to the pleasant voices of Theocritus and Anacreon, that lull the charmed heart.² What a picture! Frankfurt left behind, where as an attorney he is burdened with petty private affairs; the brilliant, winning, young poet, overtaken by rain and storm; overtaken still more imperatively by a lofty stress of spirit, pouring himself forth in song inspired by Pindar and the Greeks.

Of his stay in Darmstadt Caroline Flachsland writes:—"We spent every day together; went together to the [Bes-sunger] forest; together got wet through and through. We all ran to the same tree, and Goethe sang to us a little song that you have translated from Shakespeare:—"Wohl unter grünen Laubes Dach," and we all joined in the last line:—"Nur eins! das heisst auch Wetter!"³ The common misfor-

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 7.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 3-7.—TR.

³ Amiens' song in *As You Like It*:—"Under the greenwood tree."
—TR.

tune made us all very confidential. He read aloud to us some of the best scenes from his *Gottfried von Berlichingen*. I felt in it the beloved spirit of our old Germans; and little George, begging for a white steed and armour, is my George. Then we went on the water" (at a lonely residence in the forest), "but the weather was bad. Goethe is crammed with songs." She sends Herder a poem which Goethe made one morning on a lonely walk in the fir wood; *another excellent one, about a hut built in the ruins of an ancient temple*, she will ask him for should he come again. To this lady and her sister he gave a moving account of his Leipzig love; Friederike he did not mention, hers was too sacred a memory.

Merck and Goethe about Easter (19th April 1772) came together to Frankfurt, but passed on immediately to Homburg. "The *Landgraf* and the *Landgräfin* have loaded us with kindness," Merck writes to his wife. "I have had the honour of more than an hour's conversation with his Highness. They sent one of the court carriages to bring us to the forest, where we found a fairy-land." Their visit was more particularly intended for a Maid of Honour, Luise von Ziegler, who had, for a short time back, been the most intimate friend of Herder's betrothed; Merck had sung her as "Lila." Caroline writes of her:—"She is a sweet visionary maiden; has had her grave made in her garden; she has a throne in her garden; her pleasures are her arbours and roses in summer, and her little lamb, which eats and drinks with her. . . . Her life in Homburg is rather lonely, and that makes her heart so oppressed and full that she regularly clings to any good soul she comes across." Beside the reason assigned here there was unhappy love in the case. She had at that time with her, on a visit, her friend Fräulein von Roussillon, Maid of Honour (*Hofdame*) to the Duchess of Pfalz-Zweibrücken. Merck was especially intimate with Fräulein Roussillon; he used to accompany her on walks; tried to divert and cheer her suffering and melancholy; it may have been he who gave her the name "Urania." When Merck, with Goethe by his side, met these two ladies, Urania received him with warm kisses and embraces, and Lila fell on his breast; to the young Frankfurt lawyer each gave a cordial hand. He too on a walk one day ventured to beg from them the rapture of a kiss. He was just as far from love in the matter as was Merck, it was

the sentimental usage of a time overlavish in kisses and embraces.

In Frankfurt Merck stopped with the Goethes, although he could always reckon on the house of his old friend Damian Friedrich Dumeix, Dean of St. Leonhard's. "Goethe's sister is agreeable, and they are all good people," he tells his wife. "I am beginning to be regularly in love with Goethe. Here is a human being who touches my heart as very few have ever done." Merck had gone to Frankfurt on Frau von Laroche's account; she Goethe and himself were to travel to Darmstadt together. He writes to his wife that the Laroche had brought her eldest daughter Max, and that both ladies are to be their guests, so she (Merck's wife) is to procure a bed for Goethe and himself in the big room at the house of Professor Jaup. "Frau von Laroche is a lady of the grand world, of very distinguished manners; she speaks French better than German, and her intellect passes over with astonishing lightness from the most solid conversation to the most everyday attentions of society. She assumes when she will the semblance of indifference, she puts it off when she will. She is a strong personality, and I know from experience that it is not a good thing to fall out with such. At least she is quite different in social intercourse from what she is in her letters. She talks infinitely better than she writes." Goethe too was not attracted by the fine court lady, in whom he, to his surprise, saw the author of the *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*; the French social tone to which her daughter also had been trained was distasteful to the poet of *Götz*, who loved to speak from the full heart. So Goethe did not go with them to Darmstadt after all. When Herder's betrothed writes that Goethe rages like a lion against Frau von Laroche, she probably borrows the expression from Merck, who liked the lady less and less the more he saw of her. In Caroline's description of the Laroche we must probably allow for a certain amount of pique at having to play an unimportant part beside the new guest, but there is no doubt that the main outlines are correct. "A presence, how different from the simple noble Sternheim!" Caroline writes. "A fine dainty lady, a court dame, a woman of the world, with a thousand little adornments, even though she wear no lace; a woman full of wit, full of very delicate intelligence. She enters very lightly and easily, wafts to

whom she will a kiss with her hand; her handsome black eyes speak right and left, and everywhere, and her bosom heaves ever so high, so—youthfully that—in short, with her excessive coquetry and acting a part, she has not pleased us.” Caroline goes on to tell how the Laroche said each pretty thing in rightsilvery tone, which she called the tone of her heart, but which was assumed for mere politeness; she and her daughter would fain have ruled society by their wit. Later on Caroline acknowledges the many talents and general excellence of Frau von Laroche; thinks, however, that she might find good work to do among her children, might love her husband better and trumpet his praises less. Goethe could only feel repelled by the unexpected characteristics of this sentimental fine lady of forty, the friend of Wieland, and also the friend of two men whom neither Goethe nor Merck liked, the brothers Jacobi; and in her presence we should expect to find him play any but an amiable part.

Immediately after the departure of this curious lady, he settled with Merck again (end of April 1772). Caroline writes:—“We went yesterday with Goethe to my Rock and Hill” (in the Bessunger forest). “He has appropriated a large splendid rock, and goes to-day to cut his name on it; nobody, however, can climb it but he.” [On August 28, 1872, the Darmstadt



FIG. 13. After an engraving by Schule: Leipzig, 1787.

Society for erecting Memorial Tablets placed a tablet to Goethe's memory on this rock—of the *Herrgottsberg*; modern learned mystification has tagged on some legend of the Devil's Hoof (*Teufelsklaue*).] Shortly after Herder's betrothed writes:—"Merck came with Goethe to us in the garden; I walked with him [Merck or Goethe?] alone, we wished you into our neighbourhood—to Giessen, and finally—that you would come to see us in the autumn." Lila too had arrived at this time. Once Goethe, at Merck's house, read to Lila and Caroline the touching story of Le Fevre, in *Tristram Shandy*. Caroline again felt that she was in the presence of an extremely good man, one worthy of her Lila; only, to win her he must be of the nobility. But no one could be further from any intention of tying his heart than Goethe, at that time altogether intent as he was on the perfecting of mind and spirit. True he had succeeded in disciplining his soul to the patient working out of a great poem, and might hope to find continually henceforth firm footing; still he knew that he was only in the beginning of his growth, that before he could stand alone and erect he needed the vivifying and strengthening of a rich experience. In Frankfurt Schlosser was always near, but yet more important was the alliance with Merck, who had given *Götz* the praise it merited when Herder had remained obstinately silent. Gladly would Goethe have prolonged the time to be spent in Darmstadt, where he found so much sympathy; but Councillor Goethe pressed that his son should go to Wetzlar as he and many others—Crespel being one—had done, to gain as practitioner in the *Reichskammergericht* more exact knowledge of law procedure. However little Wetzlar, narrow, dull, already so long plagued with an Imperial Visitation-Commission, might have to attract, Wolfgang would not oppose in this matter the wishes of his father, who left him so free in other ways; and so, confiding after all in his destiny, he turned his steps northwards.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUMMER OF 1772 (MAY-SEPTEMBER) SPENT IN WETZLAR.

IN the middle of May (1772) he arrived in the old town, the seat of the *Reichskammergericht*. He took up his quarters on the dark steep difficult *Gewandsgasse*, in a great roomy house—the fourth from the Corn-market on the left, opposite the *Entengasse*. His two rooms on the second story overlooked the street; some time ago Goethe's name was still to be read on one of the panes. He had a letter of introduction to his great-aunt, Frau *Geheimerath* Lange, who lived where the *Gewandsgasse* and the *Schmidtgasse* meet. She was the youngest daughter of the procurator and advocate Dr. Lindheimer; her elder sister was Goethe's grandmother Textor. By her first marriage with the procurator Dr. Dietz she had one son; by her second with the procurator and Privy Councillor Lange two yet unmarried daughters.

How low-spirited Goethe at first felt, in spite of the beauty of the surrounding country, may be inferred from Caroline Flachsland's observation in a letter of the 25th of May (1772), that the place is "lonely, dreary, and empty." This she derived, probably, from the letter which he sent to Lila, enclosing therewith three poems "to be shared"—one for Urania, one for Lila herself—which both relate to the day of their first meeting at Homburg;¹ third, the *Felsweihegesang an Psyche*, which speaks the wish that Caroline—whom he imagines in silent melancholy by her Rock, thinking of her absent Herder—may also be mindful of him who took the very summit of the mountain for his own.² In vacant Wetzlar he thought with yearning of the three beautiful souls whom he had found in Homburg and Darmstadt.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 22-26.—Tr.

² *Ibid.* ii. 20.—Tr.

On May 25, 1772, he was enrolled among the "*Praktikants*," whose industry was anything but excessive, depending almost wholly on their own good-will. The young poet did as little to increase his knowledge of law as did Uhland forty years afterwards in Paris. If the latter, instead of making himself familiar with the French legal procedure, transcribed old poems in the Library, and wrote new ones of his own, Goethe in Wetzlar pushed on with his study of the Greek poets and his literary development, and abandoned himself to a passionate enjoyment of nature in the lovely valley of the Lahn.

The life of the young lawyers who came together in Wetzlar from every district in Germany was far from being dry and dull, after all. At the largely attended *table d'hôte* of the inn *Zum Kronprinzen* was a mock Table Round, an Order of Knights instituted—so the title said—for the Protection of the Right and the Delivery of Oppressed Youth. This order had been founded by von Goué of Hildesheim, a member of the Brunswick Embassy, six years Goethe's senior. Goethe too joined this fantastic Bund; it even amused him for some time to take a share in ordering the ceremonial, that the parody might not lack all semblance of the real. He was himself named "Götz von Berlichingen der Redliche;" for people had heard of his play. The Goué above mentioned, who was entitled "Castellan von Coucy," held himself a great genius—had he not already four dramas in print? Another poet whom Goethe met at the Table Round was the Gotha Secretary of Legation, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter,—born 1746,—who had especially formed himself on French literature; was fond of translating plays from the French; and sometimes, too, ventured on little original pieces with some skill, if with no great power. The two poets found a bond of union in their like activities in different channels. Gotter had two years ago been joint-editor with Boie of the first year's issue of the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*, in which he still took some share; and it was no secret that Goethe was a contributor to that new *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, which had made such a stir. Another valued friend of Wolfgang's was his equal in age, von Kielmansegge of Mecklenburg, who had come to Wetzlar to look after a law-suit. Goethe felt a very special esteem for this serious deep-thinking man, who refused his sympathy to

nothing of human interest. There was also a certain Brunswick Secretary of Legation, exactly eight years older than Goethe, distinguished by his accurate knowledge, his prudence, his unwearied industry, his order, his content, his noble feeling. Not, however, until a considerable time had passed, did Goethe learn to know Johann Christian Kestner of Hannover.

It happened thus. One afternoon Kestner and Gotter had strolled to the hamlet Garbenheim, which, pleasantly nestled on a hill slope about half a league from Wetzlar, was a favourite goal of those who wished to breathe the country air. Entering the garden of the village inn, they found Goethe stretched on the grass beneath a tree, talking with three friends who stood around—von Goué, whom Kestner calls the Epicurean; von Kielmansegge, the Stoic; and a Dr. König, who is a mean between the other two. Even at this first meeting Kestner saw that the young Frankfurter had genius and a vivid imagination. On a more exact knowledge he wrote the following sketch. It is hard to say whether the likeness of the painter or of him painted therein most appears:—

“He has a great deal of talent, is a true genius and a man of character; possesses an extraordinarily vivid imagination, thus speaks mostly in images and similes. He is used to say that he always expresses himself unexactly, never *can* exactly; adding that when he is older he hopes to be able to think and say the thoughts themselves as they should be. He is passionate in all his emotions; exercises, however, often great control over himself. His way of thinking is noble; being very free from prejudices, he acts as is pleasing to him, without inquiring whether he pleases others, whether it is the fashion, whether convention allows it. He hates any constraint. He loves children, and never wearies of their company. He is *bizarre*, and there are things in his behaviour, his outward man, which might repel some; but with children, with women, and indeed many besides, he is high in favour. Woman he holds in high reverence. *In principiis* he is not yet stablished,—is as yet but striving after a philosophy. To add something on this subject—he holds Rousseau high, though no blind adorer. He is not what is called orthodox; still this is not from pride, or caprice, or desire to play a part. And on certain great subjects he will open his mind only to a few; would fain not disturb others in their tranquil beliefs. Indeed he hates *Scepticismum*; seeks truth and conviction on certain great subjects; thinks, too, that he is already convinced as to the weightiest: so far however as I have observed is not as yet. He goes neither to church nor to the Lord’s Supper, and rarely prays; for, he says, ‘I am not hypocrite enough for that.’ At times he is tranquil as to certain matters, at times anything but tranquil. He *reveres* the Christian Religion, but not in the form in which

our theologians present it. He *trusts* there is a future life, a better state. Striving after Truth, he yet holds the feeling of truth higher than the demonstration. He has already done much, and has much knowledge, much reading ; but he has thought and reasoned still more. He has been mainly taken up with *belles lettres* and the fine arts ; or rather with every kind of knowledge but that which earns bread."

Besides Garbenheim Goethe loved the grotto-spring overshadowed by limes, beyond the *Wildbacher* Gate, and the pleasant park-like garden on a gentle rise there, the Metzeburg of these days. In this garden he read his Greek poets, or mused on the dear ones far away, or on his strange destiny ; here his poem, *Der Wanderer*, received its final shaping ; it was sent to Darmstadt at the end of May ; here, too, prob-

ably the translation of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, composed in rivalry with Gotter, had its origin.

On the evening of the 9th of June (1772) he drove with his great-aunt's daughters to a ball at the hunting-lodge at Volperts-hausen, a hamlet about a league and a half from Wetzlar. On the way they stopped to take up the second eldest daughter of Heinrich Adam Buff, one of the stewards employed by the Teutonic Order of Knights to look after their property in that neighbourhood. He lived in the little two-story house which stood on the left hand side of the approach to "*Das Deutsche*



FIG. 14. The Buffs' House and *Das Deutsche Haus*. From an old cut.

Haus," where the Protestant Girls' School stands now ; Charlotte Sophie Henriette Buff, the second daughter, born January 13, 1753, had eleven brothers and sisters still living, all with blue eyes and blonde hair like her own. In the spring



Charlotte Schlegel Schlegel.

FIG. 15. From A. Kestner's *Goethe und Werther*.

of 1767 Kestner had seen her first, and at once loved her.

He describes her delicate physique, her gentle soul; she was sprightly and lively, of quick conception and great presence of mind. With her chat, her merry notions, her humour, she made everybody feel happy; then she was virtuous, pious, industrious, teachable, and willing to undergo any womanly toils. The young Secretary of Legation was now her accepted lover. When, in March 1771, her mother, the pattern of a good housewife, died, all the cares of the household fell on the shoulders of Charlotte; the eldest daughter, Caroline Wilhelmine, seems to have been less capable. Kestner writes:—

“All Goethe’s attention was at once fixed on Lottchen. She is still young; though no regular beauty she has a very pleasing, attractive, conformation of features; her glance is like a cheery morning in spring; especially was it so that day, for she loves dancing; she was in good spirits; her dress was quite unelaborate. He noticed in her a feeling for the beauty of Nature, and an unforced wit—rather humour than wit. He did not know that she was no longer free; I came a couple of hours later, and it is never our wont to manifest, in public resort, any relation closer than friendship. He was extravagantly merry that day; so he is often, and at other times melancholy. Lottchen made a complete conquest, the easier because she did not try any such thing, but simply gave herself to the enjoyment of the evening. Next day, of course, Goethe must call to inquire after Lottchen’s health. Hitherto he had known her as a merry girl, who liked dancing and pleasures undisturbed by care; now he learned to know her on that side where her strength is displayed—on the side of her housewifely activity.”

At first sight Goethe was thus captivated by the fresh naturalness of the bright maiden, and she, too, felt much attracted towards the new charming visitor to her sphere. And when he saw her in the midst of the numerous flock of her brothers and sisters, ordering and disposing like a most careful and loving mother, his emotion was deepened; must not the famous scene where Werther sees Lotte first, be, like so much else in the novel, a transfer from reality? There was, indeed, in her presence, a magnetism which kept him constantly at her side, though he now knew her to be engaged to Kestner, and never of course thought of striving to win her from his friend. When von Born, whom he had known since the Leipzig period, said to him in the earlier days of his acquaintance with Lotte, that he would estrange her from Kestner, he answered:—she was much too noble to give up Kestner; but should she

prove capable of such an act, he (Goethe) would immediately abandon her.¹ Kestner was glad to see his little-occupied friend keep Lottchen company. He went generally in the afternoon, and then it was his pleasure to sit at Lotte's feet while her little brothers scrambled over him. In the evenings he often met Kestner in her presence, when he would find her in her blue stripe night-jacket.² He was also much with her in her garden that lay on the path to the *Wildbacher* Gate; you could hear from it the murmur of the *Wildbacher* fountain nigh at hand. The path to the gate led over the so-called "Geese Meadow" (*Gänsewiese*); just outside the gate was the vegetable ground, whither Goethe often accompanied Lotte.

Between Goethe and Kestner nearer acquaintance and like tastes knit in time the friendship very close. Kestner writes a couple of months later:—

"Meanwhile, although he could nourish no hope with regard to Lotte, and did nourish none, all his philosophy and inborn pride failed to enable him completely to suppress his affection. And he has qualities to make him dangerous to a woman, especially to one of feeling and taste; but Lottchen knew how to treat him so as to encourage no budding of hope, yet so that he must admire her way of acting towards him. His peace of mind suffered greatly; there were various remarkable scenes by which Lotte always rose in my estimation, and he could not but seem a worthier friend; yet was I often forced on amazement when I considered into what strange creatures can love often transform the strongest and—in other matters—most self-sustained of mankind. In general, I was pained for him, and there arose within me many struggles of affection: for, on the one hand, I thought my power to make Lottchen happy might not be so great as his; on the other hand, could not endure the thought of losing her. The latter motive was victorious, and I have never marked in Lottchen the shadow of such a thought."

This noble freedom from jealousy was never forgotten by Goethe, who would have been driven to extremity by any attempt to forbid him access to Lotte's presence.

During the hard struggle between love and renunciation, Goethe could not win the calm needful for poetic activity—could not even pour his heaving passion in verse, such chaos ruled in his unquiet soul. To this period, probably, the translation of a short Ode of Pindar³ is alone to be assigned.

¹ Goethe to Kestner [14th April 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 364-5.—Tr.

² Goethe to Kestner [27th October 1772], and again [16th June 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 323 and 373.—Tr.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 14-16.—Tr.

With Merck he remained steadfastly united; he hoped to accompany this friend and his wife on a journey to Switzerland, which they had planned for the following year. And at length from Herder, after a half-year's silence, a reply came. It was, however, in the old tone of bitterness, and would have for ever estranged another, who might less know to prize the greatness of the writer. That hard word about *Götz*—"Shakespeare has quite spoiled you"—was acknowledged by Goethe in its full rightness. The piece must, he writes to Herder (July 1772), be entirely melted down, refined, and must be recast, with the addition of newer, better metal. It is a special annoyance that all is so plainly *schemed* in *Götz*—a reproach that may be laid at the door of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* also, in which chance and caprice are not once allowed to work their will; in which any one with half a wit could tell the *why* of every scene, one might almost say of every *word*. Yet he thinks he may hope for himself that "when beauty and greatness weave themselves more in thy emotion, then wilt thou act, speak, write, what is good and fair, without knowing why." From Pindar, "in whom he now dwells," he has learned that the essence of every mastership is to go deep into a thing, and take firm hold (*Drein greifen, packen, ist das Wesen jeder Meisterschaft*). Since he has felt the force of Pindar's words, *στῆθος* (the breast, heart, affections) and *πρᾶπιδες* (the understanding), a new world has risen within. During the last fortnight he has for the first time read Herder's *Fragmente*; he rejoices to find that what is said there of the Greeks coincides for the most part with his own view. The exposition how Thought and Feeling mould Expression had descended on him like a revelation of the gods. Of the bitter way in which Herder had spoken about the *Felsweihegesang*¹ he declares his opinion with complete frankness; just before he has begged his friend to let him hear his voice more often:—"You know how you would clasp to your heart one who could be to you what you are to me. Only, let not our knowing that we shall often disagree, be of force to deter us like cravens; if our passions shock, are we able to bear no shock? It is I more than you who have reason to fear. Enough; have you anything

¹ See p. 143. See for Herder's mockery—"Hinangeflogen da kam ein Specht;" *Briefe Goethe's an Herder*; Herausgegeben von Düntzer und F. G. von Herder; Seite 46-9.—TR.

against me, speak it out—direct and serious, or malicious, sneering—as it comes.” With Merck, he says further on, he is now fast bound; yet more through a common need than a common aim. Notwithstanding all the furtherance derived from Merck’s friendliness and insight, he was without the mighty afflatus-breathing genius of Herder.¹

When, in the first week of August (1772), Lotte had gone on a visit to acquaintances at Atzbach, a large village beyond Garbenheim, Goethe was unable to restrain himself from going to see her. He did so on the 8th, and informs Kestner of it by note the same evening. He presses Kestner to go again with him early on the morrow (Sunday), when they would probably be greeted by faces friendlier than they had been to-day in greeting him alone.² On the 19th of August we find Lotte at Giessen, at the house of Councillor of War (*Kriegsrath*) Pfaff. Merck and Goethe had agreed to meet there on the 18th, at the house of Professor Höpfner, who was to be pressed into the service of the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*. In a highly ludicrous way Goethe introduced himself as a poor awkward student. Professor Schmid, that voluminous scribbler whom Herder had chastised, was most laughably mystified by Goethe on this occasion. Two pleasant days the friends spent with Höpfner. Merck, who now first saw the Lotte whom he already knew through Goethe’s praise, had to confess that the praise was not too great. With Lotte and Goethe he was in the evening at Pfaff’s house. With the latter he went on the 19th to Wetzlar, whither Lotte followed on the 20th. Probably there Merck saw the stately dark-eyed Dorothea von Brandt, a friend of Lotte, well-inclined to Goethe. She was the second daughter of the *Prokurator Hofrath* who lived in “*das Deutsche Haus*.” Merck pointed Goethe to this “Juno form” (“*Junonische Gestalt*”),³ to whom he ought to divert the course of his affection, rather than waste in hopeless love for the betrothed of another. Goethe was his companion for another day to Giessen; but could not be induced—as Merck had hoped he might—to return to Frankfurt, thence to bring Cornelia to a ball at Darmstadt; Lotte’s magnetism was too powerful.

¹ See for this letter to Herder, *Der junge Goethe*, i. 307-310.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 310.—TR.

³ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xii. Buch (last page).—TR.

Probably in August 1772 were written those articles for the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, which appeared in its numbers from the 25th of August to the middle of September. Especially noteworthy among them is the critique of the *Gedichte von einem Polnischen Juden* (*Poems by a Polish Jew*), in which Goethe sketches his ideal of the poet of Love; whether he murmur dim foreboding of the joys of love, or hope, or realisation, truth and living beauty should be in his songs. "Yet, are there such maidens?¹—can there be such youths?" he concludes. He was himself just then threatened with a heavy loss, for his sister Cornelia had favourably received the suit of J. G. Schlosser.

On the 27th of August he sat almost all day by Lotte's side; slitting beans went on until midnight; and the new day, the 28th, his birthday, was ushered in with tea amid friendly faces.² Strange freak of destiny! it was Kestner's birthday too. Of course there were plenty of little gifts for both. Probably on this occasion Goethe gave his friend the copy of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (the edition put forth by Merck), in which he had written the lines:—

"Wenn einst nach überstandnen Lebensmüh- und Schmerzen
Das Glück dir Ruh- und Wonnetage gibt,
Vergiss nicht den, der—ach! von ganzem Herzen
Dich und mit dir geliebt."

Probably he received, as Werther does from Albert, the little Wetstein edition of Homer, for Werther not only has for birthday the same day as Goethe, but leaves his Lotte, as Goethe left his, on the 10th of September.

Goethe's birthday was always a day of self-examination, and after this one his state of mind grew rapidly more anxious and painful; several times he endeavoured to fly for safety, but could not resolve. On the 5th of September Lotte refused to accompany her passion-tossed lover to Atzbach. Next morning he writes to Kestner, murmuring at her refusal:—"The morning is so glorious, and my soul so calm, that I cannot remain in the town, I will go to Garbenheim. Lotte said yesterday that she would to-day take a longer walk than

¹ As the ideal maiden whom Goethe sketches in the critique. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 439-42.—TR.

² Goethe, writing to Charlotte Kestner, 27th August 1774, *viz.* two years later, recalls this. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 36. The ages of the three at present are, Kestner 31, Goethe 23, Lotte 19½.—TR.

usual. Not that I expect *you* out there,—but do I wish it? With all my heart!”¹ On Sept. 10th he dines with Kestner at the garden inn. In the evening he comes to *das Deutsche Haus*, firmly resolved to go away in the morning without leave-taking. Lotte happened to bring the talk on the Future State. Goethe, who sat at her feet and played with the skirt of her dress, also spoke of the Beyond; but speaking, thought not of the clouds, but of the mountains, which would soon lie between them. Lest his grief should break out and betray his intent he went suddenly away. Later in the evening he wrote, out of the oppressed fulness of his heart, lines of farewell to Kestner and Lotte, still preserved; in the morning adding to Lotte’s note a last word, enclosing some pictures for the children, forgotten until then. “Always a merry heart, dear Lotte, you are happier than a hundred—but not insensible! and I, dear Lotte, am happy that I read in your eyes your belief that I will never change. Adieu, a thousand times, adieu!”² Lotte and Kestner could only approve the step, however they regretted his departure. *Fled* he absolutely had. His great-aunt sent to Lotte to say:—“It was very impolite of Dr. Goethe to go off in this way without taking leave;” and Lotte sent in reply:—“Why have you not brought up your nephew better?”

In Wetzlar Goethe’s soul had been stirred to the depths by this maiden of such simple, “ingenuous goodness,”³ the gentle, housewifely, pure, tranquil, tender Lotte, in whom he could mirror his own personality, but who was never to be his; elevation his spirit had gained in the study of Pindar, and in the fair presence of Nature. It is probable that during the summer he had resumed his sketching, that he might receive the full impression of the landscape; but the present was too intensely engrossing to leave him faculty for song. Not a verse to Lotte’s praise; no trace of an effort to move her by poetry; not even new words to old melodies, as with Friederike, though Lotte also sang to the piano. He tore himself away from Kestner’s betrothed; but soon he was drawn back irresistibly to her side, nor was his peace of mind to return until her marriage irrevocably sundered them.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 311.—TR.

² *Ibid.* i. 312-13.—TR.

³ Goethe’s own word—*Ingenuen Güte*—when writing to Kestner [27th October 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 323.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GOETHE'S DEPARTURE FROM WETZLAR TO THE MARRIAGE OF LOTTE.

SEPTEMBER 1772—APRIL 1773.

GOETHE'S dislike of Frau von Laroche had been overcome through Merck's influence ; and he had probably received a personal invitation to her house. Having left Wetzlar earlier than was needful, he had time to calm his throbbing pain before entering the circle of the woman of the world. To that purpose should serve a short stay at Ems, after some days of pleasant pilgrimage by the banks of the Lahn, whose graceful windings, and delicate landscapes, and fertile moist valleys, and shaggy castle-crowned heights, with the tender far-off blue of mountain ranges, are still as then powerful to gladden the heart. Had he not already often felt the healing virtue of Nature ? He would prove it once more.

So with riven heart he wandered, in the early morning of the 11th of September (1772), down the right bank of the Lahn, which flashed along in the sunlight at a considerable depth below. He was ere long overtaken by his friend von Born, riding to Braunfels. It will be remembered how he had explained his feeling about Lotte to this friend before, and he did not now conceal the cause of his hasty departure from Wetzlar. From Braunfels he passed on to Weilburg and Limburg, mostly alone ; only sometimes for a short time joining others who went the same way. At Limburg he probably stopped a night ; then leaving Dietz and Nassau one by one behind he arrived at Ems. Goethe himself tells us of his strange interrogation of fate in the presence of the lovely landscape, the sacrifice in vain of his fine many-bladed pocket-knife. He wished to learn whether he should ever attain to

worthy portrayal of nature on canvas; whether he was to be poet or painter; on which question he did not arrive at full certainty until fifteen years later in Italy. From Ems, where he "several times enjoyed the tepid bath," he pursued his way by boat down the Lahn, until old Rhine widened grand before him. At length our fugitive landed at Thal, a hamlet which lovingly clasps the feet of the great fortress-crowned rock Ehrenbreitstein.

The first of the expected guests, he was warmly welcomed by the master and mistress of the splendid house perched above the Rhine at the far end of the village. Frank von Laroche, a man of four and thirty, had, in the beginning of the previous year, entered the service of the Elector of Trier as acting Privy Councillor (*Geheimrath*), and had settled down here with electoral Coblenz facing him over the Rhine, and the *Residenzschloss*, Philippsburg, close at hand. There were few points of sympathy between Goethe and this excellent man of business, this disciple of the rationalistic *Aufklärung*. On the other hand, he learned to respect Frau von Laroche, when he saw her the most careful and loving of mothers in her domestic circle, which the presence of two angels adorned; and when he saw, too, the mild tranquillity she showed towards every one, which just at that agitated time must have seemed to him an unspeakable treasure. Her eldest daughter, now between sixteen and seventeen, a dainty little thing with the blackest eyes, such as Goethe loved, and of the sweetest youthful bloom, how changed she seemed since he had last seen her in Frankfurt. There was in her a sweet consoling power to rouse his stricken heart again to life and courage, so did she to free and charming culture unite withal a morning freshness of body and soul, fair blossom in the noble Rhineland! where to the young wanderer the days seemed brighter, and the evenings more glorious, than he had ever known before. Of course the image of her whom his will but not his heart had renounced was an amulet to prevent such love as had suddenly kindled in the first meeting with Friederike or Lotte. Yet he felt the maiden sweet, worthy of the best gifts of fortune, was powerfully attracted to her. Her younger sister Luise gave promise of even more loveliness.

Very soon after Goethe's arrival came a man whom he had known since his Darmstadt period as one of the most

wearisome of go-betweens, *Rath* Franz Michael Leuchsenring, about three years his senior. This man used to ransack beautiful souls for their sentiment and exaltation, if by any means he might thereby deck out the vacant nothingness of his own being, and gain material to feed his love of intrigue and tale-bearing. Very odious to Goethe was this cavalier, who had once already sown discord between Merck and Frau von Laroche, and who now strove to ply his trade with Herder's betrothed. Still the young poet listened with great interest to letters with which Leuchsenring regaled them, revealing secret traits of the hearts of many whose names he had long known.

Soon after Leuchsenring came friend Merck with his wife, and his boy of six, Henri. Elective affinities soon displayed themselves, Merck paired off with the *Geheimrath* Laroche, Leuchsenring was the companion of the married ladies, the boys played and ran together, while the two girls rejoiced in the enthusiastic talk of the charming young poet, very tender-minded just then with the weight at the heart. A friend of theirs was the nine year old daughter of the manufacturer D'Ester, in Vallendar near by. Goethe and Frau D'Ester became close friends. With the Minister of the Elector of Trier, the Canon von Hohenfeld, our poet also became acquainted.

For some time Leuchsenring's communications had been accepted in peace, but there was a natural incompatibility between the guests. And this it was the harder to smoothen away, because Leuchsenring was effusive in praise of the brothers Jacobi, whom Frau Laroche too held high, but whom Goethe and Merck could not abide. Happily the appointed termination of the visit arrived without open rupture, for Frau von Laroche was skilful. About the 19th, Goethe and Merck left with feelings of warm friendship for their hostess. Four months later (Jan. 1773) Goethe writes to the noble lady—whom in 1774 he even came to call *Mama*:—"My imagination never ceases to picture the moment at which I had to part from you and your perfect daughters, and with heart full of farewell kissed the last hand and said, 'Do not forget me!'"¹

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 346-7. For Goethe's letters to Frau von Laroche, with a commentary, see G. von Loeper's *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*: Berlin, 1879.—TR.

With yearning he recalled those "scenes of the most deep-felt tenderness," and the "glory of domestic maternal bliss, with such angels adoring around."¹

On the purposely slow voyage up the Rhine to Mainz, according to Goethe's account he and Merck sketched many of the finest views. In Frankfurt the Merck party stayed a couple of days in the Goethes' hospitable home. Kestner, visiting Schlosser at Frankfurt, found Goethe and Merck there; this was on the afternoon of the 22d of September (1772). "It was an indescribable joy to me," we read in Kestner's diary. "Goethe fell on my neck and pressed me close." They went together to the *Römer*, where they found Merck's wife and Goethe's sister together. On the rampart, before the gate, they were met by Charlotte Gerock. Merck had first seen Charlotte and Antoinette Gerock in August; writing to his wife, had described them as charming girls, according with Goethe's ideal, all heart, full of *naïveté*; one of them (Antoinette) is bewitching. When Charlotte now saw Goethe after four months' absence, "gladness lightened her face; she suddenly ran up to him and into his arms; they kissed each other heartily." Goethe brought Kestner in the evening to his home. Goethe's mother gave the stranger a friendly welcome "on the word of her son, which is everything with her;" so did Rath Goethe, who entered just then, and with whom Kestner had a pleasant chat. At the wish of Merck's wife, Cornelia played the piano: she could play unusually well. She begged Kestner to bring Lottchen, whom she already loved far away, to see her. Next morning (September 23, 1772) Kestner and Schlosser came to Goethe, and they went through the house. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, Kestner came again; they went among the fair-booths, then to Antoinette Gerock, a passionate adorer of Goethe, who had often spoken of her in Wetzlar. After the theatre Kestner supped with the Goethes.

Goethe still ever thought on Lotte with yearning. Her silhouette, hung on the wall of his sleeping-room, received many a passionate greeting. From Kestner, taking leave on the 23d, he had obtained a promise of speedy tidings of

¹ These expressions are from a letter of Goethe's [written November 1772] to Frau von Laroche, which is not in *Der junge Goethe*. See Loeper, pp. 1-7.—TR,

Lotte; he had particularly wished to know whether she had not dreamed of him. When he heard that she had not:—"I take it very ill, and I will that she dream of me this night, and what is more, that she do not tell you of her dream."¹ On the 26th he again utters his yearning, yet he will not see her again until he has fallen seriously in love with some one else. The silhouette on the wall leaves him no rest. "If you were only to see how diligent I am," he says in the same letter.

He wrote a little critique for the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* of the 29th;² he was pretty free at this time from advocate work, at least from suits. Not until the 12th of October did he draw up a short statement, then on the 21st a second, in a case which had once been in his uncle's hands, and five days later a petition (*Bittgesuch*). There legal activity, so far as conducting suits is concerned, ceased for more than six months. A brisk communication is kept up with Wetzlar.

He looks after some purchases of draper's goods on Lotte's behalf; he cannot get her out of his mind, though he often thinks of her friend the dark-eyed Dorthel Brandt.³ Lotte prepared him a great joy when she sent him the ribbon which she had worn that first evening (June 9th) when they drove to the ball together. The betrothal of his sister, too, was at length determined; their father after long negotiating having agreed to Schlosser's conditions.⁴ The marriage was to take place next year, when Schlosser should have obtained an expected appointment at Karlsruhe. This threatening of loss disturbed Goethe's peace—the more because he feared every moment to hear tidings of the betrothal of Lotte also. Of a false report that Goué had shot himself he observes, he honours such a deed too, and pities human kind; he hopes himself never to pain friendly hearts with such tidings.⁵

¹ Goethe to Kestner, Friday [25th September 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 317.—TR.

² The critique is on *Zwei schöne neue Märlein* (they were by Zachariä). See *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 454.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner [beginning of October 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 319.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte Buff [8th October 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 320-1.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Kestner, Saturday [10th October 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 321-2.—TR.

During a few days of lovely weather, at the ingathering of the grapes, he "thought more about Lotte than she thinks of him in a quarter of a year." Yet he hopes, in course of time, to be rid of this plague also.¹

On his Name-Day came the friendliest greetings from Kestner and all Lotte's circle, but just then, too, came word how young Jerusalem had, in the night between Oct. 29th and 30th, shot himself; the cause an unhappy love. Jerusalem, a friend of Lessing, had lived as Secretary of Legation in Wetzlar. Goethe, more than two years his junior, had neither on first knowing him in Leipzig, nor at second meeting in Wetzlar, drawn very close to him. Jerusalem always regarded Goethe as the coxcomb (*Geck*), though their common friend, von Kielmansegge, had an uncommonly high estimate of the young poet. Goethe had only called on him twice; on one visit borrowing a book which had not yet been returned. Observing him often outside the town gates in the moonlight, it had occurred to Goethe that the lonely fellow was in love.² How deeply agitated must he then have been to think that just that courage to take flight, which he himself had had, was needed to save poor Jerusalem.

Yet now again he drifted back to Lotte's presence. When Schlosser, on November 6th, had to start for Wetzlar on business, Goethe went with him. They stayed until the morning of the 10th. Kestner, who went with them everywhere, was yet very glad that Schlosser took his friend away with him again, for the latter "by his original character only follows his last notion, without troubling himself as to consequences." And yet what strong instance had he to believe in Goethe's ability of self-denial! During this visit Goethe was much with Lotte; also her friend Dorthel was visited. On the last evening, sitting by Lotte on the sofa, he had, he confessed to Kestner afterwards, "right villanous and criminal thoughts" (*rechte hängerliche und hängenswerthe Gedanken*). In the early morning of the 10th, having yet taken no leave of Lotte, he wished to make good the omission, but Schlosser purposely hurrying the departure prevented him—to his vexation. They stopped at Friedberg. Schlosser had to conduct an investiga-

¹ Goethe to Kestner [October 21, 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 322. —Tr.

² Goethe to Kestner. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 324. —Tr.

tion there; while Goethe had to make a personal inspection, and to negotiate with a slater about repairing a castle. A packet from his father came with a letter which draws from him these words:—"When I one time am old, shall I be like this? Will my soul no longer yearn for what is good and lovely? Strange that while—one might think—man growing old should also day by day grow freer from what is small and sordid, he on the contrary grows always smaller and more sordid." He had begged for silhouettes of the Buff family; now he wants to get Lotte's old comb in exchange for a new one.¹ Kestner sent him the circumstantial account of Jerusalem's death which he had asked for.²

For the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* he wrote, beside other critiques, one of Wieland's *Der goldne Spiegel*; of the Göttingen *Musen Almanach* 1773; and of Lavater's *Aussichten in die Ewigkeit*; all these critiques are in the numbers ranging from Oct. 27 to Nov. 13 (1772).³ On his own account he published anonymously the pamphlet *Von Deutscher Baukunst. D. M. Ervini à Steinbach*, written in the Hamann-Herder style. Here he defends Gothic architecture against its Italian and German contemners. A sketch of the previous year may be the groundwork of this pamphlet.⁴

Most of his time was spent in drawing; of legal practice he would hear nothing. In the time of his extremest depression came the offer of the Strassburg Legal Faculty to make him a Doctor: this was Salzmann's work. He at once declined it. "The letter came at an unhappy time," he wrote to Salzmann, "and then, not to speak of the ceremonial, all thought of being a doctor is gone by. I am so sick of *Licentieren*, so sick of all practice, that I at most only try to keep up appearances, and in Germany the one degree is as good as the other."

On the 16th of November (1772) he hastened to Darmstadt to Merck, in whose company he hoped to go to Mannheim, to renew the joy of seeing the antiques there. But Merck

¹ Goethe to Kestner [Friedberg, 10th November 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 325-6. See also: Goethe to Kestner [15th December 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 332.—TR.

² Goethe, writing from Darmstadt [29th November 1772], acknowledges it. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 329.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 455, 462, 467.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 204-214, and see: Goethe to Kestner [13th November 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 327-8.—TR.

could not get away. Goethe stayed four weeks with him, diligently occupied in sketching and engraving. "Our good Goethe is here," writes Caroline on Nov. 27, "lives and sketches, and we sit at the winter table around him, and we look and listen. Merck's house has become an Academy; they draw, they etch. He has drawn a little landscape piece for me with a mountain castle, and at the foot of the mountain a village." Eight days later we hear Goethe is teaching Merck to draw; and seems to have become more quiet and refined. Goethe himself writes to Herder, December 5, 1772:—"I am now all draughtsman, I am courageous and happy. I have been very glad to find you have been so interested in *Erwin*" (the pamphlet *Von deutscher Baukunst*). "Merck is making verses" (he was writing his satirical Guide to making one's Fortune as a Poet, the *Rhapsodie von Johann Heinrich Reinhart dem Jüngern*), "and he is printing" (Merck had set up a printing-press in Langen, near Darmstadt). "We mirror ourselves in each other, and we lean on one another, and we share the joys and tediums of this mortal life." He thanks Herder for having in an essay on Shakespeare, though without naming him, blessed him for *Götz*. "We are the ancients," he adds; "a little modified here and there does not matter. And when you come in spring [for his marriage] it will be splendid. My father greets you, and you shall come beneath his roof with the greatest welcome, that is understood; now I have eased my conscience so far as he is concerned."¹

About the 11th of December (1772) he returned to Frankfurt. He heard that Lottchen's sister of sixteen, Helene, of whom he had heard a great deal, had returned to her home, where she was to take Lottchen's place by and by. In bitter mood he writes:—"I believe I would prefer her to Lotte. By her portrait [sent to him by Kestner] she seems an amiable girl—much better than Lotte, if not exactly like. And I am free and love-needy. I must see to come; yet that would be no use either. Here I am again in Frankfurt, revolve new plans and crotchets, all which I should *not* do had I but a sweetheart."² Yet we hear three days later that he is

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 330.—TR.

² Goethe to Kestner [12th December 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 332.—TR.

in tolerable spirits, and working stoutly.¹ Drawing especially was carried on with great diligence. He had seven fine heads after Raphael in his chamber, and in copying one of them he found an aid to tranquillity. By this time it had been settled that Merck was to withdraw from the editorship of the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, as, without asking his opinion, the publishers had accepted articles which he did not approve of. Schlosser followed Merck, and Goethe declared that he too would have no more to do with the review. Yet two articles² which appeared—one on the 18th, one on the 25th—were from his pen; and two more appeared during the course of January and February 1773, which were probably written in December 1772.

He had not withdrawn altogether from his old merry companions. On the 24th (December 1772) he went “with some capital young fellows to the country,” where “their merriment was very noisy, shouting and laughter from beginning to end;” but he drank no wine. When they came to the bridge on their return, the winter sun had set, and darkness ascending from the east covered north and south; only in the west there was a silent region of diminishing faint light. The spectacle affected Goethe deeply; and that he might not let the impression go, he hurried to the Gerocks’ house, got pencil and paper, and sketched the whole picture “glimmering warm” (*dämmernd warm*) as it stood in his soul. The general approval told him that he had done well; in his good spirits he wanted to have them all throw dice for the sketch; but every one insisted that it ought to be sent to Merck. Then they spent a pleasant evening together. Next morning—Christmas morning, 1772—he rises very early; has coffee made; and writes a long letter to Kestner.³ A day or two after, he writes that he has made up a *Nachrede* (epilogue) for the publisher of the *Frankfurter Anzeigen*, in which it is stated that the critics whose work there had been most complained of are retiring. He was pleased to find that he

¹ Goethe to Kestner [15th December 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 332-4.—TR.

² On Sulzer's *Die schönen Künste*, On Joch *Über Belohnung und Strafen nach türkischen Gesetzen*. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 470, 477.—TR.

³ From which the foregoing account is drawn. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 334-8.—TR.

succeeded in quizzing (*turlupinirt*) both the public and the publisher.¹

His moods were as various as his occupations. In the beginning of the new year (1773), we find him zealously urging on his drawing. "I am excessively the artist just at present," he writes to Kestner.² But at the same time the humour seized him to make his appearance as author under the mask of a pastor. Following the precedent of Rousseau's *Lettre d'un vicaire*, he wrote a *Brief des Pastors zu * * * an den neuen Pastor zu * * * Aus dem Französischen*.³ In this *Letter* a loving, earnest soul expounds—in opposition to cold overweening rationalism—that true tolerance which arises from faith in Christ—the only ground of salvation. So fervent and beautiful is the pleading, that Lavater and his circle were deeply moved. What Goethe had observed during his intercourse with the Klettenberg circle; what he had himself felt during his temporary mystic mood, is here exalted to poetry, and clothed in clearly-outlined noble poetic form. The success of this attempt encouraged him to publish—under the mask of a country clergyman of Swabia—two peculiar Biblical expositions which he had long had in his desk. Already Hamann had given *eine Beilage von einem Geistlichen in Schwaben* to his *Denkwürdigkeiten des seligen Sokrates*.⁴ The first of Goethe's *Zwo wichtige, bisher unerörterte biblische Fragen*,⁵ discusses the contents of the Tables of the Law; the thesis maintained, that on the Tables were written, not the Ten Commandments, but ten constitutions of the covenant of God with Israel, had been already put forth in his Strassburg Doctor's Dissertation.⁶ The second part, an explanation of the phrase "speak with tongues," in the *Acts of the Apostles*,

¹ Goethe to Kestner [December 1772]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 338. This *Nachrede* was first included in *Goethe's Werke* in the critical edition lately brought out by Gustav Hempel of Berlin, Bd. xxix. S. 76. It is in *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 480-83.—TR.

² "Ich bin sehr Künstler jetzt." Goethe to Kestner [18th January 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 342.—TR.

³ *Letter from the Pastor at — to the new Pastor at —*. From the French. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 215-229.—TR.

⁴ *A Supplement by a clergyman in Swabia to his Memorabilia of the dead Socrates*.—TR.

⁵ *Two important hitherto undiscussed Biblical questions*. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 230-241.—TR.

⁶ See Exodus. xxxiv. 10-28.—TR.

had also been long written. The tone of a simple believing pastor is hit wonderfully well, and the clothing of language and circumstance happily imagined and wrought out.

To the beginning of the year (1773) falls also the crack-brained performance *Concerto drammatico composto dal Sigr. Dottore Flammínio detto Panurgo secondo. Aufzuführen in der Darmstädter Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*¹—a humorous reply to a humorous collective letter from his Darmstadt friends. But it is about this time that Goethe will have been more closely meditating a great dramatic design—the *Mahomet*.² He desired to set forth how, in carrying out the details of a great idea, the prophet is forced at length to artifice; and so the earthly by degrees chokes the divine. At the Wetzlar period he had acquired some knowledge of the Koran, proved by his using a text³ from it in a letter to Herder written in July 1772; this text is in the extracts from the Koran which Goethe made, and which are still preserved.

His grief for Lotte he sought to assuage as he best might, little as he could quell his love. As he writes to Kestner, late on the evening of the 18th of January (1773), he says good-night to “sweet” Lotte before her silhouette; he has to-day already wished her many a “good-day” and “good-evening.” “Wherever you may be,” he says, “happy and loved too, by me more than by any other here below. And I too am happy, content in myself; for I never have wanted for anything external yet.” Goethe’s sister writes at the same time that they are living a simple and contented life; when they sit round the fire chatting, or listening to Wolfgang read aloud, they often wish for their Wetzlar friends. Among Cornelia’s friends were two daughters of Philipp Anselm Münch, a merchant living in the *Döngesgasse* (the house is now No. 20); the elder, Susanna Magdalena, had been born on the 11th of January 1753; Anna Sibylla on July 3, 1758. The humorous remark in a letter of the 26th (January 1773) to Kestner

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 197-203.—Tr.

² The song of Ali and Fatema (see *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 30-33) appeared in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* for 1774, which was published in autumn 1773; the song was one of those which, in March 1773, Goethe would send to the editor through Kestner, if Merck had not already sent it.—*Düntzer in the Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880.—Tr.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 308:—“Ich möchte beten wie Moses im Koran: ‘Herr mache mir Raum in meiner engen Brust.’”—Tr.

refers to the former of these :—"Tell Lotte : a certain girl here whom I am heartily fond of, and whom I would certainly choose if I were to marry, was born too on the 11th of January.¹ It would be nice—two such couples. Who knows what God's will is?"² A fortnight later he says :—"The maiden greets Lotte ; in character she has much of Lenchen ; looks like her too, says my sister, judging by the silhouette. If we loved each other so dearly as you two ! I call her meanwhile 'dear little wife ;' for lately in company when throwing dice for us youths, I fell to her. She had to beat a throw of seventeen ; had given up hope ; and lo ! she throws all sixes!"³

The ice was exceedingly good at the beginning of February 1773 ; he tells Kestner how the sun of the 4th rose and set while he still skated. "And yet other matters of rejoicing which I cannot speak of," he goes on. "On this make your mind easy—that I am almost as happy as people who love as you do ; that there is as much hope in me as in lovers ; that I even of late have felt some poems ; and what else accords with all this. My sister greets you ; they greet you, my maidens ; they greet you, my gods—specially fair Paris here on the right, golden Venus there, and the messenger Mercurius" (the reference is to a picture), "who delights in the fleet-footed, and yesterday bound beneath my feet his 'divine sandals—the fair golden sandals that bear him over the barren sea and the infinite earth with the wind's breath'" (*after Homer*). "And so the good beings in heaven bless you."⁴ The bright winter morning, and a letter from Merck announcing his coming early next day, had made Goethe thus high-spirited.

To this period, probably, belongs that bold and right marking out of the true poet's power over language, the lines beginning, "Was reich und arm ! was stark und schwach !" also the fable *Adler und Taube*, which expresses feelingly the

¹ Lotte was born January 13, 1753. See p. 146. Thus Goethe was mistaken, according to Herr Düntzer. (I just note, however, that Herbst in his lately published *Goethe in Wetzlar* (p. 104) makes Lotte's birthday fall on January 11.)—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 343.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner [11th Feb. 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 349-50.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Kestner [5th February 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 347-8.—TR.

thought: No inactive calm can bring content to a powerful spirit.¹

Merck stopped from the 6th until the 11th (February 1773). During this time roguish doggerel verses to Herder were concocted; the printing of the *Zwo biblische Fragen* was decided on (they dated it "*M. den 6. Februar 1773*"); and the poem *Der Wanderer* was given to Merck, who would send it to Boie, the publisher of the Göttingen *Musenalmannach*. Influenced by Merck, he made up his mind to let *Mahomet* stand by, and to remodel *Götz*; then Merck would have it printed and published—Goethe should only bear the cost of the paper.²

Steadily now did he labour at *Götz* in his "watch-tower" (*Warte*),³ almost altogether shutting himself up from society, though it was Shrovetide. The re-shaping of *Götz* was a weighty task; for entire new scenes had to be inlaid: the fifth act especially had to be in large part re-written. The young poet had sufficient self-mastery to omit many powerful scenes, which had spoiled the unity of the whole. During all this period he only once suffered himself to be much agitated—the cause Kestner's writing that he was soon to leave Wetzlar.⁴ The remodelled play, in which judgment and vivid imaginative power were equally displayed, was ready for the printer in the beginning of March (1773).

The intercourse with Salzmann, too, was again resumed. This good friend had sent his essay on Revenge—part of his *moralisch-philosophische Abhandlungen*—to Goethe. The Goethes, father and son, were much pleased with it. Before this, Salzmann had sent to him adaptations from Plautus "by a friend," who wished to have them printed. The adapter was Lenz, he had asked Salzmann to keep his name secret. Goethe had commented on these adaptations; the writer had declared his agreement with the critic; and, accordingly, in a letter to Salzmann on the 6th of March (1773), Goethe gives further

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 16-18.—TR.

² On the inaccuracy of the *Dichtung und Wahrheit* account of *Götz*, see Düntzer in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner [22d February 1773]. "Alles tanzt um mich herum . . . und ich sitze auf meiner Warte." *Der junge Goethe*, i. 350.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Kestner [25th February 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 350-1.—TR.

counsel on adaptation.¹ Immediately after this, Lenz, who (with good reason!) had long held back from Goethe, acknowledged the authorship and communicated direct with his friend.

Anticipation of Lotte's marriage kept Goethe in uneasy tension of mind. Fearing that Kestner would tell him nothing of it until all was over, he commenced to correspond with Hans Buff, Lotte's brother, a schoolboy of sixteen.² From Hans he learned that Kestner had ordered the marriage ring in Frankfurt; immediately he himself took up the matter, and as the rings submitted did not please him, he caused new ones to be made.³ His extreme perturbation is evidenced by a letter to Johanna Fahlmer. This lady, the rather young aunt by marriage of the Jacobis,—she was but five years older than Goethe,—had come in June 1772 to Frankfurt, in the company of her mother (the daughter of a Frankfurt pastor), and of *Galeriedirektor* Mannlich. Merck paid her a visit here in August, and Goethe soon after his return from Wetzlar in September (1772) made her acquaintance. But it is only now that he seems to have become intimate with the lady, whom J. G. Jacobi has sung under the name "Adelaide," and whom Frau von Laroche held in high esteem. He began to give her lessons in English: he used Goldsmith's *Vicar* as a text; but one morning, instead of going to her, he sends the *Vicar* and a dictionary that she may work by herself; for he finds himself in a "state of perturbation." And unmixed though it be with anything of vexation or anxiety, yet she would, for some days to come, have a negligent instructor.⁴ About the same time came the very unwelcome news that Merck had decided to go with the *Landgräfin* and the three princesses to Berlin in the beginning of May (1773); was he now to lose for such a long time this truest of friends—to lose the hoped-for summer visit to Switzerland in his companionship!

The news that Lotte's marriage had taken place on Palm Sunday the 4th of April (1773), came as a surprise. With

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 351-4.—TR.

² Goethe to Kestner, enclosing a letter to Hans Buff [15th March 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 354-356.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner [end of March 1773?]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 357.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [March 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 356.—TR.

deep emotion he writes to Kestner :—" I wander in deserts where no water is, my hair is my shadow from the sun and my blood is my well-spring of water. And yet your ship, safe, first arrived in port, with coloured streamers, and rejoicing cries, makes me glad too. I am not going to Switzerland. And beneath or above God's sky, I am ever your friend and Lotte's."¹ But at Easter he had a good day, so good that " Labour, and Pleasure, and Endeavour, and Enjoyment all flowed in one." In the " fair and solemn evening of stars," he thought sadly of that last strange talk on the eve of his departure from Wetzlar. Then follows an outbreak of the fretful humour born of his loneliness.²

But as his moods varied with extreme rapidity, he about this time³ concocted a comical *Jahrmarkt*, in which Leuchsenring figured, probably as a pedlar with letters and ribbons, which he offers for sale to all persons of sentiment. Jacobi's true-hearted half-sister, Charlotte, returned from a Hannover boarding-school to the house of her aunt Fahlmer—whom Goethe henceforward always called "*Tante*" or "*Täntchen*," as they called her in the family. To these two ladies, Goethe sent a poem on the "high, holy" Easter morning; in this poem he pours forth the feelings inspired by the beautiful spring weather, when at his window early in the morning he "heard the voices of the birds, and saw the almond-tree blossom, and all the hedges green beneath the glorious heaven."⁴ To this period we must ascribe probably single songs of the *Mahomet*, one of which⁵ he at the end of the month sent, with two other poems, through Kestner to Boie. Though all his contributions appeared without his name, yet his first appearance in the lyric ranks was thus through the medium of the *Musenalmanach*.

On the 13th of April Anna Sophie Brandt, a girl of twenty, who was one of Lotte's friends, came to the Frankfurt Fair. She brought to Goethe Lotte's carefully kept bridal bouquet,

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 359.—TR.

² Goethe to Kestner [11th April 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 361-2.—TR.

³ In the beginning of April 1773 Caroline Flachsland tells Herder that "Junker Berlichingen" has lately sent a *Jahrmarkt* in verse to Darmstadt.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 360.—TR.

⁵ See page 164, note 2.—TR.

and he placed it in his coat. Glad as he was to hear from Anna Brandt the details of the wedding, an intense agitation was roused by the vivid realising that Lotte was irreclaimably gone to another.¹ Frankfurt became unendurable : he hurried (April 15) to Darmstadt on foot to see Merck once more before the Berlin journey, and to be present at Herder's marriage, though Herder was on very strained terms with Merck and Goethe. Caroline thought the young poet reserved, but she was prejudiced in his disfavour through Herder.

A great shock during this stay was the death of Urania, to whose death-bed Lila had hastened from Homburg. "Early this morning she was buried," he writes to Kestner on the 21st April, "and I am ever by her grave, and linger there to give up my breath and warmth of life, and to be a voice from the stone to the passer-by. But alas ! it is forbidden to me to put up a tablet to her memory, and I am vexed that I may not defy the gossips and tattlers."² A rumour that Urania was in love with him seems to have been current ; it was probably not unfounded, though Goethe himself had not guessed the fact. "My poor existence has stiffened into barren rock," he goes on. "This summer all depart. Merck with the Court to Berlin ; his wife to Switzerland ; my sister ; Caroline Flachsland ; you ; everybody. And I am alone. If I do not take a wife or hang myself, then say that I am right fond of life, or invent something even more to my honour." On the 28th of April he breaks out shrill :—"God forgive it to the gods, who play with us so." Yet he will forget all his pain. And let Kestner forget everything in Lotte's arms, work his daily work, enjoy the sun, and in hours of rest remember how Goethe loves him.³ He had a sorrowful parting with Merck, whom he saw depart with the *Landgräfin* and the three princesses. The youngest of these princesses Goethe was destined to greet as his sovereign during more than half a century.⁴ After her death he said that since he had seen her long ago, a light slender girl, step into the carriage on the Frankfurt *Zeil*, he had been faithfully devoted to her. Even

¹ Goethe to Kestner [14th April 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 362-5.

—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, i. 366.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner, Darmstadt, Sunday [28th April 1773].—TR.

⁴ The Duchess Luise of Saxe-Weimar died in February 1830.—TR.

worse than to part from Merck was to meet Herder, who was and remained hostile. Through Leuchsenring's kind offices, Herder, then in great anxiety about his call to Göttingen, had become incensed against Goethe, who, however, was present at the wedding (May 2), next day returning to Frankfurt, where he awaited the coming of Herder and his young wife. Of this visit we have no details. But Goethe's letter to Sophie Laroche, 12th May 1773, proves the grief felt at his friend's estrangement:—"I am alone, alone, and grow daily more so. And yet I would endure it—that souls which are made for one another meet so seldom, and are generally apart; but that they should misunderstand one another most in the moments of most auspicious union! that is a dreary enigma."¹ For a year and a half all intercourse with Herder ceased.

Before Kestner left Wetzlar, Goethe's grief for Lotte was somewhat assuaged, but Kestner thought it needful to spare him still, and the newly married people did not come to Frankfurt. Before their departure Goethe wrote composedly:—"May all good spirits bless your journey. I am occupied enough and am content. My solitude well agrees with me. So long as this endures! Adieu! dear Lotte, now for once in right earnest, Adieu!"²

¹ Not in *Der junge Goethe*. See *Loeper*, pp. 13-14.—TR.

² Goethe to Kestner (May 1773). *Der junge Goethe*, i. 369.—TR.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PUBLICATION OF *GÖTZ*—THE BEGINNING OF FAME.

MAY—DECEMBER 1773.

AFTER his return from Darmstadt (3d of May 1773) he took up anew his long discontinued legal activity. By the 7th of May we find him drawing up a statement in a case in which he had been employed before; between the 26th and the close of the year we find him engaged on several cases, transferred to him from his brother-in-law to be, who had gone to Karlsruhe. But he got other clients too, so that at some periods, in August and September particularly, his hands were pretty full. He wished to please his father, who had always left him so free, and who, even now, permitted him to regard his profession as of subordinate importance. The wise and loving mediation of his mother, with Fräulein Klettenberg for ally, had hitherto availed to prevent an incurable division. Father and son now made mutual concessions. The former, perceiving how distasteful practice was to Wolfgang, would be content if only it might not be altogether given up. He had had fine plans about his son's Frankfurt life. But he had, by degrees, grown familiar with the possibility that Wolfgang, instead of settling down in the handsome parental house with a respectable official position, would, at least for a time, find away from home pleasures and labours more correspondent to his genius. The fame which Wolfgang soon won as a poet made his father patient towards many an irregularity, and the Frau Rath was, as has been said, a wise and loving mediator. Wolfgang's legal activity continued during 1774 and 1775 also, until the time came to leave Frankfurt for good.

When at last, on the 16th of June (1773), he can send to

the happy married couple in Hannover the first copy of *Götz*, we hear that he is dreaming and dawdling (*gängeln*) through life, conducting detestable law-suits, writing *dramata*, novels, and such



FIG. 16. Silhouette sent by Goethe to Lotte. From A. Kestner's *Goethe und Werther*.

like, sketching and smudging, and driving things on as well as he can. "The people say that the curse of Cain is on me. But I have slain no brother. And I think the people are fools."¹ Among the plans that then hovered in his brain was that of *Faust*. On the 14th he had outlined his silhouette for Lotte, on the back he wrote:—"Good-night, Lotte!" With it he intended to forward the verses which we give in facsimile.²

A month later he writes to Kestner:—"I am right diligent, and if Fortune is good you will soon receive something else in another manner. I wish Lotte were not indifferent to my drama. I have already garlands of praise of many kinds woven of all manner of leaf and flower—even Italian flowers; garlands which, each in turn, I have tried on, and laughed at my face in the glass. The gods have sent me a sculptor, and if, as we hope, he can find work here, I will forget a great deal. Sacred Muses reach me the *aurum potabile*, *elixir vitæ* of your goblets! I languish. What pain it is to dig wells and build a cottage in waste places. And my popinjays, which I have reared" (he means his thoughts and feelings), "which chat to me, they too, like myself, sicken and hang their heavy wings. This day last year it was very different; I would take my oath I sat with Lotte this day last year. I am working up my situation in a play (*Schauspiel*) for the defiance of God and of man. I know what Lotte will say when she sees it, and I know what my reply will be."³ Thus all other plans were subordinate to the dramatic presentation of his unhappy love; as was his way he would free himself from his pain by dealing with it as a material for a work of art.

He sent copies of *Götz* in all directions, to revive the

¹ Goethe to Kestner [16th June 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 372-3.—TR.

² Reprinted *Der junge Goethe*, i. 381.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner in Hannover [July, 19th 1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 375-6.

[illegible]

memory of him in his friends; to Hermann in Leipzig; probably to Krebel there too; to Gotter in Gotha, who may bring out an adaptation of it on the private stage of which he is manager; to Salzmann and Lenz in Strassburg; to the French Lieutenant Demars in Neubreisach (Neuf-Brisac). To the last-named he writes that the play must make its fortune among soldiers; how it will get on among Frenchmen he is doubtful.¹ To the great names in literature he did not turn; not to Lessing, whom he always held so high; nor to Wieland, who had been constantly going down in his esteem; nor to Nicolai of Berlin, the lover of strife. Nor do we hear of a copy being sent to Herder; who yet thought so much of *Götz* that he wrote to Nicolai he knew not "any Marionette of modern manufacture as such that he would exchange for it."

Goethe had also been found willing to write for the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* again. Of the articles now in Goethe's works four were printed in the interval between April 9th and May 7th (1773); only the earlier part of the last of these articles—that on Lavater's *Predigten über das Buch Jonas*,² was written by Goethe. On the 15th of May he writes again after such a long silence to Assessor Hermann in Leipzig, to beg his counsel or aid in the matter of a fine incurred by the publisher.³ On July 20th appeared Goethe's notice of the *Lieder Sineds des Barden*, on August 17th that of *Herr Holland's philosophische Anmerkungen über das System der Natur*.⁴ And here he ceased for the present to occupy himself with criticism.

At the beginning of August (1773) he had the happiness of a week of Sophie von Laroche's company. "She has given us eight happy days," he tells Kestner. "It is a delight to live with such beings. Oh, Kestner, how well it is with me! if I have not their actual presence, yet they stand ever before me, my dear ones all. My circle of noble men and women is the most precious thing that I have won for myself."⁵ Soon

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 374.—Tr.

² Sermons on the Book of Jonah. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 495-8.—Tr.

³ Of the *Frankfurter Anzeigen*; Goethe to Assessor Hermann, 15th May 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 370-1.—Tr.

⁴ Herr Holland's Philosophical Remarks on the *Système de la nature*. *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 498 and 503.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Kestner [between 15th and 21st August 1773?—Trans.] *Der junge Goethe*, i. 377-8.—Tr.

after came the bright young Helena Elizabeth Jacobi to fetch Charlotte away from Johanna Fahlmer. Helena had been for nine years the wife of *Kammerrath* Friedrich Jacobi, in Düsseldorf. To Kestner Goethe (September 15) calls her "a right dear worthy lady," whom he has "been able to live on right good terms with;" yet he has avoided all allusion to the Jacobi brothers, has acted as though she had nor husband nor brother-in-law; for he does not desire their friendship, despising them so. Let them compel his esteem; as they at present compel his contempt, then he will and must love them.¹ "Short as was the time I saw you," he wrote to this new friend, even before her departure,² "there hovers constantly about me still a so thoroughly delightful impression of your presence, and that you like me, even a little bit." Lotte Jacobi too he had found very attractive. Their aunt went with the sisters, and stayed some time at Düsseldorf.

In the company of his Frankfurt friends of both sexes he found the summer of 1773 pass away with plenty of variety; though at the end of June he complains³ that he is painfully holding together the dreary remnants of their delightful company; and wishes for kind winter's return, to make the water solid, and hunt the maidens indoors again. Friend Crespel, Horn—who in the spring had obtained a civic appointment—and Riese doubtless contributed largely to the pleasures of the time. Alas, there was a lack of friends of another stamp; Merck far away, there were none to sympathise with his zealous efforts in art, to help him on by penetrating criticism of his literary work, and by like aspiration.

Goetz von Berlichingen, that glorious reflection of the German spirit, the first German drama which could take a place beside the first German comedy, Lessing's *Minna*, had meanwhile been everywhere received with the greatest acclamation. The sale of copies, however, which had fallen on its unnamed young author's shoulders since Merck's departure, was giving

¹ Goethe to Kestner, September 15, 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 380. (foot).—Tr.

² See the letter (dated—erroneously, Herr Düntzer believes—[October 1773]): to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi, in Düsseldorf. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 390. The three ladies had gone when Goethe wrote that letter to Kestner, September 15.—Tr.

³ In his letter to Demars, already quoted. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 374. —Tr.

him a great deal of trouble. Praise did not dazzle him; *Götz* he thought of as a mere trial piece of his genius, which must pursue the ever-lengthening path of its development. Instead of ransacking further the Middle Age Knightdom, to make it live again in a drama like *Götz*, he obeyed the impulse to another literary form, to the moulding of material supplied by his own experience. "Now I am at a novel, but it is slow work," he writes on the 15th of September to Kestner. "And a drama for the boards, in order that the fellows may see that, if I please, I can observe rules, and portray morality and sentimentality."¹ The novel was to set forth his own position as a lover while at Wetzlar, which he had at first thought to give a dramatic form to.² What drama in accordance with ordinary stage requirement he has in mind we do not know. "Just a word in confidence as an author," he adds. "My Ideals grow daily in beauty and greatness; and, if my vigour leaves me not and my love, there shall yet be much account made of my loves, and the public, too, shall yield its sympathy." After this one can understand what he had already said in the same letter:—"I completely humour my father now; he tries to enmesh me more every day in the civic affairs, and I let be. While my strength is still mine, one tear! and all sevenfold hempen cords are in twain." (*Ein Riss! und all die siebenfachen Bastseile sind entzwey.*) Only while his genius suffers it will he continue at the lawyer-work he dislikes so much. He adds:—"I am much more easy-tempered, and see that everywhere you can find the human, everywhere largeness and pettiness, the beautiful and the hateful. And then I am working away stoutly, and hope to push on in all sorts of ways this winter." (*Und denke den Winter allerlei zu fördern*). To the beginning of October (1773) falls the powerful poem *Prometheus*, in which the Greek fable receives this turning: that through the impulsion of his own genius the artist does his great things.

What specially weighed on him at this period was the threatening loss of his sister; he writes to Kestner—"I lose

¹ "Jetzt arbeit' ich einen Roman, es geht aber langsam. Und ein Drama fürs Aufführen damit die Kerls sehen, dass nur an mir liegt, Regeln zu beobachten und Sittlichkeit, Empfindsamkeit darzustellen." *Der junge Goethe*, i. 381.—TR.

² See the letter to Kestner of July 19, 1773, already quoted.—TR.

much in losing her, she understands and bears with my humours.”¹ Then there was anxiety about her future, for when Schlosser went to Karlsruhe the fixed appointment which had been promised was not at once given to him: he was kept in suspense. Of his own worldly advancement Goethe thought least; it was opposite to his disposition to hunt after connections with powerful persons; he sought only the intimacy of really significant men, whose intellects and hearts could give him the aid he desired, but he sought it only as he felt that he was welcome. And it was a great joy to him that many came to see him as they passed through Frankfurt: he always counted it a special merit of his native city that through it ran the best route of so many travellers.

Of his old Strassburg friends one that had again drawn near to him was Lenz. Goethe had discussed with him the adaptations from Plautus, and had introduced them to a Leipzig publisher. (About his own writings he has as yet treated with no publisher, he had not even applied to the booksellers of his acquaintance. Now, after the success of *Götz*, came an offer from the Weygand firm, which he used, in the first instance, on his friend's behalf.) When the copy of *Götz* came to Lenz, he sent to Goethe an essay *On Our Marriage* (*Ueber unsere Ehe*), in which, after comparing the genius of himself and of his friend with pretty and humorous turnings, he urges that there should be the most intimate union between them. The printing of the comedies from Plautus had begun when Goethe wrote as follows to Salzmann:—“You have not this long time heard anything of me from myself, probably, however, all sorts of news of me from Lenz and some of our friends. I push on continually with my task, for the Plautine comedies begin to make their appearance. But won't Lenz write to me? I have something for him on my heart.” Then he requests Salzmann to send a copy of *Götz* to Sessenheim addressed “*An Mll. Brion*,” it will be some comfort to poor Friederike that the faithless lover is poisoned.² Salzmann and Friederike were on friendly terms. Another connection was that which Goethe now formed with the mystic-pious

¹ In the letter of September 15, 1773, so often quoted already.—TR.

² Goethe to Salzmann [October or November 1773:—“Meine Schwester heurathet nach Carlsruh.”—*Trans.*] *Der junge Goethe*, i. 385.—TR.

Lavater. Lavater knew by May (1773) that Goethe had written the notice (see p. 160) of *Aussichten in die Ewigkeit*, and that he was thinking of a journey to Switzerland. In Physiognomy they were soon to find a special bond of union.

About the 10th of October (1773), Schönborn, the ex-secretary of Count Bernstorff, the secretary at present of the Danish Consulate in Algiers, came to Frankfurt on his way to the scene of his new activity. Schönborn was a native of Schleswig. He was twelve years Goethe's senior, and was on friendly terms with Klopstock, Gerstenberg, and Claudius. He had a letter for Goethe from Boie, whom he had just learned to know in Göttingen. At the Frankfurt inn he met, by chance, in the evening, Professor Höpfner, who was expecting Goethe. Thus was the acquaintance immediately made. "We spend every day together," writes Schönborn on the 12th to Gerstenberg. "His bearing is serious and melancholy, through which yet often breaks sudden shimmer of comic, laughing, satiric humour. He is very eloquent, and overflows with ideas which are very witty. Indeed he possesses, so far as I know him, an exceedingly intuitive poetic power, which feels its way through and through to the centre of objects, so that in his intellect everything becomes local and individual. Everything with him is metamorphosed into the dramatic. He seems to work with extreme facility; now he is working at a drama called *Prometheus*, of which he has read to me two acts, in which there are thoroughly noble passages springing from the depths of Nature." (Gerstenberg thought from this that the drama was not yet finished.) "He draws and paints well. His room is full of beautiful casts of the best antiques. His desire is to go to Italy to have a good look round at all the works of art." Goethe also read to Schönborn the farces on Wieland and the Jacobis, these, however, he would not print. There was no talk of *Faust*, which as yet only hovered before him. Schönborn met the friendliest reception in the Goethes' house. He encouraged Goethe to enclose a few lines, dated October 18, to Gerstenberg, and to send to Claudius some little contributions for the *Wandsbecker Bote*.

At last, in October 1773, Schlosser was able to return as Court and Government Councillor (*Hof- und Regierungsrath*) to the Markgraf of Baden. On the 13th the formal betrothal was celebrated. "You know what I had in my

sister," writes Goethe to Tante Fahlmer in Düsseldorf. "Yet what matters it? an honest fellow must learn to bear everything." He also confides to her that he is working at many things, but has nothing completed. So the work which was to present the circumstances of his Wetzlar love had not been getting on very well. But "A beautiful new plan has developed in my soul for a great drama;" he will only first see whether he can learn anything from the praise or blame awarded to *Götz*.¹ The "new plan" was probably the now resumed subject, *Julius Cæsar*, of which he had spoken to Schönborn. But he found himself unable to dispose the mighty material.

Not so with a merry dialogue to pay off Wieland. *Der Deutsche Merkur* had been founded at the beginning of the year by Wieland and the Jacobis, to Goethe's mind only as an unworthy money speculation. Goethe had, from time to time, been much irritated by its articles, and was especially enraged by the editor's letters on Wieland's operetta *Alceste*, comparing it with Euripides's tragedy. On a Sunday afternoon his mood impelled him to write the farce *Götter Helden und Wieland*, which he threw off rapidly with a bottle of Burgundy beside him,² and then sent to Lenz.

On the 1st of November (1773) his sister was married. There was no lack of bridal poems and festal addresses; but not from Wolfgang: he could not play the smiling congratulator on an occasion so fraught with sad consequence to himself; he was too deeply grieved. His correspondence with Düsseldorf had meanwhile gone on briskly. He had expressed his hearty sympathy in the birth of a little daughter to Betti.³ She thanks him with earnest friendship as soon as her health allows; but could not suppress the wish that her friend might no longer stand in such opposition to her husband and her brother-in-law. "I would fain not write to you, best lady, in my present humour, and yet would fain say to you what pleasure your letter has given me. I felt with intense vividness your voice, your being about me; and you must feel how dear to me your presence is. Already have I stood an hour and

¹ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer in Düsseldorf, October 18, 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 386-7.—Tr.

² See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, p. 381 (*top*).—Tr.

³ Goethe to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi in Düsseldorf, 3d November 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 392.—Tr.

mirrored myself in your letter, and am at your bed-side, and——but good-night, best lady. When I cannot speak with you from the heart, better silence.”¹ It was impossible to say to her that he must, notwithstanding so dear a mediator, decline all connection with the Jacobis, because of what he knew of them, and because of the way in which they had spoken of him. *His heart* had not yet interceded for these two men, though the women, his dear friends, might cherish the firm conviction that they must and would love each other. Thus this attempt to bring together Goethe and the Jacobis was as unsuccessful as that of Johanna Fahlmer to bring together Goethe and Wieland.

The departure of his sister on the 14th of November made a great rift in Goethe's life. But then pleasant letters from the dear ones thus removed, and the correspondence with Betti and Tante, did much to cheer him. Still, as ever, drawing and poetry filled up his best hours. Besides, he was working at *Erwin und Elmire*—a comedy with songs, the subject of which he borrowed from a ballad in Goldsmith's *Vicar—Edwin and Angelina*; he had almost finished the little piece, and was in treaty with the players about it. As he himself observes, it was manufactured without any great expense of feeling or intellect for the horizon of the Frankfurt players and stages, and yet they could not act it.² The silk-manufacturer, Johann André of Offenbach had undertaken to set the songs to music; his own operetta *Der Töpfer* had been produced with great applause in Frankfurt. He was eight years older than Goethe, who had grown intimate with him. Indeed, André having ventured to publish his operetta in score, Goethe, through Tante Fahlmer, had made a vain endeavour to get a kindly notice from Wieland's *Merkur* of the modest little work.³ Beside this comedy *Erwin und Elmire*, Goethe was brooding on “some more important pieces,” which “he was laying down in their ground work,” and “studying over.”⁴ *Julius Cæsar* he found impracticable; the following in a letter to

¹ Goethe to Helene Jacobi, November 7, 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 393.—TR.

² Goethe to Kestner [end of 1773? *Merck is back—Trans.*] *Der junge Goethe*, i. 383 (*top of page*).—TR.

³ In a letter despatched October 31, 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 389.—TR.

⁴ See the letter to Kestner last referred to. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 383.—TR.

Boie refers to this subject :—"The sacrifice is prepared ; now only flame and wind-gust is lacking ; but that depends on the gods." To lyrical poetry he just now felt no impulse ; only a few epigrams came unsought.

Still was the resolve to follow the voice of his genius, not to spend himself in practical life, firm as ever. Kestner having expressed a hope that he will perhaps yet come to live near them, he replies on Christmas morning, 1773 :—"Ah ! that has been my dream ever since you went away. But it will probably remain a dream. My father would indeed not oppose it were I going into foreign service ; nor does either love or hope of a civic appointment keep me here ;" (he could not be a member of the Council so long as his uncle Textor was one) "and so might I not, think you, venture to try once more how things look out in the world. But, Kestner, the talents and powers which I have I need far too much for my own purposes ; it has been always my way to act only as my instinct guides, and not thus can any prince be served. And then how soon should I learn politic subordination ! They are a cursed set the Frankfurters ; President von Moser will say, 'You can't use their obstinate heads for any purpose.' Even were this not so, of all my talents my jurisprudence is one of the least ; my little stock of theory and human intelligence won't make up for that. Here in Frankfurt my legal practice and knowledge advance hand in hand ; I learn every day, and scrape my way along (*haudere mich weiter*). But in a *Justizcollegium* ! I have always been careful not to play a game when I was the least experienced at the table."¹

To his extremest joy, Merck at length returned (December 1773) from his St. Petersburg journey. "He came eight days earlier than I had expected," writes Goethe in the letter quoted above, "and was sitting with my father in the room ; I come home ; without knowing anything I enter, and hear his voice before I see him. You know me, Lotte !" Merck had come back the old true friend still. What an infinite deal each had to confide, and what prospects of enduring harmonious fellowship in work opened before them ! On the very first evening they had a "strange scene." Lavater had sent Goethe a

¹ Goethe to Kestner, Christmas Day [1773]. *Der junge Goethe*, i 400-401.—TR.

silhouette which was very like Lotte.¹ The two friends went on from this to talk of her in ardent passages of praise.

As to the publishing of *Götz*, Goethe now took on him to supply the booksellers; in fact, to be himself the publisher.² To compensate Merck, Goethe was probably to pay a part of the cost of printing; he had paid for the paper some time before with borrowed money. The penuriousness of his father compelled him to borrow small sums several times afterwards. The supply of copies was meantime exhausted, so that a new edition was needed. Deinet undertook this. A large honorarium was not in question; in a starched preface, Deinet promises a "quite correct edition," a promise which, alas! he did not keep. Only some printer's errors are set right; some new ones have intruded: the changes by Goethe himself are but few.

At this time came the pleasurable news that Maximiliane von Laroche was to marry the merchant Brentano of Frankfurt at the commencement of the new year (1774). "Her future husband seems to be a man with whom it is possible to live," Goethe writes in the cheeriest mood to Betti Jacobi; "and so huzza! another added to the number of worthy beings who are anything but intellectual, as you indeed must guess. For between ourselves, inasmuch as it is on this earth such a very critical matter with acquaintanceships, and friendships, and loves, (since often when you think you have it by the four corners, slap comes the devil and tears a hole in the middle, and spills it all out. As it has lately happened with myself, which has put me out very much). And so, to return to my text, I am far more active than before to seek out where anything of love, friendship, and goodness may lie hidden; and am in good humour because of all sorts of unexpected qualities I find, etc.; so that sometimes I have stood on the verge of falling in love. But that God prevent! On any falling-out of misfortune, however, *Mamagen* shall be immediately written to."³ The dreary tangle of jealousy and strife in which this marriage would involve him he did not foresee. Nor does it seem to have been forced on his mind what an incongruous

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, i. 383.—Tr.

² Goethe to Boie, January 8, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 3.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi, December 31, 1773. *Der junge Goethe*, i. 403-4. *Mamagen* = Little Mama = Betti Jacobi.—Tr.

couple were—through the matchmaking talent of Dean Dumeix—to be joined as husband and wife.

The Milanese, Peter Anton Brentano, was a widower—still young, indeed; but already the father of five children. If he could, as Goethe once said,¹ pinch all his friendliness tight between his sharp nose and sharp chin, it was yet impossible that he should satisfy the heart of the maiden of eighteen, who loved bright cheerfulness and the pleasures of friendly living. He indeed was in the best circumstances, and intimate with the families of most consequence; but a life in the gloomy house, where you wound your way between casks of herrings, and piled-up cheeses, and then the constant preoccupation of her dry husband with business,—surely these things must soon be an intolerable weariness to the young wife.

¹ In a letter to Frau von La Roche, 20th November 1774. *Loeper*, p. 85. A portion only of that letter is reprinted in *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 43, 44.—TR.

CHAPTER V.

WERTHER—LAVATER—JACOBI—GREAT DESIGNS.

THE YEAR 1774.

VERY odd must have been the feelings of the young doctor (for doctor he was in general called, and he spoke of himself by that title, even on an official occasion) when he went in his scarlet, gold-lace coat to pay his New Year's visit of the year of hope 1774 at the house of Brentano's relative, Mayor Reuss. On the 8th of January he went to supper there; there was excellent eating, and a great deal of wine drunk; he sat until one o'clock in the morning, "between Houris," and they "fed each other with spoons." On the 9th, the day on which Max was married in the castle chapel of Ehrenbreitstein, he went through the ice; over this mishap he makes merry in a letter written later in the day to Tante and Betti, in Düsseldorf.¹

At last, on Jan. 15th, the newly-married couple, with Mama Sophie, came to Frankfurt. And Goethe was drawn into the topsy-turvy, motley, social gaiety which ensued. Merck, who came to see the Laroche in Frankfurt, felt much anger about this extraordinary marriage. "You should have seen Frau von La Roche," he writes to his wife, "how she stood the conversations and the jokes of these vulgar business people, endured their expensive dinners, entertained their heavy selves. There have been horrid scenes, and I do not know whether she will not succumb beneath the load of repentance. Goethe is already an intimate family friend, he plays with the children and accompanies the young wife's piano-playing with his violoncello. Herr Brentano, though pretty jealous for an Italian, loves him, and thoroughly desires that he should continue to visit the house." But immediately after this the young poet

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii, 4.—TR,

was so grossly insulted by Brentano that he never crossed that threshold again. On the other hand he wrote on Jan. 21st inviting dear Mama to a "great sight." If she can come, she and Brentano's urchins shall be fetched to-morrow immediately after dinner by his mother, who will go in the coach for them. To her surprise that he does not come to the house, he replies on the same day:—"If you knew what went on within me before I resolved to shun the house you would not hope to lure me back, dear Mama; I have in those terrible moments suffered for all my time to be; I am calm, and leave me in my calm! 'That I would not see you indoors, what all the people would say, etc.'—I have made up my mind to the endurance of all that. And God preserve him [Brentano] from the only thing which would make me cross his threshold"¹ [cruel treatment of his young wife].

The "great sight" was a pantomimic dance on the ice, performed in the presence of many ladies at the Rödelheim meadows, by the Nidda. The ladies drove a good distance from the town, then alighted and went along beside a wall across frozen ground; then followed a little water-course bordered by willows, and suddenly heard music and exclamation. Immediately ten skaters flew across and gave them friendly hands to help them over the dyke. There were little benches and tables spread with plenty of chocolate, coffee, wine, and eatables; there were planks on the ice to prevent the sitters' feet from getting very cold, and there was lively music. All the skaters were in short fur cloaks, and wore cowled caps.² At this time, as on earlier occasions, Sophie gave the young poet some of her *Briefe Rosaliens* to look through for her; his praise of them pleased her, and she profited by his critical remarks; he added some things which she had told him while driving together, but which she had omitted from the *Briefe*. Herr von Laroche came for his wife. Goethe welcomed the influential husband of his motherly friend; but not in Brentano's house, which he never entered again. On the last day of January (1774) the two left for Thalehrenbreitstein.

¹ See *Loeper*, pp. 25, 29, for these letters.—TR.

² From *Rosaliens Briefe*, ii. No. 77, quoted in *Loeper*, p. 26. It was on this occasion that the incident of borrowing his mother's cloak to skate in occurred. See *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xvi. *Buch*, at the close of the section beginning:—"Glückliche Kinder und Jünglinge."—TR.

In the period of calm thus ushered in the misfortune of the young wife, who might have made life so sweet to him, pressed on his mind in all its dreadfulness, and impelled him to the composition of *Werther*. He set to work on the 1st of February (1774), the very day after the departure of the Laroches. In the first part of *Werther* he moulded into vivid realisation (*Vergegenwärtigung*) and artistic form his own Wetzlar love; in the second he allowed his imagination free play with the incidents of the story of poor Jerusalem. He shut himself as far as possible from external intercourse, that he might rapidly bring to completeness the poem that had so long been growing in his mind. The young wife he only met at a third place,—Dumeix's house generally. "Goethe will not go to Switzerland," writes Merck gloomily to his wife on February 14 (1774). "The great success of his drama has turned his head a little. He is shut up from all his friends, and only exists in the writings which he is preparing for the public. He must have success in all he undertakes, and I foresee that a novel which is to appear at Easter will be as well received as his drama has been. Besides, he has to console the young Frau Brentano for the smell of the oil and of cheese, and the behaviour of her husband." Goethe had neither confided to Merck exacter information about *Werther*, nor told him of Brentano's base insult. In writing to Düsseldorf, too, he gives no hint of the latter, rather he describes Brentano as a worthy man of open, frank, strong character, keenness of understanding, and excellent business acquirement.¹ To the young unhappy wife he confided that he was writing a novel with Jerusalem's fate as a basis. As he writes to Mama Sophie, returning two *Briefe Rosaliens*, with criticisms on the better disposal and connection of parts, he observes that after her departure (in June 1774, he tells her *the next day after*) he began the novel; that he had not before planned to make a single whole out of the subject.² Writing on the 13th of

¹ Goethe to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi [February 8th or 9th?—*Trans. (Three weeks and a half from the 15th of January 1774)*]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 5, 6.—TR.

² Letter not in *Der junge Goethe*. See Loeper, p. 35 :—"Das liebe Weibgen hat Ihnen was von einer Arbeit geschrieben die ich angefangen habe seit Sie weg sind, wirklich angefangen—denn ich hatte nie die Idee aus dem Sujet ein einzelnes Ganze zu machen." See also Loeper, p. 42, "als Sie weg waren den andern Tag."—TR.

February to the friend most nearly concerned, to Kestner, he gives a dark hint of the task he is engaged at.¹ On the 12th he had sent to Bürger a copy of the second edition of *Götz*. Bürger's friend, the Lübeck Secretary of Council Tesdorpf, of the same age as Goethe, had, when going to Wetzlar, called on Goethe in Frankfurt, had been his companion on the ice. "My heart is lost to that beautiful soul," writes Goethe to Bürger. What Tesdorpf had told him of Bürger impels him to break through the "paper wall of partition between them." "Our voices have often met, and our hearts too," he writes. "Is not life short and barren enough? shall they not take hand whose ways lie together?" He desires that henceforth they lay their work before each other; that gives courage.² In this period, from which a large number of letters have been preserved, the first part of *Werther* was completed. And to this period probably belongs the story in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,³ how one evening before going to rest he laid a well-sharpened dagger by his bed, and tried, while the light was yet unextinguished, whether he could plunge it into his breast.

Werther was at latest completed by the beginning of March 1774. Immediately he wrote to Lotte that she had been this whole time of silence more with him than perhaps ever, and he will have it printed for her as soon as possible.⁴ But he did not make up his mind so easily for all that. Lenz had meanwhile, without the poet's knowledge, had the farce on Wieland printed at Kehl.⁵ Goethe sends a copy on the 6th of March (1774) to some Leipzig friend, probably Krebel. *Götz*, he writes, shall as his trial piece remain unaltered. "If I ever again write a German drama, which I think very doubtful, all true souls may then see how far I am improved. On the whole, I am very busy, not to say diligent; keep up my advocate work, and yet put together many a bit of work of

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 9 :—"How often I am with you, that is in the past, you will, perhaps, soon receive a document to witness." (*March* is guessed at as the date of this letter in *Der junge Goethe*. In the first lines of it Goethe remonstrates with Kestner for his tardiness in writing. "Only to get on the 13th of February a reply to a letter written on Christmas Day." Probably, therefore, *this* letter is written on or very soon after the 13th.—TR.)

² Goethe to Bürger, Feb. 12, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 8.—TR.

³ xiii. Buch.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 11.—TR.

⁵ See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, p. 381.—TR.

good intelligence and feeling. Just now I have nothing ready for printing. . . . If you see Lessing, tell him that I had reckoned on him, and I am accustomed not to make mistakes as to my people.”¹ He did not guess how extremely ill-disposed Lessing was towards him, notwithstanding his genius.

In *Werther*, the second splendid revelation of his intellect and soul, Goethe had once for all unburdened himself of his whole gloomy life-weariness. But precisely at this time young Frau Brentano excited a passion in him which he earnestly combated, avoiding all places where he might meet her. “Your dear ones I have not seen for some time back; I had my heart spoiled. No, dear Mama, you have my hand on it, I will be good.”² What strength of self-conquest speaks in those words!

Drawing was practised now with the greatest zeal, nor did there lack times of overflowing spirits, composition-impelling. Then were written the *Prolog* to Bahrdt’s translation of the New Testament, and a farce on the Jacobis. Höpfner writes on the 23d of April (1774) to Professor Raspe in Cassel:—“The last time I stopped with the man in Frankfurt (for you must know that he is my friend), he read aloud to me an excellent thing he has begun, *Das Unglück der Jacobis*. When finished, you too shall have it. The two Jacobis are soundly chastised in it. Would you get me some nice plaster casts of antiques for Goethe.” Some lyrical poems, too, fall to this spring of 1774.

About this time the much maligned Spinoza was beginning to sway the young poet by an extraordinary attraction and influence. His teaching: God Himself cannot change His laws, His creatures cannot deviate from the laws of their being; the primary virtue is to maintain oneself in one’s Being; the distinctions of good from bad are only arbitrary ordinances; the philosophers have taken the impress of their conceptions for the thing itself—all this harmonised with Goethe’s temper, who felt impelled to the freest development of Nature working

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 15, 16 (this letter is there printed with the date May 6, 1774, which must be a misreading of the MS. for March 6; for Goethe tells his friend to look out for a certain comedy at the Easter fair; now Easter Sunday 1774 fell on April 3).—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von La Roche, March 1774. See *Loefer*, p. 37.
—TR.

in him so mightily. The boundless, illuminating Disinterestedness of Spinoza's *Ethics* was accordant with his way of acting only as nature prompted. We do not know whether he was first led to Spinoza at this time (it came about through the hateful execration of the great philosopher by the Lutheran preacher, Coler), at any rate it was at this time that what he read himself out of Spinoza worked a great calm in the restless soul yearning after a higher consolation.

So equipped, he could withstand with confidence all attempts to convert him. His pious friend, Fräulein Klettenberg, did not plague him with anxious cares for his salvation, for she believed that the Saviour would reveal Himself to her young friend as the One crucified for his sins, as, eighteen years ago, He had revealed Himself to her. But his Swiss friends were more urgent, and most of all the confidential friend and colleague of Lavater, Pfenninger. When Pfenninger would by proofs convince Goethe of the truth of revelation, Goethe answers :—"All which seems opposition between us is only a strife of words which comes of my perceiving things in other combination, expressing their relativity after other fashion, naming them by other names ;" the only evidences which he values, loves, ay adores, are those which bring it home to him how thousands—or *one*—before him have felt what now is to him bracing and strength. And so to him the word of men is the Word of God, let who will have collected it and enrolled it as a canon. "And with fervent soul I fall on my brother's neck—Moses! Prophet! Evangelist! Apostle! Spinoza or Machiavelli! yet can find it in me too to say to each :—Dear friend, it is nevertheless with thee as with me! in the single and particular thou dost feel powerfully and gloriously, as little into thy head as into mine goes the stupendous All."¹

Lavater's studies in physiognomy were very interesting to Goethe, so long in the habit of drawing portraits and outlining silhouettes. And now had come the bookseller Steiner, bringing from Lavater, his brother-in-law, greeting and message for Goethe. Goethe had once sent to Lavater thirteen silhouettes, among them one of Herder ; and Lavater had portrait-sketches by Goethe too in his possession, before Herder directed him

¹ Goethe to Lavater and Pfenninger, April 26, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 13-15.—Tr.

to Goethe as a draughtsman from whom to collect. As draughtsman Goethe is more the man, the painter Füssli more the poet. Now Goethe sends a sketch of the profile of one who has been a pilot, who has endured much in slavery at Tunis, and who wanders about endeavouring to rouse compassion. He promises too to send a manuscript, the printing of which is to wait a while; it is the history of a dear young fellow to whose actual afflictions the writer has lent his own emotions, and thus it makes a strange whole. "I am not slack," he says at the close, in vivid certainty that he is conforming to his nature; "so long as I am on the earth do I conquer at least my pace of ground a day."¹

While the fame of the writer of *Götz* rose ever higher—the piece was performed in Berlin on April 14 and the five nights following amid great applause—his Frankfurt life was very happy. Now sprang up many fresh songs and isolated *Spruchgedichte*. Intercourse with Merck had, for the time, almost completely ceased. For the death of the *Landgräfin* on the 29th of March 1774 had been a great shock to Merck; his appointment as Councillor of War had imposed new work upon him, and a little later he went to Switzerland to bring home his family. But new members were added to Goethe's little band of friends. The most important was Klinger.

When Klinger came back from Giessen he had failed to obtain the appointment as actuary he had hoped for. Then he gave himself altogether to poetry, disregarding his incomeless condition. The work of Klinger stands forth in sharp definite forms, is not sustained by intense energy of moulding imagination, or by profundity of soul. But a like impulse towards freedom, towards the overthrow of conventional boundaries, imbibed too by Klinger from the same source—from Rousseau—a like instinct to give this impulse voice in dramatic form, and, moreover, a serious, noble, self-reliant way of thinking, united him with Goethe. The Doctor of Klinger's play *Das Leidende Weib* represents Goethe. There it is said of him—"The first of men, so far as I have yet seen men. The only one with whom I can exist. He carries affairs in his bosom. Posterity will wonder that ever such a man was."

¹ Goethe to Lavater and Pfenninger, April 26, 1774, the letter already referred to above.—TR.

Beside Klinger we name Philipp Christoph Kayser, born March 10, 1755, son of the Organist of the Church of Grey Friars. After having pursued wider and higher culture under Sorge in Lobenstein for a year, he had returned in 1770 to be a teacher of music in Frankfurt. He was a most intimate friend of Klinger. Lavater ascribes to him—"Purity and stress of deep emotion, with the least affectation." He was inspired with the greatest enthusiasm for Goethe, imitating him in everything—even in handwriting.

Crespel was again an extremely active member of the circle which throughout the summer assembled every Friday for little excursions and picnics. We know from Goethe's narrative,¹ how the *Mariage-spiel* which Crespel introduced, decreed that the same young lady fell to Goethe several times running, at whose wish he wrote *Clavigo* in a week. The maiden, Anna Sybilla, the younger daughter of the merchant Münch, was only on the verge of her seventeenth year; last winter her elder sister, Susanna Magdalena, had won Goethe at dice, and he had named her "little wife" (*Weibchen*).² The day on which he fulfilled his promise by reading the completed *Clavigo* aloud was the Friday before Pentecost, the 20th of May 1774.

Though *Clavigo* cannot rank with *Götz* and *Werther*, yet in it the poet had done quite unexpectedly what he had long intended, he had given a proof of his power working within the traditional contracted form of the drama to touch and rouse the spirit. And however much he borrowed from the Memoirs of Beaumarchais, on which his play is founded, he had moulded the matter by his art to vivid effect, and in the character of one creation quite his own—Carlos—had given an imperishable masterpiece. The charming relation to the maiden who was his consort on all their days of pleasure-taking soon became well-known, and was very welcome to his parents. For some time, too, he himself seems to have been anything but averse to the thought of leading the dear maiden a wife to the great parental house. A weight of anxiety had been lifted from him when, shortly before the *Clavigo* episode, word came that Lotte had been safely delivered of a boy.³ Mama Sophie came to Frankfurt on a three weeks' visit, which began about the middle of May; he saw her frequently at his

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xv. Buch.—TR. ² See page 165.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kestner [May 1774]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 16-17.—TR.

own home, where, on the sofa which was kept ready for her, she had him read aloud and talk to her; and he met her, too, at the houses of common friends, especially at Dumeix's house; in the dean's fine garden he found much pleasure in sowing, and tying, and hoeing, and other garden tasks. Brentano's house and young wife he avoided still as before.

On the 25th of May 1774 he was delighted to get a long letter from friend Schönborn in Algeria. One item in this letter—that Klopstock was going to ask Goethe for some of his works through Boie, caused Goethe to communicate immediately direct with the famed poet. "Should I," he wrote, "not address him while still living, whose grave, if dead, I would visit as a pilgrim." He sent to Klopstock the farce *Das Unglück der Jacobis*, which was not to be printed, so that he should be glad to have it back. And so soon as some things now lying ready are printed, he will either send them to Klopstock, or let him know of them at least.¹

In the night between the 28th and 29th of May Goethe gave manful assistance in putting out a fire in the Jews' quarter; here he grew strengthened in his conviction that the so-called "common" people are the best human beings.² On the 30th of May he was at the golden wedding of the Schweitzer-Allesinas; he danced in the 31st, the birthday of Maximiliane Brentano, to whom he only gave an arm once for a few moments.³

On the 1st of June Goethe writes to his friend in Algeria an account of all his latest compositions; besides he has invented some plans for great dramas, *i.e.* found the interesting details for them in Nature and in his own heart. His *Cæsar* seems, too, to be forming, yet this will not please Schönborn⁴ [because not treated as the mood of the "Freedom" advocates would have it]. In an addition to the letter on June 8, Goethe speaks with great enthusiasm of Herder's *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*, and writing further on the 10th, says that Klopstock's *Gelehrtenrepublik* has infused new life into his veins. In it "the holy wells of creative feeling flow pure

¹ Goethe to Klopstock, 28th May 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 20.—TR.

² Goethe to Schönborn, June 1, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 21.—TR.

³ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, beginning of June 1774. *Lœper*, p. 41.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 22.—TR.

from the throne of Nature." In neither work did Goethe make a stumblingblock (as many did) of the external form, but filled himself with the spirit. He had given the first part of *Werther* to Mama Sophie to read, and she, intent, as mostly women are, on moral effect, thought this glowing presentation of passion dangerous. "I have kissed your letter and pressed it to my heart," he replies. "They are my own inmost feelings. Yes, dear Mama, it is true: fire that gives light and warmth you call a blessing from God; that which consumes you call a curse. Blessing then and curse! Have I indeed greater obligation to serve you than Nature considered it had to serve me? Am I not lighted, am I not warmed, *and* consumed! Call me wicked but love me."

"*Un livre croyez moi n'est pas fort dangereux.* The good and the bad rustle by the ears which listen not. And is not the Bad good and is not the Good bad? Do I hate Wieland? do I love him? It is in truth all one and the same; he interests me."¹

When soon after she asked for the second part of the novel he informed her that he had had to send it in haste to be printed, nor had he thought her in a position to follow his emotion, imagination, humours.² The bookseller Weygand had called immediately after the Easter Fair to ask whether he had nothing original to be published; this he regarded as an intimation from Destiny to keep back his *Werther* no longer; but first *Clavigo* should go. *Clavigo* was the first work to which he put his name; he did not intend to put it to *Werther*. So soon as the 16th of June he writes to Lotte, who had sent him greeting through a friend going to the baths:—"I will send you as soon as possible a friend who is very like myself, and I hope you will give him a good reception; his name is Werther, and is and was—but that he may himself declare to you."³

Lavater had already announced that he was coming soon, to Goethe's delight. And Merck and his family had come back; Goethe did not guess in what mood! The poor husband had discovered the unfaithfulness of his wife, but had softened to

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, June 1774. *Loeper*, p. 44.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von La Roche, middle of June 1774. *Loeper*, pp. 46-7.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 27 (foot) —TR.

receive the fallen one back to his home. Moreover since the death of the *Landgräfin* his place had become extremely unpleasant, through the now complete power of the President von Möser his enemy. Merck seriously thought of trying to get an appointment in Berlin through Nicolai's help.

Meanwhile Goethe continued to avoid the unhappy Max Brentano; she felt it bitterly. "Believe me," he replied to her mother, "the sacrifice I make for your Max's sake in seeing her no more is worth more than the assiduity of the most ardent lover, in that it is really assiduity. I will not reckon up what it has cost me; for it is a capital which will yield interest to both of us."¹ And the good Tante Fahlmer in whom he had such great confidence, now a considerable time back from Düsseldorf, he avoided in consequence of a report heard from Mama Sophie. During Frau von Laroche's stay in Frankfurt she had not visited this lady, whom Jacobi calls "dear, loving, melancholy" (*liebe, liebevolle, schwermüthige*). The poet remained in the closest communion with Fräulein Klettenberg, whose portrait he drew for Lavater. "She will be more to thee than I," he had written, "though she is as much to me as to thee; yet am I ever in my zealous unbelief the ME! and, as I am, thy Brother."² Fräulein Klettenberg had said to Lavater (whose faith did not seem to her the right faith, of inward *experience*) that she hoped Goethe too would yet feel that God was in Christ. "He walks with Lavater and with Goethe; I know Him by His gait; yet are their eyes holden that they do not know Him."³

On the 23d of June 1774 Lavater accompanied by Schmoll, his draughtsman of physiognomy, entered the Goethes' house, heartily welcomed by the family. His exterior was repellent; a flat chest which gave something crane-like to the bearing of the long lank man; a large nose; a sharp chin; a brow bulging above, rather re-entrant below, valleyed just over the nose, pushing forward above the eyes; a sweetly smiling mouth; rolling eyes cast upwards; such is the catalogue. But all this was of no account before that irresistible personality. Even Merck acknowledged that few had made such an edifying impression on him as this extra-

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, June 16, 1774. *Loeper*, p. 50.—TR.

² Goethe to Lavater, 20th May 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 19.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 18.—TR.

ordinarily good man. Lavater himself describes his first meeting with Goethe—"Are you he? I am he! Unspeakably sweet indescribable entrance of Reality—very like, and unlike Expectation. All was mind and truth that Goethe spoke with me. In a pretty large social gathering said Goethe once to me :—"So soon as one is in company, one takes the key from the heart and pockets it; those who leave it in the door are dolts." Much did he read aloud to me from his papers, and read—read! you would have sworn he was speaking these very things for the first time in the fire with me. His work—oh scenes full of truth—of the truest human nature! indescribable *naïveté* and truth." Goethe conducted Lavater to Fräulein Klettenberg. Her clear understanding, her fineness of feeling, her deep piety and Christianity were strong to attach Lavater to her. The difference between the conceptions of Christ formed by these two believers was to the young poet the more striking because each of them talked the subject over with him in private. Lavater called Fräulein Klettenberg the "Sabbath of his journey;" compared to her he was himself but "a chatterer, a hypocrite, an abomination." He had much to tell of Goethe's sister, and of Lenz, both of whom he had lately seen.

In so many quarters was this man of God's presence in request—by crowds he was almost revered as a saint—that Goethe was unable to secure the full intercourse he desired. And so he was impelled to accompany his inestimable new friend journeying—after a stay of five days in Frankfurt—to Ems in a special carriage. Such an intimacy-fostering mode of travel Lavater loved. During the two days' drive with Lavater and Schmoll Goethe could freely utter all his heart. Lavater himself tells us :—"On the weightiest matters of Christianity and literature they talked and laid hold on one another (*saisirten einander*). Goethe read and recited a great deal from his own poems; the thing recited and the recitation—Drama, Epopœe, and Doggerel all bore but *one* stamp, breathed but *one* spirit." They thoroughly discussed the contemplated work on physiognomy, in which Goethe was to take active interest. When the young poet was at times carried away by his careless reckless humour Lavater could bring him to order without difficulty with a kindly "*Bisch guet!*" After their seven days' companionship (June 23-29, 1774)

Goethe pronounced thus :—“ When in his element he is unwearied, active, efficient, decided ; and a soul filled with the most glorious love and innocence. I have never held him a visionary, and he has yet less imaginative power than I supposed. But because his feelings imprint on his soul the truest relations of things in nature—relations so generally unrecognised—and accordingly he flings away every terminology, speaks and acts out of a full heart, and seems to transport his hearers to a strange world while but leading them to unfamiliar corners of their hearts, he cannot escape being called a visionary.”¹

Next day, returning to Frankfurt, Goethe brought *Erwin und Elmire* almost to a conclusion as he sat in the carriage. Soon after his return another guest of note came to Frankfurt—Basedow, now fifty years of age, a disciple of Rousseau as to educational reform. He had already given to the world a completely new *Orbis Pictus*, his *Elementarwerk*² in four volumes, and was very shortly to open the *Philanthropinum* at Dessau, of which he made such pompous announcement. Basedow's *Vermächtniss für die Gewissen oder Lehrbuch der Religion*, which demands a cultus based on natural religion, was dedicated to Lavater, who held the author to be an “honest weak hero.” It was said then that Lavater had invited him to a conference at Goethe's house, at which Herder too should be present. He was collecting for his *Philanthropinum* and for his *Elementarwerk*, and had just come from Weimar. Of course the famous reformer visited the famous author of *Götz* and friend of Lavater. Intercourse with Basedow was made uneasy by his whimsical pedantry, his regardless headlong ways, his *hard* tone of mind, his rudeness ; yet a certain good humour never left him, of which Goethe knew how to take advantage to punish him for his naughty behaviour. On the 12th of July Basedow arrived in Ems ; Lavater had been prepared for this by Goethe. To neither Basedow nor Lavater did Goethe confide his own intention of coming for some time to Ems. On the 15th of July he procured that the case in which he was engaged should

¹ Goethe to Schönborn, July 4, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 25.—TR.

² *Elementarwerk, ein Vorrath der besten Kenntnisse zum Lernen, Lehren, Wiederholen und Nachdenken*=*Book of Rudiments, a Treasury of the best knowledge for Learning, Teaching, Repeating and Digesting*.—TR.

be adjourned over four weeks, because he would visit the baths. His purpose included not only the benefit of the baths and free companion-life with the two reformers, but a sudden and unexpected appearance before Jacobi at Düsseldorf. For his heart now began to tell him that he should really find in Jacobi the bosom friend so long promised by Betti and by Tante Fahlmer. With boundless delight was he received by Basedow and Lavater on the evening of the 15th. The cheery unconstrained living of the three in Ems, every one trying to convert the others, has been vividly recorded by Goethe.¹ The beautiful mornings and evenings were passed in fresh enjoyment; there was immoderate dancing, and all sorts of jests such as life at the baths favours were practised. Lavater, who had already paid a visit of a few days to Frau von Stein in Nassau, mother of the great statesman of Prussia's time of need, went once to see her accompanied by his two friends. They found a large company; one of those present, to Goethe's pleasure, was Mama Sophie, who had been a guest there for a considerable time. How Basedow's rude babble about the Trinity displaced the mirth, how Goethe on their drive back inflicted merry punishment is known to the reader of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Though the young poet probably did not meet in Nassau the eldest daughter, Johanna Luise, now married to Count Werther of Neuenheiligen in Thüringen, and just returning from her wedding-trip in France and Spain, he did meet in Ems a fellow-townsmen, the painter Kraus, who had for a considerable time taught the young Countess drawing and painting, and who had just been invited by her to visit Thüringen. Kraus' pictures of scenes on the Lahn gave Goethe much pleasure. On the 17th of July (1774) the little drama *Des Künstlers Erdewallen* was written at Ems; it shows the artist of genius compelled by need of subsistence to wretched work for hire.² Next day Lavater, Basedow, Schmöll and Goethe went with a large party down the Lahn to Lahneck, and thence to Coblenz. Memorials of this wonderfully delightful trip are Lavater's diary, Goethe's noble ballad *Geistesgruss*,³ which strikes a quite original note, and the humorous

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xiv. Buch.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 198.—TR.

³ "Hoch auf dem alten Thurne steht." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 151. (*Thurn* is the archaic form of *Thurm*.)—TR.

verses about the dinner at the Coblenz inn *Zu den drei Reichskronen*,¹ where the poet enjoyed his meal. In the afternoon he went over alone to Vallendar, where he visited the D'Esters; the daughter of the house gave him a bouquet, which he put in his gray hat. The party reassembled at Bendorf. On the boat Goethe, while the sun was setting gloriously, composed the drama *Des Künstlers Vergötterung*; which was completely re-shaped at a later period.² So urged was he by the creative instinct even on a pleasure-trip with friends! In Neuwied they found glad reception at the house of a pious follower of Lavater's; but in the evening they had to go to the Court. There of course the man of faith Lavater played the chief part; but the author of *Götz*, the irresistible friend of the Laroche, was warmly received too by the counts and countesses, and by the Princess of Isenburg—a princess of Anhalt by birth—then stopping in Neuwied. July 19th was spent in Neuwied, where neither the Court nor the Mennonites much pleased the poet, who felt a world in his breast, and was longing to see Jacobi. He met here the officer, Isenburg von Buri, of *Philandria* memory. The sometime Archon was not now of much account compared with our poet. Isenburg was also a votary of the Muse; and now through Goethe's aid sought to find a publisher. He heard some of Goethe's newest poems, and received manuscript copies of several. At six o'clock on the rainy 20th Goethe Lavater and Schmoll set off for Bonn in the small river vessel belonging to the community of Mennonites. The bad weather little affected the youthful gladness of the poet; he delighted his friends by reading to them newly-composed verse several times, among other things *Erwin und Elmire*, at which he probably continued to work; but at last wearying in the persistent rain he fell asleep under the deck-covering of the boat. From Bonn to Köln (*Cologne*), still amid rain, our exhausted travellers were conveyed by post-car. From Köln on the same day they went on, Lavater to Mülheim—being invited to preach there, and Goethe with yearning heart to Düsseldorf.

When, about eight o'clock on the morning of the 21st of July 1774, he presented himself at the door of the Jacobis' house

¹ "Zwischen Lavater und Basedow." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 152.—TR.

² See Loeper: *Goethe-Laroche*, p. 55-7, for its first form as written "On the water the 18th of July. Approaching Neuwied."—TR.

he was met by the discouraging news that Betti was far away, while the rest of the family were at Pempelfort close by; thither he immediately hastened, but—the brothers Jacobi had just gone on business to Elberfeld! Then crept over him the superstitious thought that Destiny intended to hold him apart from Jacobi, and all the apparent reasons which had so long made him averse to the brothers again seemed good. But in the Art Gallery the hardness of his heart was “softened, strengthened, and therefore steeled.” At about twelve o’clock he wrote an account of what had happened to Betti,¹ whose mediating presence he would so much have desired. “What next? It rests with the gods,” so he ends; he did not tell her how he intended to surprise her husband in Elberfeld, where Jung Stilling now practised. In what odd companionship he presented himself before Jacobi, how at first sight they felt united for ever, has been told by Goethe himself with sufficient correctness as to essential things. He writes to Betti in full glee a few days later:—“No introducing, marshalling, excusing; straight dropt from heaven in front of Fritz Jacobi! And he and I, and I and he! And were already, without preliminary of a sister’s glance, what we should be and could be.”² In the hospitable Pempelfort home, the happiness of the new alliance was realised through the most intimate heart interchange with the two brothers; with Heinse, poet of a Utopia where life should be simplified to glowing sensuous enjoyment, disciple of Wieland and Rousseau; and with Werthes, the Wieland-inspired poet of gentle emotion. The *Laidion* of Heinse Goethe had admired as a masterpiece of its kind.³ Heinse was three years, Werthes one year older than Goethe. Fritz Jacobi was six years his senior, slender, handsome, fine-featured, with splendid blue eyes and dignified bearing. And this man, whom Goethe had so long contemned as untrue to his own spirit and as an insipid worldling, now opened freely his noble heart, full of a like energy, warm with an unusual throbbing in presence of the young Apollo. Each

¹ Goethe to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi, July 21, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 29.—Tr.

² Goethe to Helene Elizabeth Jacobi [probably close of July 1774]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 29-30.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Schönborn, 21 July 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 25.—Tr.

found in the other what he had hitherto looked for in vain,—the same ardent impulsion to the most complete development of Nature effervescent within.

Spinoza formed a peculiar bond of union. In the arbour at the hunting-seat Castle Bensberg Jacobi spoke to his new friend never-to-be-forgotten words concerning the great lonely thinker, penetrating to the heart of his philosophy; above all, expressing his conviction that the Spinoza condemned by men as a denier of God has made it clear that Nature is Divine, is God. Jacobi's conviction that Faith must make good the inadequacy of human reason hardly came to be spoken of at this time, and would have the less power to disunite because of Goethe's high reverence before all genuine religious belief. After the mild, mystical Lavater and the rude hard rationalist Basedow, the clear philosophic conspectus of one who had so pressed to the centre of Spinoza's teaching could not but work on Goethe with highly stimulating effect, and he would feel the more deeply the significance of such a friend.

But first in ancient Köln the union was to receive its highest consecration. On the morning of the 24th of July a carriage bore the two Jacobis and Heinse to the cathedral city, where they alighted in the inn *Zum heiligen Geist*, which looked out at the back on the Rhine hard by. To the little band who passed through its streets in the intoxication of friendship the gloomy city appeared very bright. The unfinished cathedral seemed to proclaim with mighty voice the measure of achievement to which the daring human spirit may attain. An even more affecting spectacle was a family picture by Lebrun in the house of Jabach, now occupied by a single servant alone. Everard Jabach, the rich merchant, the patron of art, the patrician, had long passed away and the blooming family which had surrounded him, and the echoing house was left untenanted; yet there he stood, with wife and children, and gazed from the living picture. The spirit of Jabach seemed to speak to the poet's soul, exhorting him to gather together his forces and put them to their fullest use; he could not help giving his intense agitation words, even in the silent presence which had so stirred him, a presence which followed him for many days. In the inn that evening, as they watched the daylight fade and the moon rise behind the Siebengebirge, while Goethe sitting at the table repeated some of his own

poems with all the deep emotion of his soul, they felt strangely drawn together: their spirits grew one. At midnight, after they had all separated for sleep, Goethe once again sought Jacobi in his room; they fell on each other's neck, and Jacobi "wept sacred tears on his breast."¹ And in high spiritual elevation, they promised each to stretch his utmost strength to the most effectual working, that those best things of which God and Nature had made them capable might be accomplished.

On the 25th of July Goethe rejoined Lavater at Ems. With Basedow they on the following day went to see Mama Sophie, and the opponent of the Trinity, as was his wont, honoured the good wine too much. On the 27th Lavater left. This endlessly good and energetic man was another friend whom Goethe now believed inseparably grappled. Goethe had promised to go over the *Physiognomische Fragmente* in manuscript, to change, to omit, to add, as seemed good to him. On Lavater's return journey he again stopped at the Goethes' house; how cordial were his relations with Goethe's parents is proved by their letters to the "dearest best son," the "dearest friend," the "noble guest, whom it was so easy to please."

Goethe remained a fortnight longer in Ems with Basedow, he must in that time have had plenty of the lively contention he desired! On the 30th the poet was shaken by an occurrence which he remembered many years later when writing the *Wanderjahre* (Book II. Chapter xii., *Wilhelm an Natalien*). Four boys catching cray-fish in the Lahn were drowned. When Goethe wrote next day inviting himself and Basedow to dine with Mama Sophie on August 2—"My senses have not yet come back: there were four boys drowned last night; not one saved. Only in such moments does man feel how powerless he is, and he with hot arms² and travail and tears

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, April 1775. The evening singing and the midnight meeting are recalled to Goethe's mind by Jacobi long after, in a letter dated December 28, 1812. One of the songs sung by Goethe was:—"Es war ein Buhle frech genug," which see in *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 581-4.--TE.

² "Nur in solchen Augenblicken fühlt der Mensch wie wenig er ist, und er mit heißen Armen und Schweiss und Thränen nichts wirkt." Loeper, p. 59, conjectures for "heissen Armen"—*heissem Athmen*"—"hot breath." He thinks his reading supported by the following passage from the *Wanderjahre*, ii. 12:—"Ich hatte etwas von Reiben gehört, das in solchem Falle hülfreich sein sollte; ich rieb meine Thränen ein und belog

effects nought." Probably, like his Wilhelm Meister, he had laboured to restore life; the "hot arms" points to the chafing, which is one of the means of restoration. His stay at Ems was varied by repeated visits to the Ehrenbreitstein lady, from whom he begged wine, being "poisoned" with the liquids dispensed at Ems.¹ And his father's economy compelled him to borrow money from her.² Before leaving for home the first copies of *Clavigo* came; he gave one to the Laroche, others he sent to Jacobi. On the evening of August 12 he left on the post-car.

His new ardent friendship and the manifold impressions of travel had infused fresh life into him. Jacobi and he wrote mutual encouragement to be up and doing, and took pleasure in each other's productions. Jacobi having urged him to visit Johanna Fahlmer again, the old intimacy with her was now resumed. Anna Sybilla Münch probably was one of those to whom he gave a copy of *Clavigo*, her command having been at least the external occasion of the poem. But his four weeks' absence (July 15–August 13, 1774) had chilled their alliance, and even the more would it dwindle, mere graceful fooling that it was at its best, beside his glowing friendship for Jacobi, and the sudden and mighty start of his genius. On the 27th of August he spent a happy day with Merck in Langen. (Merck has been—in vain—offering Goethe's *Puppenspiel* to Nicolai.) The old friend had contented himself in his position as he best could, though he had not given up thought of seeking elsewhere—in Berlin if possible—a suitable appointment.

The unrest and unhappiness of Max Brentano continued to fill Goethe with sorrow,³ especially because she understood not why he held back from her society. In the extraordinary creative energy of this time the voices of dissent roused by his *Clavigo* had no power to disquiet. To Jacobi,

mich mit der Wärme die ich erregte. In der Verwirrung dachte ich ihm *Athem einzublase*n."—TR.

¹ Goethe to Frau von Laroche (Ems, the 31st of July 1774). *Loeper*, p. 58.—TR.

² See *Loeper*, pp. 63, 69.—TR.

³ See for instance: Goethe to Frau von Laroche, Frankfurt, the 15th of September, 1774:—"I saw the Max yesterday at the comedy, she is not pleased with me. Dear God, I am not pleased with myself! She has headache! I beg you to counsel her, and in your letter advise *Exercise!* the poor little thing stays indoors too much." *Loeper*, p. 74.—TR.

with whose *Epistel an die Akademisten* the first-fruits of their union he had been much delighted, he wrote thus:—"See, beloved, that which, after all, is the beginning and end of all writing, the reproduction of the world about me through the inner world which seizes, binds together, new-makes, kneads, and sets forth again in a form and fashion original—that, thank God, remains ever a secret, which I indeed will not reveal to the crowd of starers and chatters."¹

To this month and the next (August and September 1774) fall the plan and first "Shreds" of the wild stormy *Ewiger Jude*, the beginning of the great *Faust* so long a dream, perhaps too *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel*, a piece of the broadest humour, a counterpart to *Pater Brey*. His roused creative energy let him rest not day nor night.

The September Fair brought its tribute of important men to Frankfurt. Through Mama Sophie's good offices Goethe made the acquaintance of Groschlag, late Minister of the Elector of Mainz, but fallen, the Elector having suddenly died, and now retired to live on his estate Dieburg. Here is the plainest proof that in Goethe's acquaintanceship with people of rank he was not at all bent on external advantage. Close intimacy with men of ability, of whatever rank, he esteemed the highest gain of life.

In the extremest agitation he about the 20th September sent the first copy of *Werther* to Lotte. In a few lines directed to her he begged that she would read the novel alone, and Kestner likewise; and then let each send him a little word about it. This little note he accidentally omitted to send with the book as intended. When on the 23d he did send it he wrote to Kestner:—"The fair bustles and brawls; my friends are here, and past and future strangely mingle. What will become of me? O you fixed (*gemachten*) people how much better off you are!"² He was strangely moved by the thought that his friend now enjoyed a contented bliss yet denied to himself.

Kestner did not conceal the pain which he felt thus to be made with his wife the subject of scandal, for everything invented by Goethe or borrowed from the unhappy story of Jerusalem would be taken by the world to be literally true of

¹ Goethe to Fritsch Jacobi [21st August 1774]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 31-4.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 39.—TR.

Lotte and her lovers. By Kestner's unfortunately not ungrounded reproach Goethe was the more distressed because of the infinite gratitude he felt himself to owe to both his friends. Yet he believed that the issue would show their anxiety more than was warranted; indeed he felt that fate could only have permitted him to write the book that it might bind their union closer.¹

The second of the three special copies first received found its way, on the 22d of September, to Thalehrenbreitstein. Mama Sophie was, when she had read it, to send it to Jacobi and to let the author know what she thought of the second part, as she had already criticised the first in manuscript.² There is a rumour that she was angry with him for inweaving her daughter Max in the book; but such an inweaving is totally out of question. Knowing Jacobi's fine moral feeling, Goethe was extremely anxious about his judgment. Not to disturb him in forming it, Goethe would for a time neither write to him nor send him anything.³ He had indeed to wait long in uncertainty, for Jacobi did not get the book until the middle of October, and not until the 21st, having read it thrice, did he write to describe its powerful effect. To the poet's deep-felt joy, he spoke thus—"Thy heart, thy heart, is everything to me. Thy heart it is by which thou art enlightened, strengthened, established. I know that this is so, for I too hear the voice, the voice of the only begotten Son of God, the Mediator between the Father and us. My soul is too full."

Goethe had meanwhile had a visit from Klopstock, whom the Markgraf of Baden had summoned to Karlsruhe, desiring to possess in his own territory the poet of religion and the Fatherland. Klopstock had asked Goethe to meet him at Friedberg on a day appointed and bring him on to Frankfurt; but, having delayed in his journey one day, he was not in Friedberg when Goethe came there, and carriage and Goethe had to return without the most famed man on the German

¹ Goethe to Kestner and Lotte [October 1774]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 40-1.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von Laroche, Monday, the 19th of September, 1774. *Loeper*, pp. 77-78.—TR.

³ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [end of September 1774]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 40.—TR.

Parnassus. He did arrive in Frankfurt on the day following, and was met with the warmest welcome by the Goethes (Early October 1774). Klopstock was now fifty, of refined manners, serious, formal, ceremoniously dignified, speaking a quite distinguished German; on the enthusiastic poet so gladly subordinate he made a friendly impression, seeming however more a prudent man of the world than an inspired bard. Klopstock had just been with the Göttingen poets, and tried to bind them yet closer to himself. In Göttingen he had spoken "amazingly" (*erstaunlich*) for Goethe, had praised *Clavigo*; *Werther* was not yet issued to the trade. Klopstock could not fail to see how far Goethe exceeded all those poets in fire and genius; and so with Goethe he condescended somewhat from his peculiar prophetic elevation. He is "a noble great man, on whom the peace of God rests," according to a letter of Goethe a month later.¹ The scenes of *Faust*, read aloud by the poet with all the fire of his soul, were what most impressed Klopstock. He expressed himself in detail on skating, on the best kind of skates—"Schrittschuh" not "*Schlittschuh*" must the winged cothurnus be in future named. Ecclesiastical Councillor (*Kirchenrath*) Böckmann, through whose agency the Markgraf had invited Klopstock, now came from Karlsruhe to fetch the honoured guest. With Böckmann also Goethe found himself easily on the friendliest terms; lending him *Satyros*, and begging his kind offices in getting proper skates made. Goethe did not allow himself to be deprived by Böckmann's presence of the pleasure of accompanying his distinguished visitor part of the way, perhaps to Mannheim. Returning in the post-carriage to Frankfurt on the 10th of October his excess of life overflowed in the poem *An Schwager Kronos*.²

On Oct. 15th he had a visit from Boie, who, returning from Holland, had been with Jacobi and Mama Sophie on his way. Boie was extremely delighted with the day that he spent undisturbedly alone with Goethe, whose heart was "as noble and great as his mind." "I have made him read to me a great deal, completed work and fragment," writes Boie, "and in all is the note of originality, independent power, and—not denying what

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche [November 20, 1774]. (*See the end of the letter*): Loeper, p. 84-6.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 159.

there is of bizarre and incorrect—everything is marked with the stamp of genius.” (So the Gretchen scenes too must have been for the most part already written.) When a couple of days after Boie returned at about two in the afternoon from Darmstadt Goethe met him with open arms at the inn. “We stayed together until midnight, and must at length lock the door, only in order to be quite alone. He read something to me; we soon however let reading alone, and the talk fell on the most important matters of thought and feeling, a region in which our views were often the same.”

Goethe's soul was that autumn in the most active fermentation; his mood extraordinarily varying. The future hung often a gloomy cloud of presage above his spirit, while no determined plans of life were yet formed. Least of all did he think of marriage; not one of the many Frankfurt girls his acquaintances, highly as he esteemed them after their merits, had deeply moved his heart. He suffered for others; there was his sister—Schlosser having to go as *Amtmann* to Emmendingen the settling down in Karlsruhe for which she had hoped so long delayed. And young Max Brentano's unhappiness grieved him continually. “I am stormy, confused, and just cling to a few ideas,” he wrote about this time to Max's mother. “I have been speaking to dear Max at the play. I have again seen the eyes; I know not what is in the eyes.”¹ When his motherly friend told him her sorrow about the suffering of her son, then lying almost beyond hope, he replied:—“I lay since in silence and pondered and groped through all my soul if peradventure there were strength within me to bear those things to come purposed for me and mine (*den Meinigen*) by iron fate; if anywhere I might find a rock whereon to build a tower of refuge for me and my possessions (*Habe*) in the last extremity.”² And to Tante Fahlmer he writes in October that he cannot come because he is intolerable and intolerant (*unerträglich und unverträglich*); else has he all that is good; is however again brooding dragon-like.³

Beside literary work and sketching, especially portrait

¹ Goethe to the La Roche [beginning of October 1774]. *Loeper*, p. 79.—TR.

² Goethe to the La Roche, 21st October 1774. *Loeper*, pp. 81-2.—TR.

³ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [middle of October 1774]. *Der junge* iv. 41-2.—TR.

sketching, he in November (1774) enjoyed with the delight of youth the pleasure of skating, to which Klopstock had done such honour in verse. Beside a couple of letters of the time which describe it¹ we have a memorial of this skating in the overflowing merry lines written in an old album, dating from 1680, at Crespel's house in the evenings of the 13th and 14th.² On the 15th he informs Tante Fahlmer that he is still entangled (*verfangen*) in all kinds of drawing, and has besides a quantity of stuff on hand of no significance; he sends a portfolio full of various sketches, that he may in some sort be with her.³ Four days later he met the Brentanos at the theatre; the husband was extraordinarily friendly.⁴ Even did he for a moment feel it possible to visit their house once more, there was the instant fear of the threatening danger of a revival of his passion. As to his own destination he was just then more than ever in doubt, for it often seemed to him that, with his impulse to sensuous presentation, he ought to devote himself not to poetry but to painting. At the house of the already-mentioned painter Nothnagel he made his first attempts at painting, announced solemnly to Mama Sophie on the 20th of November as follows:—"I shall this evening take in my hand the oil-painter's brush! with what humility, devotion, and hope, I cannot express. My life's destiny hangs on that moment. It is a gloomy day! We shall meet each other yet in sunshine." We find him the day after in the studio joyfully agitated by the arrival of a letter from Kestner, an affectionate bearer of full pardon for *Werther*. "*Werther* had to, had to exist!" he writes to Kestner with the most vivid feeling of the artistic perfection and the clear truthfulness of sentiment of the book. "You feel not *him*, you feel but *me* and *you*, and what you call *stuck on*, but which—in spite of you—and others—is *woven in*. If I am still alive you are he whom I must thank for it—therefore you are not Albert." "Within a year," he promises "whatever may remain of suspicion, misinterpretation, etc., among the chattering crowd," he will, "after the *loveliest, simplest, truest* fashion, wipe away

¹ See *Der junge Goethe*, pp. 42-3.—TR.

² *Stammbuch Johann Peter Reyniers von Frankfurt am Main*, 1680. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 174-5.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 43.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to the La Roche [20th November 1774]. *Locher*, p. 84-6

as fog and smoke before a clear north wind." He alone can *invent* what may deliver the two dear ones from windy suspicion ; he has it in his power, only it is yet too soon.¹

Thus was the noble creation through which he had rid himself of his world weariness most lovingly forgiven by the dear ones whom it had made the common talk. But a crew of Philistine critics of *Werther* arose—moralising, hairsplitting men—and plagued the author's life with wearisome nice expositions or shameful abuse, powerless though they were to disable the working of the wonderful nature-breathing book.² And alas ! he whom Goethe esteemed above all others—Lessing—was rendered hostile to *Werther* as to *Götz* by the swarm of foolish imitators ; and, in the case of *Werther*, still more by seeing the story of young Jerusalem, once his valued friend, used as poetic capital. On the other hand Lavater held *Werther* to be not at all dangerous—to be *the* work of our Literature. Among Goethe's countless admirers was the famous physician Zimmermann of Hannover ; he wrote a letter expressing his veneration for the novel in which everything was so true. The philosopher Garve too thought *Werther* the best thing Goethe had done yet, and foretold, in Engel's *Philosoph für die Welt*, that Goethe would obtain great influence over his contemporaries, having heart, understanding and audacity, favour with the public and desire to rule. Many others, Sulzer being one, understood so little the intent of the poet that they called him to account for what is said and done by the *Werther* who left to his emotions the guidance of his will.

In Frankfurt the old friends pressed more zealously continually around the now celebrated poet, whose name, as author of *Werther*, the publisher had, contrary to agreement, betrayed in a catalogue for the fair ; new friends were added. As a poet Klinger stood next, in whom, however, desire was not matched by power. The story runs that Goethe gave him the *Puppenspiel*³ to do what he liked with, and that he printed

¹ Goethe to Kestner, November 21, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 45-6.—TR.

² Yet it is true that many foolish heads gave themselves to the imitation of *Werther*, and of the author whom they supposed to resemble *Werther*.—DÜNTZER.

³ "The *Puppenspiel*," i.e., *Des Künstlers Erdewallen, Jahrmarktsfest und Plunderweilern*, and *Pater Brey*.—TR.

it. It appeared in the earlier half of October (1774) almost at the same time with the sentimental *Werther*, its bubbling, wanton spirits strangely contrasting; here were the two extremes of Goethe's nature. Heinrich Leopold Wagner, a native of Strassburg, about two years' Goethe's senior, who had been a tutor in the house of President von Günderobe in Saarbrücken, had come to Frankfurt during the fair; fain to distinguish himself as a poet, he clung to the author of *Götz* and *Werther*, now overtopping all the rest. Long, lean, good-tempered, a trifle shy, he was a merry, social companion; and Goethe honoured in him, as in Klinger, the steadfast battling with his low estate, though Klinger's was of course the far more powerful and lofty nature. Wagner was going to the Law, but had not finished his studies. As a poet he had skill in versification rather than fresh feeling, more ingenuity than natural humour. His *Confiscable Erzählungen*, just published, was a play of deliberate frivolity. Merck, whose bitterness grew constantly more pronounced, was angry to see the throng of "knaves" (*Buben*) who clung round his friend and flattered him, that they might sun themselves in his fame.

When, on the 1st of December 1774, Goethe received Volume I. of J. G. Jacobi's *Iris*, he felt impelled, by the request for contributions addressed to the "friends of the fair sex," to write out from memory and send to Jacobi some of his own earlier songs to do what he pleased with. Instead of Goethe's name, though, he would have certain letters subscribed, that ladies and gentlemen might have food for speculation.¹ He now gave himself passionately to sketching and painting. He himself prepared a portfolio of drawings for Merck, prefixing two poems, with the purport that living feeling is the basis of all Art;² an idea uttered in several lyrics of this time with enthusiastic ardour.³ He painted a pretty stove-screen for Hieronymus Schlosser, with the head of Schlosser's favourite poet Virgil, and many ornaments all having reference to Virgil. He was successful in other little efforts, but when he tried to paint great things he felt his want of power.

And now an acquaintance was formed more full of conse-

¹ Goethe to J. G. Jacobi, Dec. 1, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 48.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 156.—TR.

³ See, for example, *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 173.—TR.

quence for him than any that went before. On the evening of December 11, 1774, a tall thin man entered, whom he in the twilight took for Fritz Jacobi, then expected to arrive at any time. It was Captain Karl Ludwig von Knebel, just turned thirty, tutor since July to Prince Constantin of Weimar. The two young princes of Weimar were travelling to Paris, taking Karlsruhe on the way. Karl August, the elder, now seventeen, was accompanied by his tutor, the grave and formal Count von Görtz-Schlitz, and by *Stallmeister* von Stein-Kochberg. Knebel was well fitted to win Goethe's affection and confidence; noble, ardent, gifted with poetic power; in Berlin the friend of Ramler and his circle; in Göttingen the friend of Boie; he, too, in his turn, was quite carried away by the loveliness of the author of *Werther*. Goethe was conducted by Knebel, after a while, to the young princes, who received him in a very friendly manner, even inviting him to visit them in Mainz, the goal of their journey on the morrow. It was a happy chance when the conversation fell on the just published first volume of Justus Möser's *Patriotische Phantasieen*, so that the young poet could show his sympathetic insight into the question of the elevation of the people. An echo of this conversation may be found in the letter of thanks which he addressed a fortnight later to Möser's daughter as the editor of these essays. "I carry them about with me," he writes; "whenever or wherever I may open them all grows well with me, and a hundred various desires, hopes, projects unfold within my soul."¹ The noble young Hereditary Prince made a deep impression on Goethe. Knebel stayed over the 12th in Frankfurt "in order," he wrote to his sister, "to enjoy the best of all men."² On the 13th the two proceeded together to Mainz, where they found the princes at the inn *Zu den drei Kronen*. The Hereditary Prince especially was captivated by the mighty personality of the young poet. As the so well deserved farce on Wieland was mentioned, Goethe represented it as a mere overflow of

¹ Goethe to Frau von Voigt née Möser in Osnabrück, 28th December 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 56-7.—TR.

² This letter, with Goethe's continuation of it, is reprinted. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 50-1. Goethe's and Knebel's long correspondence of nearly sixty years was reprinted by Brockhaus, edited by G. E. Guhrauer. Leipzig, 1851.—TR.

careless fun, and declared himself ready to make the first advances in a reconciliation; this he accordingly did in a postscript added to a letter which Knebel addressed to Wieland from Mainz. He gave copies of many of his poems to Knebel, who would, as occasion offered, read them to the young princes; one of them probably was *Erwin und Elmire*.

And now when he returned to Frankfurt quite full of the confiding goodness of the young princes, of the Hereditary Prince's excellence especially, the sad news met him that Fräulein von Klettenberg, who had taken ill a short time since, had died on the day of his departure, and was already buried. "Died, buried in my absence, who was so dear, so much to me," he wrote to Frau von Laroche. "Mama that disciplines (*picht*) chaps and teaches them to hold their heads erect. For me, I will stay a little longer."¹ He felt the blow the more keenly, because he had been hoping to find in her heavenly clear look a kind of illumination thrown upon his presentiment of important consequence from the visit of the young princes. Though the upright Knebel had made an extremely favourable impression on Councillor Goethe, the old Frankfurt republican would fain know nought of sovereignties; and it was even contrary to his liking that his son should so soon have followed the princes to Mainz. Goethe made use of his acquaintance with Knebel to discover how President Hahn in Karlsruhe was disposed towards Schlosser; how he (Goethe) stood with Count Görtz. Knebel is to keep the Hereditary Prince mindful of him.² A great delight to him was the cordial reply now received from Wieland; strange though it seemed to be reconciled with those hitherto passionately hateful to him—with the Jacobis and Wieland. For, as he told Knebel,³ after sending the greeting to Wieland, he needed an ideal not less for scorn of the Worthless than for admiration of the Noble.

Not only was drawing diligently pushed on, but many a song sprang to the lips, and plans of dramas half-formed within. With the spring he hoped, he wrote to Boie, to begin a new

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, 22d December 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 52-4. *Loeper*, pp. 90-92.—Tr.

² Goethe to Knebel, 28th December 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 55-6.—Tr.

³ One evening in Mainz.—Tr.

production which, too, should have its own original tone.¹ Some work quite different from what he had done hitherto and of greater importance must have hovered before him; probably it was *Egmont*. When, as was his use, he was arranging and packing all the letters received during the year (1774), many various thoughts passed through his head, and the reflection was borne in upon him:—"When one has rolled the ethical snowball of his Ego a year forward, he has gathered a good deal on the way."² With many a pain and grief the departing year had brought him much love, much to further him, and at its very close the unspoken foreboding of a union with a noble, intellectual, practical young prince.

¹ Goethe to Boie, December 23, 1774. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 54-5.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von La Roche, January 3, 1775. (Not in *Der junge Goethe*.) *Loefer*, p. 95-6.—TR.

CHAPTER VI.

LILI—SWITZERLAND.

JANUARY—NOVEMBER 1775.

ON New Year's Day, 1775, the poet of *Werther*, lace-coated, paid his visit to the Senior Bürgermeister. Whatever hopes of a foreign connection he found in the late begun acquaintance with the Hereditary Prince of Weimar—to be Prince Regnant next September—who could have prophesied this to be the last of such visits for the young Frankfurter? Still less could one have guessed what threads of varied colour this year would weave into his life; how it would draw him hither and thither, distract his soul more than ever with the almightiness of love—even giving him to taste the sweetness of betrothal; lastly, after many a painful inward fight, lift and bear him from the city of his birth to a new home.

When at a later time¹ he writes to Bürger that by the fairy *Hold*—or *Unhold*—had come a New Year's gift—three-quarters of a year most distracted, most entangled, most complete, most full, most empty, most forceful, most trifling, he seems to mark New Year's Day as the beginning of the love which dominated his life during this period. So probably the evening of this New Year's Day was the evening on which he was asked by a friend to come to the splendid house *Zum Libeneck*, at the angle of the Cornmarket, next to the spot where at a later period the German Reformed Church stood.

Susanna Elizabeth D'Orville, daughter of Johann Noe D'Orville of the Reformed Church, had, in the year of Goethe's birth, married a co-religionist of her father, the merchant and banker Johann Wolfgang Schönmann. Her husband died in 1763; seven years after his death—in 1770—she rebuilt

¹ October 18, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 118-9.—TR,

the house after the new taste. The only daughter, Anna Elizabeth, was born on the 23d of June 1758; two sons, Georg and Friedrich, were some years older than their sister. Every evening a select company assembled in this house, and once introduced you were always welcome. Of course a desire was felt to see the celebrated poet here even once; he was in general supposed to be a strange fellow, whose manners were quite at variance with the tone of good society. He himself on one occasion, writing to Mama Sophie, subscribes "*La grosse bête*,"¹ and probably by that time had got fond of calling himself "the bear;" which, it will be remembered, was Madame d'Epinay's nickname for Rousseau. He had long resisted the invitation of his friend, but at length gave in, and went on this New Year's Day evening to a concert at Frau Schöнемann's. At the moment of Goethe's entrance a sonata was to be played by the daughter of the house, a fresh blonde of sixteen, with great dark blue eyes, expressing the pure goodness of the soul within, with gentle, delicate features, and a mouth round which played constantly a winning smile. It was some time before the young poet, who stood at the lower end of the piano, could say a polite word in praise of her musical talent, to which she made a pleasant reply. When he was going away both mother and daughter expressed a hope that they would soon see their esteemed guest again. Lili, whose powers had been carefully cultivated—she not only could draw and sing prettily, but had made essays in graceful verse—grew more and more in captivating charm to the poet as his visits were repeated; yet at first it was only a brotherly affection, such as he had felt for many "good maidens"—not love's disquieting.

Thus we find him pleasantly busied with sketching and verse-making during the first half of January (1775); he wrote short lyrics, also the poem *Prometheus*, setting forth the defiance to the gods of the self-erected moulder of men. He sent *Prometheus* to Merck on the 10th, just before going to his friend André in Offenbach, who was probably then composing for the songs of *Erwin und Elmire*. "I have," he writes, "for three days been working at a drawing with all my diligence, and have not yet finished it. It is good to do, once in a way, all that

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche (end of May 1774). See *Loefer*, p. 39.—Tr.

one can do, so attaining to the honour of learning oneself more nearly.”¹ His *Stella* was already planned. In writing it he had in mind the strange tale of Swift’s two lovers, Stella and Vanessa; and in the heroine he meant to show the power of glowing passion. On the 13th he writes to Knebel:—“Am I in good remembrance among you? Addio; I have had some very good productive days.”²



FIG. 17. Lili. After the photograph of the best family picture, the photograph in the monograph *Lillis Bild*, by Count Ferdinand Eckbrecht von Dürkheim.

By this Fritz Jacobi had come to Frankfurt, where he stayed four weeks—until the 5th of February—in close communion with Goethe. They were “very dear, good, and vigorous” together.³ Goethe read his *Faust* to Jacobi, who was deeply stirred by it; confided to him all plans and introduced him to his familiar social circles. Jacobi tried in vain to induce Wieland to come to Frankfurt. Nor could Jacobi’s

¹ This letter will be found *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 73.—Tr.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 59.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, February 17, 1775. *Loeper*, pp. 98-99.—Tr.

efforts make Wieland kindly disposed to the young poet, whose satire he continued to fear. A "good" letter from Herder at this time gave Goethe vivid pleasure; cordially did he take the hand stretched out in renewal of friendship. He answered Herder on the 18th of January; on the same day he writes to Mama Sophie:—"We are now—I especially—right glad of life; there is a strong current of things."¹

He had ere this called to see Lili in the early part of the day, and had talked intelligently with her and her mother, so that the latter came to trust him and gave him free admittance to the house. So did the charming, sweet-natured maiden captivate him by an artless account of her young life, that—with deep disquietude—he felt his heart kindle again to love. With what pangs had he renounced his love for Lotte, with what violent struggle had he held aloof from young Max Brentano! And now should love anew overmaster the poet, who felt a whole world in his breast, moving in darkness to his destiny? This time it was a maiden reared in a higher social circle, highly accomplished, somewhat spoiled, only just budding into womanhood; her warm affection made him happy; he hoped to mould her after his desire, so to secure the purest happiness of life—the perfect accord of two hearts in one. Yet his old inward striving after Freedom and Culture, how would it fare? a question which held him back from yielding up his soul as yet.

Just at this time, about the 20th of January, he received overflowing letters of friendship from the two Counts Stolberg, who adored Nature and Freedom, who felt some poetic stirrings, and who were the personal friends of Klopstock. Their studies in Göttingen over, they had become Gentlemen of the Bedchamber in Copenhagen; they were about Goethe's age, Christian being a little older, Fritz Leopold more than a year younger. They also transmitted to him the letter of an "Unknown One;" it was from their sister Auguste Luise, now one-and-twenty, who lived alternately in Copenhagen with her brother-in-law the Minister Bernstorff and in Hamburg with the Countess Bernstorff. The loving tenderness of the letter moved Goethe strangely, especially the anxious question whether he were happy. He immediately wrote in reply: her letter came on him at a strange hour; but—he can

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 59. Loeper, p. 97.—TR.

say no more while so agitated. And when, eight days later, he returned to his writing, he could only excuse his fragmentary stammering style by alleging his condition; since the Reflection of the Infinite moves within: "And what is that but Love?"¹

Such exceedingly agitated moods were of course only temporary, but his love-pain increased, until at length he urged even Jacobi to go away and leave him.² Jacobi left on the 5th of February. On the 4th Goethe dined with the Hereditary Prince of Meiningen, who, with his younger brother, with *Oberhofmeister* von Dürkheim and two tutors, was on his way to Strassburg. The Hereditary Prince recounts that Goethe, who sat next him, speaks a great deal, speaks well, particularly original *naïve* talk, is extraordinarily amusing and merry; has *Façons* quite his own; his own ideas and opinions on all subjects, and on the people he knows; his own language; words of his own.

Immediately after this he had an enthusiastic letter about *Werther* from Bürger, who had only just read the novel. Yet now, here he was in the toils of a quite different love!—a torment to him, for his beloved compelled him to be present at the evening social gatherings, where the friendliness with which she had to greet so many others, and the thought how happy he would be alone with her, cut his heart. He expressed his pain in imperishable form in the poems *Neue Liebe Neues Leben*, and *An Belinden*.³ Nothing marks more strikingly his condition than the last line of the former:—"Liebe! Liebe! lass mich los!" The superscription "*To Belinde*" was given to the lyric so named only after the few lines dedicating *Erwin und Elmire*⁴ to his beloved were written, in which he found the stock name Belinde to rhyme conveniently.⁵ How, notwithstanding the fair eyes of the

¹ Goethe to The Dear Unknown, begun probably on the 18th of January, continued on the 26th, and again continued, date unfixed. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 61-62.—TR.

² So Goethe mentions in a letter to Helene Jacobi, February 6, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 62.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 176-7.—TR.

⁴ *Erwin und Elmire* was completed to appear in the *Iris*.—DÜNTZER.

⁵ Den kleinen Strauss den ich dir binde,
Pflückt 'ich aus diesem Herzen hier.
Nimm ihn gefällig auf Belinde!
Der kleine Strauss, er ist von mir.

Der junge Goethe, iii. 504.—TR.

"dainty blonde," this society life oppressed him; hunted in lace coat from card-table to concert, from concert to ball, he confided in a letter of the 13th of February to his "Dear Unknown One" (whose name he had indeed learned in the interval); but we hear too how he often, "in gray beaver coat, with brown silk neck-cloth and strong boots, fore-feels the coming spring in the caressing February air;" and he is able to say to his distant friend that he—"always living in himself, aspiring and working, now expressing the innocent emotions of youth in little poems, the strong seasoning of life in many kinds of drama, sketching the forms of his friends and of the familiar places, and of his beloved household goods, with chalk on gray paper, after his ability, asks neither on the right hand nor the left what is thought of his performance, because he working rises always a step higher, because he would fain—not leap at an Ideal, but, struggling or trifling, let his emotions unfold themselves to capacities."¹

A letter of thanks to Bürger on the 17th of February confides that he has not been industrious just of late, yet the spring breezes, which even already often come playing across the gardens to his chamber, are working again upon his heart; and he hopes that some result will disentangle itself from the fragrant confusion.²

Beside reading through Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*, to which he in January appended an essay of his own, he was constantly busy with his *Stella*. Fritz Jacobi, on a second stay in Frankfurt (February 24—March 2), heard with great pleasure the beginning of this *Schauspiel für Liebende*. A little earlier Jung Stilling had made his appearance; he came to operate for cataract on a Herr von Lersner. Jung, like Jacobi, stopped at the Goethes'; but a room in the neighbourhood had soon to be hired for the much-sought-after physician. The despairing lamentations which the pious man uttered over his unsuccessful operation were extremely trying to Goethe and his parents, with whom he was still a daily guest. The young poet had his own annoyances. The criticisms of *Werther*, whether the snarling of Berlin or other places, had been always a plague to him;³ but his disgust

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 63-65.—TR.

² *Ibid.* iii. 67.—TR.

³ Goethe to Auguste, Countess Stolberg [6th-10th March 1775]:—"Ich bin das ausgraben und seziren meines armen *Werthers* so satt. Wo

culminated when Nicolai published his *Freuden des jungen Werthers*. To ridicule Nicolai in coarse verses did not serve. Even had not *Werther* been Goethe's own work, he would have been excessively enraged by such shameful treatment of a poem so deep in feeling, so perfect in art. Goethe's mother tells us how on such an occasion he would gnash his teeth, and vent his rage in some most ungodly oath, while his joy in pure poetic beauty would break forth in tears. For the second edition of *Werther* he wrote two mottos, the latter warning the reader not to follow the unhappy example of the hero.¹

Just after Jacobi's departure (March 2) Goethe revolted at Lili's confidential friendliness to others. His thirsty soul would fain have his beloved live for him alone, adore him with glowing passion; he would have her, love-inspired, penetrate by a glance to the veiled recesses of his heart, be a creature of his love and of his moulding. Lili did indeed cling with deep affection to the youth who so bewitched her; but she was not capable of that devouring flame of passion which the poet cherished in his breast, and which he breathed into his *Stella*. And the wayward ill-humour, the jealousy which often came upon him, were a very hard trial to the merry maiden, the spoiled household pet. Then her mother and brothers were repelled by many an eccentricity of Lili's lover; were prejudiced against him on account of his connection with lower circles than their own; and on the whole, did not think him the husband that a rich banker's daughter might look for; they did not fail to urge her to put up no longer with his behaviour.

When on the 4th of March he spoke to Tante Fahlmer of his trouble, she spoke comfort to him, and pressed him to finish *Stella*; she would make a copy of it for Jacobi. On his way back his yearning drove him to Lili, who again charmed him, as he cannot conceal from Tante Fahlmer next day. "I hope to draw you into our circle," he writes; "by God, Tante, it can't be altogether amiss to you in it. Lili is

ich in eine Stube trete, find ich das Berliner, etc., Hundezug; der eine schilt drauf, der andre lobt's, der dritte sagt 'es geht doch an,' und so hetzt mich einer wie der andere." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 71.—TR.

¹ "Sey ein Mann und folge mir nicht nach." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 179.
—TR,

very dear, and has a most sincere feeling for your worth.”¹ In the afternoon he went on a walk round the town with Cornelia’s friend Lisette Runkel, and her brother the *Stadt-stallmeister*; they met Lili with her mother in a carriage. He confesses next day to Tante that he was very “foolish and oddly-behaved” (*dumm und toll*) on this occasion; and afterwards, instead of going to her, he spent two hours playing *ombre* with Riese and a female friend, Loisgen.

On the rainy afternoon of the 6th March, after despatching two pieces of legal work, he hastens to André in Offenbach. Arrived, he turns in extreme agitation to Auguste:—“In the country with very dear people,” he writes; “in suspense,—dear Auguste—God knows I am an unhappy young fellow. . . . Would that I could lie still upon your hand, repose in your eyes. Great God, what the heart of man is!” Next morning (March 7) he writes to his sister, who had presented her husband with a little daughter in the preceding October. To her also he must pour out his lamenting. In the evening he goes on to confide to Gustchen:—“This was a strange day. Have sketched; written a scene; O, if I did not write dramas now I should shipwreck. Soon I shall send you one in manuscript. . . . I cannot have it printed; for I will, God willing, in future, bury in a corner my . . . and children, without dangling it beneath the public nose.”

On the 10th back in Frankfurt, he continues this diary-like letter. His head is pretty clear, his heart tolerably free, but immediately he breaks out:—“O best one, how are we to find words to express what we feel.” “Hold a poor young fellow to your heart,” he concludes. “May the good Father in heaven give you many courageous and happy hours, such as I often have; and then let the twilight fall tearful and blessed. Amen.”² Three days later he writes to Tante Fahlmer:—“I am quite unbearable. And therefore busy at sensuous work [sketching]. I cannot come. May God give you to carry out something. With me, things will come to no good end.”³ She urged him to go on with *Stella*. Then he was delighted to hear how

¹ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [5th March 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 68.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 72.—TR.

³ “Geb’ Ihnen Gott was zu treiben. Mit mir nimmts kein gut Ende.” Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [March 13, 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 68.—TR.

Max Brentano, who had gone to her mother, had on March 12 borne a boy, and was doing well; he might perhaps hope that this new tie would draw the husband closer to the dear wife whom he (Goethe) would be able again to visit in her own house, without fear of being stirred to passion by her presence. "Now I am going to Brentano to congratulate him," he writes to Mama Sophie; and in the letter he asks the "dear little mother":—"Is there a time coming which will see us influence one another as friends?"¹ On the same day (the 15th March) he goes again to Offenbach; and thence (March 17) sends to Tante the concluding act of *Stella*, about which he had been very timid. He had meant to return to Frankfurt on the 17th for the concert, but hearing that Lili was coming on a visit to her uncle, the rich manufacturer D'Orville in Offenbach, he resolved to stay. Lili's self-will might torment him—she was still almost a child, she was a pet, she was used to the carefully polite manners of good society, it was no wonder if she did not quite understand him; but she had an essentially noble nature, she had rich gifts, she was a charming maiden who loved him well: and these things were powerful to hold him fast. "Within me there is much that is strange and new," he writes to Tante Fahlmer. "In three hours I hope to see Lili. Dear Tante—until Sunday. Take the maiden to your heart; it will be well for both." The Tante had expressed great pleasure in the first four acts of *Stella*, which she had transcribed for Jacobi; but Goethe feared that the final issue of the story—the possession of *both* Stella and Cäcilie by the faithless Fernando—would be repellent to her. He writes thus in the same letter:—"I am weary of lamenting the fate of *our sex of people* [those urged by fiery passion], but I will *present* them, they shall know themselves, if it may be, as I have known them, and shall become—if not more restful—yet in their unrest, stronger."² His Fernando, saved by the infinite love of the two women, is like Werther, a morally weak "Stormer" knowing not self-control, set forth like Werther, not as an example, but as a sign, to what passion indulged without restraint leads. On the 19th he returned

¹ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, March 15, 1775. *Loeper*, pp. 100-1.—Tr.

² Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer, March 17, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 72.—Tr.

to Frankfurt, and at eleven o'clock, before going to bed, he writes to Auguste :—"With me again for a while it has been so between gladness and sadness, that I know not whether I am on earth,—and then it is to me as if I were in heaven."¹

On the 21st of March he writes beseechingly to Jacobi :—"Stand by me, dear Fritz. I feel as though I were on skates for the first time, alone, and stumbling along the path of life ; and *should* all the time be striving for the prize, and for that after which all my soul is yearning."² On the same day he speaks more hopefully to Mama Sophie :—"Daily I strive and work to become more worthy. Have too, God be thanked, relay-horses for my further travel."³ In the union with Lili he hoped to find repose and happiness. Thus he says four days later to Herder :—"It looks as though the threads by which my destiny depends, and which I so long in rotating oscillation jerk up and down, would at length unite. For the rest, all kinds of circumstances make me pretty tame, not, however, taking away the good young courage from me."⁴ But that night (the 25th), writing to Auguste, far away, sick of fever, a gloomy foreboding of a time of melancholy falls upon him, a time in which he will flee her and all who are dear to him ; then let her pursue him with her letters, save him from himself !⁵

About this time he gave to Lili the first copy of *Erwin und Elmire*, with the prefixed verses dedicating it to her ; he hoped that the pain of the true lover of the drama would work beneficially on her ; but a stronger influence was that of her family, which still grew more opposed to him. Frau Schönemann did not care so much for a famous son-in-law as for a rich one, good at business. How it stood with her own affairs at the time we do not know ; a few years later the house had to stop payment. On March 28th Goethe, in his

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 74.—Tr.

² *Ibid.* iii. 73-74.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, March 21, 1775. *Loefer*, 102-3.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Herder, March 25, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 75.—Tr.

⁵ "Jetzt gute Nacht, und weg mit dem Fieber!—doch wenn du leidest, schreib mir—ich will alles theilen—O dann lass mich auch nicht stecken, edle Seele, zur Zeit der Trübsal, die kommen könnte, wo ich dich flöhe und alle Lieben! Verfolge mich, ich bitte dich, verfolge mich mit deinen Briefen dann, und rette mich von mir selbst!" *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 75.—Tr.

dark mood, met friend Merck at Langen. On the same day Klopstock, on the return journey to Hamburg, visiting Goethe found him in "strange agitation."¹

About the middle of March (1775) had appeared anonymously the farce *Prometheus, Deukalion und seine Recensenten*. This sharp satire on the critics of *Werther* annoyed Goethe exceedingly, because it referred to his Mainz trip, and to the reconciliation through Knebel with Wieland. Yet he thought that nobody who knew him could deem so ill of him as to suppose him capable of ridiculing that reconciliation which he had himself wished for; nor could any reasonable man attribute to him the jokes about the *Iris*, and about the garrulity of his publisher Weygand. But he grew seriously disquieted when he found that everybody—even friend Merck—thought him the author. Even when he heard of Wieland's threat to complain to Goethe's Hereditary Prince of this malicious trifling, he would not consent to disavow the farce publicly; neither to Jacobi nor to any one else would he write anything about the matter; he would take no pains to discover who the real author was.² He had a short time before been again disgusted with Wieland, because of a remark in the *Merkur* about "geniuses;" he had written to Tante Fahlmer:—"Eternal enmity be between my seed and their seed."³ But the remonstrance—that every one recognised his manner in the farce, and that the suspicion founded on this must be highly injurious to him in his relation with the Hereditary Prince of Weimar—brought him at last to resolve on finding out the author,—not far to seek,—and to clear himself at least to his friends by letter; finally, he agreed to let a *Declaration to the public* be printed. When he sent it⁴ to Tante Fahlmer about the 8th of April, he was again quite bewitched about Lili. "She was as beautiful as an angel," he wrote, "and I had not seen her for four days. And dear God, how much is she even better than beautiful."⁵ The *Declaration*, on oblong octavo, is dated April 9, 1775:—"Not I, but Heinrich Leopold Wagner has written and printed the

¹ Goethe to Knebel, April 14, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 79-80.—TR.

² Goethe, writing to Johanna Fahlmer [beginning of April 1775], makes this declaration. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 78.—TR.

³ See the letter of March 13, 1775, already quoted. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 68.—TR.

⁴ IN MS.—TR.

⁵ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 79.—TR.

Prometheus, without my participation, without my knowledge." The *Declaration* appeared in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* of the 21st:—"I consider," it says, "this declaration due to those who love me and believe my word. Otherwise, I should be quite content to regard this as an opportunity of quietly learning more exactly the characters of various people from their behaviour towards me." He sent the *Declaration* to Knebel on the 14th, unaware that Knebel, commissioned by the Hereditary Prince of Weimar, had already made inquiry of Salzmann about the farce. On the 15th Goethe sent a copy of the *Declaration* to Klopstock.¹

Jacobi passionately lamented the *dénouement* of *Stella* (the play had been sent to him by Tante Fahlmer) as injurious to morals, and earnestly urged that it should be changed. Goethe was "wild" with him;² he had hoped that his friend would, in *Stella* as in *Werther*, recognise the warmth of the writer's heart. Yet he soon grew composed, and wrote Jacobi a "mystic" letter; which he, however, did not send, not deeming it worthy of the nearness of their friendship. Soon he found himself composed enough to speak out his full soul to his friend, who cannot desire to misinterpret him.

On the 14th of April, when sending the *Declaration* to Knebel, he writes that: he falls from one entanglement into another, and is again stuck fast with his poor heart unexpectedly in all participation of the common lot of man, from which he had but just rescued himself with difficulty. He has been doing all kinds of things, and yet but little; a play [*Claudine*] will soon be ready; his civil functions he performs with such mysterious stealth, as though he were engaged in smuggling! To Klopstock, in that letter written on the following day—the 15th April—he confides that he is pretty much as he was when they last parted, only that it often grows worse; but then a dew-drop of the Universal Balsam, which falls from above [he means his confidence in his destiny], makes all well again. At this period he was looking forward very eagerly to the coming of the Counts Stolberg.³ Beside

¹ See for these letters and a reprint of the *Declaration*, *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 79, 81, 82.—TR.

² "Wild könnt' ich wohl über Fritzen werden; böß nie." Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [April 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 82.—TR.

³ Goethe to Auguste Gräfin Stolberg, 15th April 1775:—"Ach Gott

Claudine he had on hands the reading through of Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* in manuscript; on the 19th of April, just before setting out on a business-journey, he sent the latter part of the first volume to the publisher; he had appended an essay on Rameau, and written a *Lied eines physiognomischen Zeichners*.¹

A quite unexpected turn in affairs was now brought about through the arrival of the "merchant-spinster" ("*Handelsjungfer*") Helena Dorothea Delph of Heidelberg. This lady, now almost fifty, who, since 1761, had, with her elder sister, carried on the business left by their brother, was on an intimate footing with Frau Schöнемann and the Reformed ("*Reformirten*") families of Frau Schöнемann's circle. She had come to Frankfurt for the Easter Fair, which began on the 18th of April 1775. No sooner had she observed the odd situation of the two lovers than she—a sworn foe to all "*Langen und Bangen*"—resolved to play the mediator. She had herself introduced to Goethe's parents, and managed to persuade away all difficulties with them and with Frau Schöнемann so skilfully that both sides gave her full power to act. So one evening she came to the lovers as they sat together, and exclaimed with triumphant joy:²—"Join hands;" confirming her authority by appeal to their parents' approval. Lili did put her hand, however slowly, into that of the poet of *Werther*; a deep drawn sigh and the happy lovers fell into each other's arms, and assured themselves in glowing kisses of the happiness long expected yet so sudden in its coming. This private betrothal must have been subsequent to Goethe's business journey, from which he returned before the 23d April. Just in the earlier time the young pair seem to have been together a great deal at Offenbach, where Lili stayed with her uncle D'Orville, whose great garden stretched down to the Main; Goethe with André close by. Lili hung a little heart

Ihre Brüder kommen, unsre Brüder, zu mir!—" Then in an addition of the 26th April:—"Wie erwart ich unsere Brüder!" *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 80-I.—TR.

¹ See Goethe's letter to Lavater, 19th April 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 83-4. Goethe returns the original MS. to Lavater, having sent a copy to Gotter.—TR.

² In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xvii. Buch:—"Exclaimed with her magniloquent air of command." "*Mit ihrem pathetisch gebieterischen Wesen.*"—TR.

in gold by a ribbon from her lover's neck, and gifts were not lacking on Goethe's side.

Their happiness remained but a short time at the flood. A satisfactory relation could not be established between the two families; not the difference of religion alone, but also the difference in mode of living, grew more and more prominent to estrangement. Lili's future was painted to her in no attractive colours; the singularities of her betrothed, whose life more than hers had been passed in bourgeois circles, were insisted on. Then her humours put him out of tune. That his beloved should form herself by him, live only for him, be merged in him, began to show as the futile dream of his jealous soul; and thus was intensified the uneasiness which began when the yoke of a new love laid upon him proved a fetter to his genius. So the two, loving each other well, became yet more and more divided. Then might the cold behaviour of Lili's family have easily determined Goethe to attempt an escape from the chains which lay heavy upon him. At present he rather held back from her society, which gave the enemy the more advantage to occupy her mind with adverse thoughts; and thus each grew gradually stranger to the other, for they lay passive—a dangerous thing when there are under-currents.

About the 10th of May the Counts Stolberg, by Göttingen and Cassel travelling, came to Frankfurt, where they expected their friend von Haugwitz from Paris. They slept at an inn, but found hospitable reception in the Goethes' house. What a life of freedom here developed, how merrily Goethe's mother—he called her "Frau Aja" from a scene in the *Haimonskinder*—entered into the youthful, high-spirited fun, lives imperishable in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.

As Goethe, sorrowing over the decline of Lili's affection, longed to go away from home, he decided on visiting, at Emmendingen, his sister, of whom he had been so long deprived; he would accompany the Stolbergs as far as Strassburg, even already perhaps had planned to go on with them to Switzerland. The very intensity of his suffering for some time back was the measure by which he now abandoned himself to fleet the time carelessly. "It is a great joy to us," writes the elder Stolberg, "that we are to travel with Goethe. A wild, untameable, but very very good young fellow, full of soul and

fire. And we love each other so well; from the first hour we were heart friends." Goethe had a comrade in sorrow in the younger Count, Fritz Leopold, who was shortly to hear whether the maiden whom he loved would be his or no. Friend Klinger, too, drew close to the Stolbergs. Fritz Leopold mentions the "new friendship with a young man Klinger who has a good heart and is a grand poet, and has taken up his quarters in our rooms."

Before leaving Frankfurt Goethe informed Herder that he was going to visit his sister for some time. "It is with me as with thee, dear brother," he says. "I play ball against the wall, and shuttlecock with the women. I thought a short time ago I was coming nearer the haven of domestic happiness and firm footing in the genuine joy and sorrow of the earth, but am in miserable fashion flung out again on the wide sea. . . . Thus I dance my life away upon the thread called *fatum congenitum* [the destiny we are born with]! Wilt shortly see some of my fresco-painting [*Claudine*], in which thou wilt be vexed to see side by side nature in true deep feeling (*gut gefühlte Natur*) and odious *locus communis*."¹

Early on the morning of the 15th of May 1775, after signing two memorials belonging to one of his cases, he drove with his three companions to Darmstadt. All of them wore Werther uniform—a blue coat, yellow waistcoat and trousers; and all had round gray hats. Merck, whom they visited in Darmstadt, went with them to Mannheim. Though he did not approve of Goethe's journey with the Stolbergs, he was attracted by the noble presence of the younger, Fritz Leopold. In Karlsruhe our travellers went to the court. There, stopping with the Markgraf and Markgräfin, were the two Darmstadt princesses; the younger of them, Luise, the destined bride of the Duke of Weimar, whom Goethe and we have seen starting for Berlin in May 1773, talked with enthusiasm of Switzerland and Lavater. The young poet was enchanted with her. "Luise is an angel," he wrote to Tante; "the gleaming star could not prevent me from picking up some flowers which fell from her bosom, and which I preserve in the pocket-book where the heart is."²

¹ Goethe to Herder [Frankfurt, May 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii 85-6.—TR.

² Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer: "a quarter of a league from Strass-

On the 21st of May the Weimar princes with von Görtz and Knebel arrived; for the betrothal of the Hereditary Prince and Luise was to be concluded here, on which account President von Moser also had come. The Hereditary Prince had a bad cold. He showed himself favourable to Goethe, as did the other princely and distinguished personages. With Knebel Goethe had confidential intercourse; Knebel disliked France very much.

On the evening of the 23d of May our travellers reached Strassburg. Here Goethe had the delight of intimate companionship with Lenz, who had matriculated last autumn, and was now supporting himself mainly by private teaching. They dined together on May 24th, at the inn to which they had formerly so often resorted, on the Ill, about a quarter of a league from Strassburg. From this inn, after dinner, Goethe writes to Tante, that he hopes something from the stage presentation of *Erwin*, soon to come off in Frankfurt—not as an author. He had asked her¹ to write telling him all about the performance, and whether Lili were present; for he hoped, as we know, that the unhappy-lover thus moving and speaking before her on the stage would touch her heart. "This old place now so new again! The Past and the Future." All is better than he had thought; he finds everything dear and good—perhaps because he loves? "So much this time of the Bear broken free; of the escaped Cat!—I have seen a great, great deal. A grand book the world to learn lessons of discretion from—if it only were of any avail!"²

Next day he was witness how Friedrich Stolberg bore the news that his Sophie merely felt friendship towards him, not love. Goethe suffered with his friend;³ who esteemed his loss greater than the death of his beloved would have been, since now not death, but she herself deprived him of herself. To Goethe, on the cathedral platform—where he found his name uneffaced—all his own Sessenheim love must have been

burg," Wednesday, May 24, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 88-9. "The heart"—the little golden heart which Lili had given him.—TR.

¹ Writing on May 16, 1775, from Mannheim. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 86-7.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 88-9.—TR.

³ See Goethe to Auguste Stolberg: Frankfurt, July 25, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 91.—TR.

vividly recalled to mind. Probably Lenz at this time gave him by no means the best account of Friederike ;¹ so that with his Lili-burthened (*lilischweren*) heart he can hardly have felt any desire to see her.

He stayed in Strassburg until the 27th of May, detained by old memories and old friends ; among the latter, the good Salzmann, who had been his confidant in the love of five years ago. Then he hastened, without companion, to his sister in Emmendingen ; who could only advise him earnestly to break off a connection, a sufficient objection to which, were there no other, would be the inequality in external rank of the families. And yet he could promise her nothing. Here he probably first let his father know that he was going to Switzerland. To Tante Fahlmer, who had given him such a nice account of the performance of *Erwin*, he writes on the 5th of June, shortly before leaving Emmendingen :—“ I am going to Schaffhausen to see the Rhine Falls, to wrap myself in the great idea ; for yet, I feel, the chief aim of my journey has been missed, and if I return [immediately (*Trans.*)], it will be worse with the Bear than before. I know well that I am a fool, but therefore I am one yet. And why should one put out the tiny lamp that shines so prettily in front along one’s way of life, and makes the darkness twilight ? ”² From Emmendingen too he sent *Claudine* to Knebel, writing :—“ Read it to our Duke in a free hour. No transcribing ! I beg particularly (*gar schön*). Thanks for your note. It is a real pleasure that you are not averse to me. To His Serene Highness everything that is heartfelt from me.”³ On the 7th, writing from Schaffhausen, before he has gone to the Rhine Falls, he says to Tante :—“ It is right well with me—could I only plunge right deep into the world ! I suppose, however, I shall soon be back with you again.”⁴ His constant fellow-traveller, Love, would draw him homewards.

With the warmest joy he greeted his friend Lavater at Zürich, on the 8th of June. In Lavater’s paternal house he

¹ Anything that Lenz said to Friederike’s discredit was, however, untrue.—Tr.

² This letter will be found, *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 87-88 ; it is there dated : [Strassburg, 22d Mai 1775].—Tr.

³ Goethe to Knebel : Emmendingen, June 4, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 89.—Tr.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 90.—Tr.

enjoyed the happiness of the purest family life; and as he gazed from its roof at the wondrous view of lake and distant snowy mountain-range, a heavenly peace stole over him. The visit of the great poet was a high honour done to Lavater in the presence of numerous secret enemies, who were stirred to still greater jealousy when they found Goethe restrict himself wholly to Lavater and his circle—among all the celebrities of Zürich only visiting the patriarchs of German Literature Bodmer and Breitinger, and Gessner the idyllic poet, whose name was prized even in foreign lands. Those of the opposition were very angry with Goethe for thus slighting them; and after his departure many bitter things were written in Zürich of the author of *Werther*. The close communion with Lavater did the love-sick poet a great deal of good; though Lavater's mild hortation could not blot out the memory of Lili, nor yet produce in him a firm resolve to hold her fast despite all hindrances.

One day after Goethe the Stolbergs arrived in Zürich, where they too were warmly greeted by Lavater; with Haugwitz they took a country house on the Sihl. On June 12th Goethe informs Mama Sophie that he, in company with Lavater, the Stolbergs, Haugwitz, and other good young fellows, has been to see the peasant Jakob Gujer, called Klijog, in his house at Wermetswyl; and he sends her a piece of bread cut for her at the peasant's table. How he rejoiced to find in this man, whom Hirzel fourteen years before had brought before the world's notice as a "moral philosopher peasant:"—"No ideal from the clouds, thank God! but one of the noblest beings, as this earth from which we too have sprung brings such forth."¹ The "good young fellows" were probably his fellow-townsmen—Passavant, a theological student, now three-and-twenty, intimate with Lavater, and the teacher of music Kayser, now living in Zürich.

As Goethe would not remain in Switzerland as long as the Stolbergs, he set out with Passavant on a delightful journey through the Lesser Cantons. How the love for Lili followed him everywhere, troubling his full delight,—though without it he would have no happiness,—causing him to begin his journey back on the morning of her birthday, June 23, when

¹ Goethe to Frau von Laroche: "At Lavater's desk, the 12th June 1775." *Loeper*, pp. 108-9.—TR.

at the summit of the Gotthard, has been charmingly told us by the poet himself.¹ On that morning of return he kissed the little golden heart, Lili's gift, still hanging on his neck.

On his arrival in Zürich, on June 25, he again made one of the cheery party of the Stolbergs. With Lavater, all sources of depression or exaltation to either were discussed—the *Physiognomische Fragmente*, the friends they had in common, the petty opponents who only deserved contempt, also repeatedly the relation to Lili. Of new personal acquaintanceships formed by Goethe at this time, the most important were those with Lavater's dear friend Pfenninger, and Frau Barbara Schultheiss, praised by Lavater as "ever the same;" she is greeted in Goethe's letters as "Bäbe." Before Wolfgang left Zürich a letter from his mother, dated June 28, came to Lavater; in it she begs the Counts to whom she entrusted her Wolfgang, to send him back to her now, since the time is growing very long to Frau Aja by herself.

Not until the 5th July 1775 did Goethe leave Zürich; the Stolbergs had two days earlier left for the Lesser Cantons. In Strassburg our poet was again in a very significant way to have his thoughts turned on Weimar. He met there the famous physician Zimmermann from Hannover, who last year had written him an enthusiastic letter about *Werther*. Zimmermann, who for a few days—from the 10th until the 14th or 15th—was staying with his son, a Strassburg student, showed Goethe ten silhouettes; among them was one of Frau von Stein, whose husband, in the retinue of the Duke of Weimar, he was already acquainted with. Her face robbed Goethe of three nights of sleep. He wrote under her portrait:—"It would be a glorious spectacle to see how the world mirrors itself in this soul. She sees the world as it is, and yet through the medium of love. Thus, too, gentleness is the general impression."

He had again a friendly time with Lenz and Salzmann. On the occasion of ascending the cathedral he wrote the remarkable *Dritte Wallfahrt nach Erwins Grab* (*Third Pilgrimage to Erwin's Grave*), which connects with the work formerly dedicated to Erwin's memory.² When he looked from above

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xviii. Buch (*close*) and xix. Buch (*beginning*).—Tr.

² For the *Dritte Wallfahrt* see *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 694. Von

on the grand expanse, his glances roamed "homewards, love-wards." On the platform he and Lenz talked of the necessity of true creative power for the production of genuine art work.¹

In Darmstadt, to his greatest joy, he found Herder, grown much gentler in the two years of separation, and Herder's wife; joined by Merck, they all proceeded to Frankfurt together. Their hearts were opened to each other again; even though Lili were a little forgotten. Herder submitted his Exposition of the Revelation of John to Goethe.

To visit Lili, to excuse his unceremonious departure and his silence was a hard task, but the compulsion of love was irresistible; he believed he could not live without the maiden. She seems to have received her repentant truant with open heart. Yet he was not happy; with all her warm affection she, as we have noticed before, lacked that fire of passion which his soul craved, and ugly forebodings crept over him that the connection which her family disliked so was not going to last. And in truth his temporary absence had made it easier for his opponents to cast a slur on his fidelity. Maximiliane Brentano, who during his absence had been much in his mother's society, was now again visited by him at her own house. There, on the evening of the 31st, they "fiddled and piped," so he tells Frau von Laroche.² Yet of a letter to Gustchen the portion written on that very day of "fiddling and piping" is full of melancholy.³

The three months which followed—the last that he spent in his native city—were the most passion-tossed of all his life. Writing on the 1st of August, he indeed informs Knebel—from whom, and from the Duke, he would fain hear something—that he finds himself a good deal better, quite content with the Past, and full of hope for the Future;⁴ but soon that stormy unrest took hold on him again.

We find him at Offenbach on the 3d of August, Lili being there then also. "I have given her thy greeting," he writes

Deutscher Baukunst, it will be remembered, is dedicated:—*D. M. Ervini à Steinbach. Der junge Goethe*, ii. 204.—TR.

¹ These particulars from the *Wallfahrt*.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von La Roche, August 1, 1775. *Loeper*, pp. 114-115.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 91-2.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 92.—TR.

to Lavater. "I will immediately send thee her silhouette—womanly. Make something for her in verse which may strengthen and confirm her in what is good. Thou canst do good and thou wilt."¹ The same day, in Lili's room, urged by anguish, he opens his heart to his friend in Copenhagen. He had not sent her any letter since the 26th of April²—three months of silence:—"What depression! O that I could see everything! Here in the chamber of the maiden who makes me wretched, yet is not to blame, with the soul of an angel, whose cheerful days I darken! I! . . . In vain, that I three months [so long did his journey seem to him!] have wandered in the open air, and drunk through every sense a thousand fresh impressions. Angel! and I sit again in Offenbach, simple as a child, limited as a parrot on its perch."³ They missed him in the house—D'Orville's house. Lili, to her surprise, found him in her room, but begged him to remain; she would go and dress in another room. (According to a family tradition Lili's mother took this piece of heedlessness exceedingly ill.) In the afternoon Lili rode out accompanied by D'Orville and Goethe. "You should have seen the angel in riding-dress on horseback," he writes next day, the 4th, to Lavater; and, after delivering to his friend the greetings of Lili and the Princess of Waldeck, he proceeds:—"And to me God will be gracious. *N.B.*—I have been for a while back again pious, have my joy in the Lord, and sing psalms unto His Name, thereof shalt thou very soon experience a vibration (*davon du ehstens eine Schwingung haben sollst*)."⁴ Lavater is also to note down what he would desire Goethe to see after for him in Italy. Here, accordingly, we find that twelve days after his return he had the Flight to Italy in his mind should a breach ensue. Yet he stayed a considerable time longer in Offenbach with Lili.

¹ Goethe to Lavater, August 3, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 96.—Tr.

² The letter to Auguste, mentioned half a page back, written partly on July 25th, partly on July 31st, was not yet despatched; it was lying in Frankfurt at the present date, and was found afterwards and sent on.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Auguste Stolberg [Offenbach], August 3, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 93-6.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Lavater, August 4, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 96-7. (Is there a reference to the translation of the Song of Solomon in the above?)—Tr.

One member of the society around them there was the second Reformed preacher, Johann Ludwig Ewald, two years older than Goethe, and his betrothed, daughter of the Frankfurt merchant Dufay. It was in this time that Goethe fell asleep one night on the *Mühlberg* (not the *Röderberg*), an incident which he has so charmingly described.¹ Only occasionally did he go even so far as Frankfurt.

On the 17th of August we find him writing in D'Orville's house, while Lili at the breakfast-table, in *négligé*, with her back turned to him, sips her coffee. He is writing to the Berlin poetess of nature, Madame Karschin, who thought very highly of him. "Perhaps the invisible scourge of the Eumenides will soon lash me out of my Fatherland, probably not northwards."² He speaks much more plainly a few days later, writing to Merck from Frankfurt; he is again miserably stranded, and could give himself a thousand cuffs for not having gone to the devil when he was afloat [was on the *Gotthard*]. He is on the watch for a new opportunity of getting away; he even thinks of flight against his parents' will, if Merck will advance him some money; at any rate Merck, when next he sees Rath Goethe, must try to procure that Wolfgang be sent to Italy before the year closes.³ His hope of kindling Lili to passion like that which glows in *Stella* had proved vain; she seemed incapable of such passion, though ready to do anything for her lover, and even—in their happier moments—altogether bewitched by him.

The conflict between hope and desperation dragged on for five weeks more. Writing to Tante Fahlmer at this period—after declaring himself opposed to the publication of Fritz Jacobi's novel, *Allwills Papiere*, in spite of the good things in it—he goes on:—"And I—*The Intricacies of Diego and Julia, First Part*—talk always in the deepest melancholy to myself and to my ass, while a whole little world occupies itself with my affairs."⁴ (He refers here to Slawkenbergius' Tale in *Tristram Shandy*—Bode had lately published a good translation—the tale of the long-nosed Stranger, who, as he rides from Strassburg to Frankfurt, talks, sometimes to himself,

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xvii. Buch.—Tr.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii 97-9.—Tr.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 99-100.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [August 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 102.—Tr.

sometimes to his mule, sometimes to his Julia:—"O Julia, my lovely Julia." At the end of this tale another, "the tenth of the tenth decade," "a tale indeed," is—not told—but described thus:—"It sets out with the first interview in the inn at Lyons, when Fernandez left the courteous Stranger [Diego] and Julia alone in her chamber and is over-written, *The Intricacies of Diego and Julia*." Goethe's words signify that, as yet, only the First Part of *his* love-intricacies has been played, causing as much excitement in Frankfurt as did the long nose of that Stranger in Strassburg. In the last sentence he seems to have mischievously chosen the Frankfurt dialect.¹

To this period falls the touching lament, *Herbstgefühl*;² autumn will ripen the grape-clusters round his window, but not mature his love to bliss. We have no evidence of his state of mind on his birthday—a day always of serious reflection. Lili can hardly have made him happy with a gift as did Lotte in Wetzlar; he had sent her no token of love on her birthday, though he probably had told her how, on that day, the golden heart had turned his footsteps homewards.

At the beginning of September we find him in Frankfurt, somewhat calmer. On the 2d or 3d he visited the Academician and Professor Sulzer of Berlin, the famous Theorist on Art—Goethe had left his theories far behind³—a friend of Zimmermann but of Nicolai too. The sickly man, deeply prejudiced against the poet of *Werther*, could find little pleasure in this "Original Genius," holding him to be a sort of monstrosity (*Meerwunder*), however pleasant and winning in social intercourse. Herder has spoiled Goethe—he wrote two months later to Zimmermann—Goethe is destroying a hundred others.

Goethe was now urging Lavater to hurry on with the second part of the *Physiognomische Fragmente*. They will make a charming chapter to prove the real line of beauty in the line of love, the point where strength and weakness unite.

¹ "Weilst eine ganze kleine Welt sich nach mir beschaffigt."—Tr.

² At first called simply *Im Herbst*, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 191-2.—Tr.

³ See the essay on Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (the first essay which Goethe wrote for the *Frankfurter Anzeigen*; it appeared on February 11, 1772), and the essay on Sulzer's *Die schönen Künste in ihrem Ursprung*. (appeared December 18, 1772). *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 405, 470.—Tr.

He sends Lavater a description of the characteristics of Frau von Stein, and of the Marchesa Branconi, who was so revered by Lavater and Zimmermann; the former is the more womanly; "conquers with nets," while the latter "conquers with darts."¹ On the 7th of September, amid the confusion of the Fair Procession, that word of Ariosto flashed on him, the People is "worthy of death before birth."² Contrasted with his own mighty pain-begetting struggle, he could not but feel intensely the pettiness, the aimlessness, of the drifting of lower natures, only at whiles earnest in the pursuit of vulgar pleasures.

On the 8th he had once more to present a memorial in court; it was his last; since his return from Switzerland he had only appeared in court in this case and in one other, undertaken at an earlier time—the dates of his appearance are July 28 and August 7.

He had in this September the pleasure of a visit from Pestalozzi, who was just then founding the institution afterwards so celebrated; Pestalozzi was full of Lavater. Goethe has negotiated successfully with the bookseller Deinet about the printing of Lavater's drama *Abraham und Isaak*. Into this piece, which will make a good wide impression, he would breathe an aroma here and there of his own little cask.³ Probably he wrote the touching prayer of Abraham before the sacrifice.

On Sunday, the 10th of September, he was at Offenbach with Lili at Ewald's wedding. He had written for the occasion the *Bundeslied*,⁴ which was sung by four voices, probably André and his wife, Lili and the poet. The conclusion cannot have been exactly as it now stands, yet it is possible that Goethe, when the quartette had ceased, may have sung alone the last sorrowful verse, which speaks his foreboding that destiny is about to carry him far away. At night, about ten o'clock, his heart felt so oppressed at sight of the happiness of the new-married couple that he had to go out into the night air; he was, as, writing exactly a week later, he tells

¹ This letter, probably written towards the close of August 1775, will be found *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 100-2.—TR.

² See the letter to Lavater, written in the beginning of September 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 113-5.—TR.

³ Goethe to Lavater (*continuation of same letter*). *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 114-5.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 185-6.—TR.

Auguste, "in the most cruel, glorious, sweet condition" (*in der grausamst-feierlichst-süssesten Lage*) of his life; through the hottest tears of love he looked on the moon and the world, and all around was full of soul and meaning. "And in the distance the horn, and the loud joyance of the wedding guests."¹ Perhaps a passionate utterance of emotion that evening in Lili's presence had given offence.

Back in Frankfurt on Sept. 11th, he begs Tante Fahlmer to buy him something for Lili in the Fair:—" *Galanterie, Bijouterie*, the newest, the most elegant! You feel it alone and my love too! But sacred between us, not a word of it to Mama. To the Gerocks not a word. I entreat."² The rich presents by which he sought to prove his love to Lili (as Ferdinand seeks to prove his love to Ottilie in the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*) compelled him to run in debt; probably he made at this time the loan of Jacobi, of which he was reminded seven years later.³

The urgency of Lili's mother grew more and more effectual. According to a family tradition, when no other representation was strong enough, this unjust story was told to Lili, that Goethe had betrayed and abandoned the pastor's daughter of Sessenheim. As the Schönemann firm had close business connection with Strassburg, the story of Friederike might easily have reached the family. Lili's friendly confiding manner towards the numerous relatives and friends whom the fair-time brought to the house excited Goethe's jealousy. Fräulein Delph had indeed again appeared in Frankfurt, but she prudently recognised how little her mediation could effect while Lili's family opposed; she invited Goethe to Heidelberg. During this time, probably, was written the humorous poem *Lili's Park*.⁴

In his distress he turned again on Sept. 14 to Gustchen;⁵ the never-seen friend whom he deeply loved; a Countess of

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 107.—TR.

² *Ibid.* iii. 103.—TR.

³ On October 2, 1782, Goethe writes to Jacobi about the matter; so breaking a long silence.—TR.

⁴ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 187.—TR.

⁵ He wrote a long letter at intervals, from the forenoon of Thursday the 14th of September until 8 o'clock P.M. on Tuesday the 19th. He began another to Auguste, then, on Wednesday the 20th at 8 P.M.; he continues it on Thursday the 21st, Saturday the 23d; then a long gap until Sunday October 8th; then another leap to Weimar, November 22d. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 103-110.—TR.

the Empire,¹ alas ! She had urged him, once for all, to give up the maiden who could not respond to his passion. But he felt too deeply that Lili's remoteness from him but drew the cord of her bewitchment tighter. Continuing the letter a couple of hours later, the thought had come :—"May it not be excessive pride, this demand that the maiden should completely comprehend thee, and so comprehending love thee ? I do not, perhaps, comprehend *her* ; and where she is different from me is she not, perhaps, better than me ?" That evening he writes :—"To-day a good afternoon, which is rare—and with great folk, which is rarer still. I have been able to like and esteem two princesses in one room." Probably the Princess of Waldeck and her daughter the Princess of Nassau-Usingen. On Sept. 15th he has a plan of appearing at a masked ball, to take place on the 19th, in old German costume in honour of Lili, for whom he is "booked" ("*deklarirt*") ; but in the afternoon he hears that she will not be at the ball. Her family wanted to avoid a public meeting between the lovers. After a dream-tossed night he has, on the 16th, "an open and good morning ;" then he did something "to give Lili a little pleasure" (probably he sent her that present bought by Tante Fahlmer) ; then strangers called on him ; in the afternoon he plunged into the tumult of the fair.² Then, however, he fled to Offenbach ; hurt that Lili should so plainly withdraw herself from his society he will avoid seeing her either at the theatre that evening or at the concert to-morrow—Sunday. At Offenbach, on Sunday morning, he writes a scene of *Faust* ; probably *Auerbach's Keller*.³ Back on Monday morning to town, to the "sieve of the Danaïdes ;" arrived, he mixes with the merry crowds of the Fair. Late at night he writes to Auguste :—"What is the life of man ! And yet again the many good people who

¹ In a letter of Goethe's to the Counts Stolberg he says :—"Gustgen is an angel. Devil take it that she is a Countess of the Empire." *Der junge Goethe*, iii, 115.—TR.

² "Chattering foolishly with acquaintances and non-acquaintances." —TR.

³ See the passage *Der junge Goethe*, iii, 107, in which Goethe likens himself to a rat who has taken poison. Compare also the "*altdeutsche Tracht*," *Ibid.* iii, 105, with Mephistopheles' attention to costume ; Goethe in Lili's room, iii, 95, with Faust in Margarete's ; and many other points in these letters to Auguste, already noted by commentators.—TR.

gather to me! the exceeding love which surrounds me! Saw Lili this afternoon [on a walk]; saw her at the theatre. Have had no word to say to her; said nothing either!¹ That I were free! O Gustchen, and yet I tremble to think of the time when she might be indifferent, I without hope. But I remain true to my heart and let the thought pass."

These were the days of the extremest crisis; but one tear more and they would stand asunder. On the morning of Sept. 19 there is again a stirring on Lili's behalf in his heart; yet, defying her, he will go to the ball in a light domino. "I am wretched, astray, lost," he laments to Auguste. In the evening he goes first to the theatre. On his return, before dressing for the ball, at eight o'clock he writes:—"What a life! Shall I go on? or end with this for ever? And yet, dearest, on the other hand, when I feel that, in the midst of all this Nothingness, there are so many sloughs being cast by my heart; that so the convulsive strainings of my foolish little composition abate, my outlook on the world grows cheerier, my intercourse with men surer, more solid, wider; while yet my secret soul continues ever, eternally, alone, dedicated to sacred love, which, by degrees, purges all foreign matter by that Spirit of Purity, which it *is*, and so at last shall grow pure as gold that is spun—*then* I let things take their course—deceive myself, perhaps,—and thank God." He went to the ball then, and stayed at it until six next morning; danced only two minuets, but gave his companionship to a "sweet maiden" who had a cough. On the afternoon of Sept. 20 he visits the Princes of Meiningen. At the theatre he speaks seven words to Lili. He had now conquered; his heart had spoken; he must give up his beloved since she was so entirely subject to her mother's influence; she could never belong exclusively to him.

Immediately after this Zimmermann, whom Goethe had invited through Lavater, came to Frankfurt with his daughter, a girl of nineteen, whom he had just brought from Lausanne. This girl, yearning for her lover, was reserved towards Zimmermann himself, but Frau Aja knew how to win her affection and confidence. Goethe says:—"She is not locked in, only has

¹ "Hab' kein Wort mit ihr zu reden gehabt—auch nichts geredt." Does "*auch nichts geredt*" mean "Nor did Lili say anything"? or does it mean "Nor did I say anything"?—Tr.

stepped back, and gently pushed the door to."¹ At this time, beside the Princes of Meiningen, who had invited Goethe to visit them, the Duke of Weimar was in Frankfurt; he had entered on his reign on the 3d of September (1775) and was going to bring home his bride from Karlsruhe. Zimmermann saw with his own eyes how the Duke was in love with Goethe. Writing to Frau von Stein, he says that he passed the happiest days of his life in Goethe's house, where he observed with wonder the affectionate behaviour of the great poet to his parents.²

Goethe might well feel deep gratitude due to those who had borne with him so lovingly in the late time of perplexity. The day after Zimmermann's departure he writes to Lavater:—"I lay in bed this morning until ten o'clock, to nurse a cold; still more to rouse to life again within me the home feelings which the godless excitement of the last days had quite flittered away. My father and mother came to the bedside; there was confidential chat; I have drunk my tea, and so all feels better. I have again a feeling of *habitation* within my four walls, however long it lasts."³

But already a new life was provided him. When the Duke of Weimar, whom Goethe had visited several times, left for Karlsruhe, he had invited the poet to accompany himself and his bride on their return to Weimar. Goethe felt it a call of fate, for Lili being lost to him, Frankfurt, notwithstanding its many friendly faces, would be unendurable. He did not, indeed, contemplate a very long stay at Weimar; "there, too," he wrote to Merck, "all sorts of Good, and Whole, and Half will be found;"⁴ he also hoped, as he tells Mama Sophie, to prepare something friendly for Wieland's old days.⁵

In the interim, before the arrival of the Duke and his

¹ Goethe to Lavater [end of September 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 112.—TR.

² In this letter Zimmermann told Charlotte von Stein what Goethe, in July 1775, had written under her silhouette.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 111.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Merck [October 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 116.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Frau von La Roche, October 11, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 116-117. *Loeper*, pp. 117-8. (Loeper calls attention to another *Faust* note in this letter:—"Dass das Schicksal den Müttern solche Schwerter nach dem Herzen zückt,")—TR.

bride, Goethe remained quietly in Frankfurt; he paid, too, a visit of parting to Offenbach. There report will have him present, playing merry pranks, at the baptism of a son of André, who was born on the 6th of October; this boy was afterwards a celebrated composer, theorist, and publisher. The invitation to Weimar was a defence and shield against all gossip. No law work at this time, except that, as proctor for the heirs of Fräulein Klettenberg he, in October, drew up a receipt for the effects; even at Weimar the adjustment of the affairs of his dear dead friend was to occupy him.

To this period probably falls his free translation of the Song of Solomon; "the most splendid collection of love lyrics that God has made."¹ Besides he looked more closely into the sources of his *Egmont*, and tried to complete this "Volk" drama which he liked so well. It was at this time, too, probably, that the beginning of a novel which he brought to Weimar was written.

Writing to his old friend Merck after a long silence he asks the loan of ten carolins; he had incurred debts lately, and did not wish to make his father angry. Some time earlier he, probably from lack of money, had given over his *Stella* and *Claudine* to Merck, who was to find publishers for them. For he had fallen out with all who had published for him as yet, believing that they had treated him ill; in general had such a grudge against booksellers that he objected to personal negotiating with them, and, strange enough, he would not trouble Reich, his old Leipzig friend, with his writings, because publishing was a business matter. Thus the poet of *Götz* and *Werther* found it hard to get a publisher for his latest works!

The Duke of Weimar and his bride arrived in Frankfurt on the 12th of October. When leaving on the 13th they begged Goethe in the most friendly way to follow them to Weimar, in the company of *Kammerrath*² von Kalb, now left behind in

¹ So Goethe tells Merck in the letter already once quoted, and referred to again in the following paragraph. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 116. See the translation reprinted—fragmentary in Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze Goethes*, 1846, p. 155-6—entire in Loeper, *Goethe-Laroche*, 127-139.—TR.

² *Kammerrath*=Member of the Board of Finance. Not to confound with *Kammerherr*=Chamberlain. *Kammer* has distinct meanings in the two words.—TR.

Karlsruhe; in a few days Kalb was to arrive with a new landau from Strassburg. Goethe bade farewell to all his friends, that he might be ready for departure at any moment. He was to take with him, as servant, the faithful Philipp Seidel. But there was the most incomprehensible delay in the arrival of the carriage, for Kalb was so thoughtless as not to write a word of explanation. To escape the buzz of tongues Goethe remained shut up at home, so that everywhere his friends supposed him gone. Only at night, wrapped in a long cloak, did he venture to roam about the city; only on one maiden whom he held dear—probably she with whom he had talked at the ball on the 19th of September—did he venture to call; where, in order to prevent recognition, he had to sit in the children's playroom.

From this room he writes about six o'clock on the evening of the 18th of October to Bürger:—"The first moments of collectedness, which by a crazy turn of things, by a *lettre de cachet* of destiny, have fallen upon my heart," after that most perplexed three-quarters of a year.¹ How it shall fare with him now God knows; there will be yet greater disquietude, yet more perplexity for him; then will he think with pleasure of the present moment. He has written all sorts of things that will give Bürger a good hour [he more particularly means *Stella* and *Faust*]; "yet are we one and all sinners, and fall short of the glory which we should have in the presence of our Mother Nature."²

The longer the delay, the more confident and annoying grew his father's assertion that they were making fun of Goethe to avenge the satire on Wieland. Meanwhile *Egmont* grew rapidly; so did his affection for the young maiden, the only friend whom he saw in this uneasy time.

At last, since he would neither go alone to Weimar, nor stay in Frankfurt, he yielded to his father's persuading and agreed to go to Italy. Before setting out he begged Knebel to send him the letters and packets which might have come to Weimar for him;³ for he had told his friends to address to him either at Privy-Councillor Karl von Kalb's, where he was to have stopped, or at Wieland's house. He said nothing to Knebel of the proposed flight to Italy, on which he set

¹ See *ante*, p. 213.—TR.

² *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 118-119.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, October 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 118.—TR.

forth October 30. How, beginning this journey, from which a delightful fragment of diary is still preserved,¹ he delayed—hoping that the carriage would yet arrive in Frankfurt—some days at the house of Fräulein Delph in Heidelberg, (where, probably, he addressed to Lili's little golden heart that song² which he erroneously attributes to the summit of the Gott-hard); how Fräulein Delph would have him marry the daughter of *Landschreiber* and *Hofrath*³ Wrede, father of the Prince von Wrede of a later time; how the timely arrival of a courier from Kalb summoned him back to Frankfurt; how with difficulty he delivered himself from the importunity of his hostess, who would fain have kept him for the Palatinate: all is to be read in Goethe's charming narrative.⁴

Perhaps, before leaving Frankfurt, he got the twenty thalers, the price demanded for *Stella* by Merck, and forwarded by bookseller Mylius of Berlin to Weimar, probably accompanied by the remark that the price was rather high, an opinion which Mylius had certainly signified to Merck already. If so the strange coincidence must have seemed like a piece of mockery to him; *Stella*, now reckoned dear at a few thalers, recalled the early time of love for Lili, in whom it had failed to strike the passionate chord.

It is odd that shortly before he left Frankfurt, on the 2d November, he wrote begging friend Reich to procure for him, and send by post-car, eleven of Hamann's works.⁵ What impelled him just at this moment to Hamann!

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 697-9.—Tr.

² "Angedenken du verklungner Freude." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 183. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xix. Buch.—Tr.

³ *Landschreiber*=Clerk of a provincial court. *Hofrath*=Aulic Councillor or Court Councillor.—Tr.

⁴ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xx. Buch (*end*).—Tr.

⁵ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 120.—Tr.

BOOK IV.

THE WEIMAR YEARS OF SERVICE

CHAPTER I.

FROM GOETHE'S ARRIVAL IN WEIMAR TO HIS APPOINTMENT ON
THE COUNCIL.

NOVEMBER 1775-JUNE 1776.

ON the 7th of November 1775, at about five o'clock in the morning, the Duke's landau, which had travelled all night through with *Kammerrath* von Kalb, Goethe, and Goethe's servant, Philipp Seidel, arrived in Weimar.

Johann August Alexander von Kalb was the son of Efficient (*wirklich*) *Geheimerath* and *Kammerpräsident*¹ Karl Alexander von Kalb, who, four years ago, had in vain sought release from his post. The son had been a *Kammerrath* three years. During the long drive Goethe had had time enough to put many questions to his companion, who, thoughtless and giddy, was yet well versed in Weimar affairs; and Goethe learned all that was useful for determining his conduct on arrival. He found rooms for his reception prepared in Kalb's father's house. To the first midday meal a large company of guests had been invited in honour of the poet. Here Wieland, whom they set beside Goethe, first saw the poet of *Werther*, and at once fell in love with the splendid youth, nobly forgetting all his ridicule. The younger Kalb probably conducted Goethe to the Duke, who brought him to the Duchess. That evening there was free Assembly (*Redoute*)

¹ *Geheimerath*=Member of the Privy Council. *Kammerpräsident*=President of the Board of Finance.—TR.

at Court, and Goethe had an opportunity of making acquaintance with high life. Frau von Stein was just then staying at her estate Kochberg, near Rudolstadt.

To the Duchess, now but three weeks in Weimar, the careless, jolly life that her husband still kept up with the crack-brained comrades of his youth, the lack of beseeeming

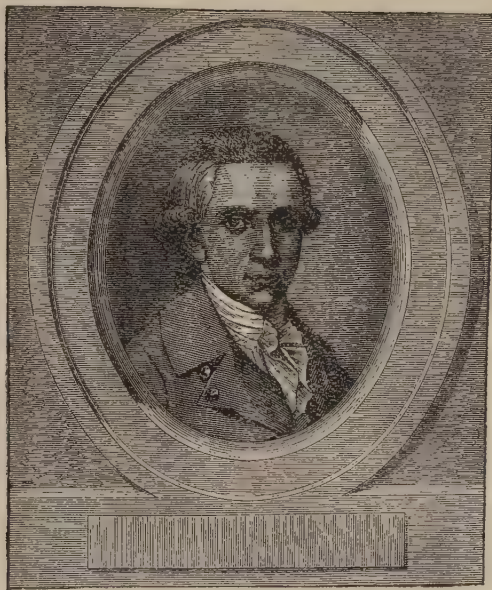


FIG. 18. Karl August, Duke of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach. After an engraving by Lips (1780).

house-room, the absence of court etiquette, were extremely trying. The Castle of Weimar had been burnt down in May 1774, and so the House then being built for the Estates of Weimar, had in the summer of 1774 to be hastily made into the residence of the Princes, a purpose for which it was not suited. There was much improvement to be desired whether you regarded its accommodation of room-space, its hurried fittings up, its decoration. At the time of Goethe's arrival the Duke had appointed no Chamberlains (*Kammerherren*), to the extreme annoyance of the Duchess and her Master of the

Household (*Oberhofmeister*), the grave Count von Görtz. The Duchess was afraid that on Goethe's coming her husband's wild doings would become yet wilder.

The Dowager Duchess, now but thirty-six, very kind-hearted, fond of fun, earnestly delighting in Literature and Art, received the famous poet with great cordiality. On the other hand Prince Constantin, somewhat delicate, inclined to quiet domestic enjoyments, was rather restrained in manner towards the favourite of his brother. Prince Constantin lived just then with his mother in the "Palais" on the Esplanade; not until the year following did he remove with Knebel to the domain of Tiefurt, which had been made ready for him; it lies about three-quarters of a league east of Weimar.

On the 8th of November we find Goethe dining at the Court; as he is not of the nobility, and has no military or civil rank, he has to sit at the Marshal's table. We meet him there again on the 10th and 12th. He much preferred dining with the Duke in his private room, or at Wieland's house, or Knebel's, or even with the Duchess Amalia. Though his vivacious frankness made Wieland a little timorous a few times, they were soon on terms of the warmest friendship. (Writing on November 10th to Jacobi, Wieland says:—"Since this morning my soul is full of Goethe, as is a dewdrop of the morning sun;" he was to Wieland unspeakably great, and important, and dear.) Knebel, too, pleased Goethe. To his delight he found his fellow-townsmen, George Melchior Kraus, here in Weimar, the head of the newly-established Drawing School for boys and girls. He was soon on the best terms with the friends of the Duke's youth, the inseparable comrades of the present; with the handsome, tall, drily witty *Hof-und Jagdjunker* von Wedel; with the jovial *Hof-und Regierungsrath*¹ Hildebrand von Einsiedel, of fine culture, an enthusiastic lover of poetry and music. And Goethe was soon intimate with the Duke's private secretary Bertuch, two years his senior, like himself a lawyer and a writer of drama!

Being the Duke's guest Goethe could not refuse to join in the boisterous doings to which he was invited; indeed the

¹ *Hof-und Jagdjunker* = Gentleman or Page of the Court and of the Hunt. *Hof-und Regierungsrath* = Court Councillor and Government Councillor.—TR.

Duke, thinking to give his new friend pleasure, grew for the time noisier and wilder than ever. Thus the Duchess found each day more cause to view the poet's arrival with disfavour, even had not Görtz, of whom she thought so much, and other



FIG. 10. The Duchess Amalia. After the painting by Angelica Kauffmann.

courtiers, been enraged to see her husband on such familiar terms with the young poet, to whose charge, of course, was laid much that displeased them in the Duke's behaviour. In any case her stiff, aristocratic pride would have felt hurt by this close intimacy with one of burgher rank, though she recognised the intellectual merit of the splendid youth. The

Duke immediately gave Goethe the familiar "*Du*," while the latter replied to his "dear, gracious master" with "*Sie*"—only using "*Du*" in moments of the greatest familiarity—or called the Duke his "Karl." His letters never ventured on the familiar mode of address.

Frau von Stein had returned about the 10th of November from Kochberg; she was at this time a great sufferer, life had almost entirely lost charm for her. The Duke himself one evening conducted his new friend to her; her husband, *Oberstall-*



FIG. 20. Charlotte Albertine Ernestine von Stein (1790). After the photograph of the portrait which she, between two mirrors, sketched herself.

meister von Stein, and several acquaintances were present. The impression which she made at the moment on the young poet, who had fallen in love with her silhouette, was not so great as he had expected. For, though the high-born lady was not yet three and thirty, she—already mother of seven children—was drooping and ill; besides, at this first visit, and in the presence of a considerable company, she may have been rather restrained in manner. Yet her soul looked out on him clear and sympathetic through her great powerful eyes.

A fortnight of the most confidential intercourse with the young Duke had passed, when Goethe wrote to good Tante Fahlmer in Frankfurt :—"God knows what I am destined for, that I am brought through schools so various. This one gives my life a new impulsion, and all will be well. I can tell you nothing of my doings : it is too complicated ; but all goes as could be wished. It makes a wonderful sensation here, as is to be expected. Wieland is very dear ; we are always together, and I am only too fond of being with his children. His wife is thoroughly worthy." He greets the "dear" Gerocks and Maximiliane Brentano :—"Write me something about the fortunes of these unhappy ones. Adieu ! We shall have good times together yet upon this earth." ¹

On the morning of the 27th he went with the Duke to Erfurt to visit the Statthalter Dalberg. Kind-hearted, intellectual, cultured, a skilful statesman, this Catholic prelate was one of the most confidential friends of the Weimar Court.² He had gone to Weimar the day before Goethe's arrival in order to make his acquaintance. Goethe felt much attracted by him.

On the previous evening (Nov. 26) the Stolbergs arrived in Weimar, and were delighted to find Goethe with the Duke. They drove over on the 28th with the whole Court to Erfurt, where they greeted their "wolf" with vigorous rejoicing. During their stay, which lasted until the 3d of December, the maddest doings went on : Fritz Stolberg especially knew no limits in his wild self-abandonment. Christian writes :—"We like our life here right well. We live with real good people—with our wolf and the sovereign family of the place, who are very good : we go with them to hunt ; we ride and drive out, and go to the masquerade." And after they had left, he writes :—"We were very happy there. Our Goethe was there and is there still ; I have come to love him even better than before. The whole ducal family is like no other sovereign family. You can have intercourse with all of them just as if they were human beings like ourselves. You know Lowischen [the Duchess] from my description [in an

¹ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer, Weimar, November 22, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 121.—Tr.

² For a portrait of Statthalter Karl von Dalberg, see Düntzer's *Life of Schiller*.—Tr.

earlier letter]. Still the same angel! The old Duchess the image of personified good sense, and so charming, so natural withal. The Duke is a splendid youth of great promise, and so is his brother."

The Stolbergs wanted Goethe to go with them by Dessau and Berlin to Hamburg; but the Duke would not hear of it, however much the poet may perhaps have wished to see his Gustchen. He did not accept Karl August's invitation to visit the Rudolstadt Court with him; he did not choose to appear at a foreign court as the Duke's favourite. He used the occasion to go and see Frau von Stein at Kochberg, where still, on the inner surface of the simple writing-table, "Goethe den 6. Dcbr. 75," written by his own hand, can be read. Here in her quiet domestic life the noble lady came much nearer to him: she spoke with keen insight and warm feeling of the misunderstandings at the Court, especially of the unhappiness of the Duchess; and gave him a deep glance into her own pure loving soul. And her exhortation to work on the Duke that a better state of things might come about did not remain unheeded, though he fully recognised how prudently he must act in the matter in order to do good.

He had read aloud his unprinted works to the Duke and his friends, and had especially won great applause by his *Stella*, *Egmont*, and *Faust*. Probably it was the Duke who proposed the founding of a literary society to meet every Saturday morning over wine and punch. Prince Constantin, Wedel, Einsiedel, Knebel, Wieland, and *Hofrath* Albrecht (Jerusalem's stepson, mathematical tutor to the Prince), all joined this society. They amused themselves by composing satirical verses on each other, which they called *Matinées*, because the society met in the morning.

After the Duke's society, Goethe valued most that which he found in Wieland's quiet family circle. Of Wieland he made a complete confidant. If Goethe had been annoyed at the *Merkur*, he now saw that it was displeasing to Wieland himself, who, however, needed the income it brought for his family expenses. So Goethe gladly contributed, and moved his friends to sympathy in it.

The cause of his prolonged stay in Weimar was the question of appointing Herder as Superintendent-General. Being asked by the Duke whom he would recommend to fill up this

post, now vacant for almost five years, Goethe proposed Herder; and was at once commissioned to inquire of Herder whether he would come.¹ Herder's "yes" delighted Goethe very much, who now felt it a point of honour to carry the appointment despite all opposition—for the moment the clergy heard of it they were tooth and nail against it.

The enemies of the foreign favourite were thus numerous reinforced. In him was seen the Evil Principle, to blame for all that they could have wished otherwise in the Duke—who, in reality, from the beginning, always did just according to his own will and pleasure. The leader of the party of opposition was Count Görtz, who continually stirred the anger of the Duchess to flame. But even *Oberstallmeister* von Stein and his wife were among the malcontents; even Charlotte von Stein failed to see that Goethe could not play the austere Mentor with the self-willed Duke, but must at the first humour his waywardness; must wait until his fullest trust were won before speaking unvarnished opinions, before venturing to urge deliberation and quietness. Thus Goethe did not oppose when the Duke invited the ex-Lieutenant-Colonel (in the Sardinian service) Sigmund von Seckendorff of Baireuth, to come to Weimar before Christmas (1775), in order to enter on the office of Chamberlain and Privy Councillor of Legation, an office promised to him before Karl August had become Duke. In any case Goethe did not at this time purpose remaining in Weimar.² He indeed writes to Lavater on the 22d of December (1775), that, in Weimar he feels as if among his own people; the Duke grows daily more valued by him, daily they become more fast allied. But the Duke's confidence and the free life were his only subjects of self-gratulation; he is "driven about in a dispersed kind of living, and in distraction from morning to night" ("*der ich in verbreiteter Wirthschaft, und Zerstreung von Morgens zu Nacht umgetrieben werde*").³ Accordingly he did not go with the Duke on

¹ Goethe to Herder [about the 10th of December 1775]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 122.—Tr.

² Goethe to Herder, Stetten near Erfurt, January 2, 1776:—"Ich wünsche Dich meinem Herzog und ihn Dir. Es wird euch beiden wohl thun, und—ja, lieber Bruder, ich muss das stiften *eh' ich scheide*." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 130.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Lavater, Friday, December 22, 1775. *Der junge Goethe*,

December 23 to the Court of Gotha, where, indeed, at this time, our poet was not prized; Gotter, his friend of the Wetzlar days, who owed so much to French influences, bore the palm there.

A couple of days before Christmas Goethe rode with Kalb, Einsiedel, and Bertuch, through Jena, to the hamlet of Waldeck. They stopped at the house of Forester Slevoigt, whose pretty daughter Bertuch and Kraus wooed in emulation. From this place Goethe wrote to the Duke;¹ even copying down some verses which he had sung softly to Lili in the darkness as he and his comrades rode towards the pine-forest. The verses express his yearning remembrance of his beloved, who yet shall find true joy and calm only with souls direct and honest like her own. (So Goethe had confided the secret of his heart to the Duke.) Their merry time in Waldeck is described in this diary-like letter. They skated. Goethe had already been skating at Weimar with immense enjoyment,² and stimulated others to imitation; his servant Philipp instructed the beginners. In July 1776 we find Goethe's father writing that Wolfgang has introduced skating and other good fashions into Weimar.

The Duke wrote from Gotha reiterating his wish that Goethe would come thither, as the people were only too curious about him. Yet the poet could not yield; on the other hand, he gladly went on the 30th with the Duke to see Dalberg in Erfurt. Thence, in glad consciousness of his influence over the Duke, he writes on Dec. 31 to Lavater, that he is growing daily more skilled in steering on the ocean of humanity; is far at sea.³ On New Year's Day (1776) he left Erfurt for Stetten, the country seat of Frau von Keller, where he found Wieland. The latter wrote to Frau von Laroche, that Goethe has been so good, so winning—so unspeakably win-

iii. 122-3; (Goethe erroneously dates the letter, Friday, December 21).—TR.

¹ Goethe to Karl August: Waldeck, December 23, 1775, continued on Sunday the 24th, and on Christmas Day. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 124-8.—TR.

² See the *Eis-Lebens-Lied*, composed when on the ice at Weimar in December 1775, and, in truth, a record of more than skating. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 192.—TR.

³ Goethe to Lavater, Erfurt, "the last day of the year 75." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 129.—TR.

ning—that they had all like fools fallen in love with him. So it is with the Duke, too, whose all he is, who will never be able to let him go.

The chief matter of interest now was Herder's appointment; the Duke was as much for it as Goethe. To hurry it the Duke at length commissioned Goethe to treat with the councillors and the President of the Consistorium, which he did in such summary fashion, that about the 20th of January he could write to Herder:—"I have driven the fellows along with tip-top scourges (*trefflichen Hetzpeitschen*), and without much more delay you will receive your summons. . . . Perhaps I will stop a while too."¹ This personal interference of Goethe's must have roused bitter feelings. He was himself just then inconvenienced by want of money, not having reckoned on so long a stay. On the 5th of January he had begged Tante Fahlmer and his mother to consult whether his father would not be moved "by all the reflecting grandeur of his son" to give him 200 gulden or even less. If they think he would not, will they get Merck to lend it.² Not until a fortnight later (January 19) did he get the money from Merck. When writing to acknowledge it Goethe says:—"I am now quite entangled in all Court affairs and political affairs, and shall hardly be able to get away. My position is advantageous enough, and the Duchies Weimar and Eisenach are at any rate a stage on which to try how the part of man of the world becomes one. I am not over hasty in the matter, and freedom and a competency (*Genüge*) will be the main conditions of the new arrangement."³ He had by this time engaged the Duke to order the President of the Supreme Consistory to appoint Herder Chief Court Preacher, Chief Councillor of Consistory, Ecclesiastical Councillor, and General Superintendent.

But the Duke was not the only magnet to keep him in Weimar. Since the middle of January 1776 a deep love for Frau von Stein had been growing. He had explained to her his relation with the Duke, whose extravagances he often

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 131.—TR.

² Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [January 5, 1776]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 132.—TR.

³ Goethe to Merck, Weimar, January 22, 1776. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 134.—TR.

joins in solely that he may retain influence; but it is his fixed purpose to cultivate the Duke's excellent qualities to the general benefit and to the happiness of their possessor; to waken in him with all speed real interest in the country and pleasure in practical activity. But one day calling on her, Goethe allowed himself to be carried away to such a passionate declaration of his love, that she felt it needful not to see him for several days: she did not even appear at the *Redoute* of January 26. "The question keeps throbbing damnably in heart and head—'Shall I go or stay?'" he writes to her on the 29th, in great agitation.¹ But he had made up his mind long ago: he could not endure to be without Charlotte's intimate trust; and so he must submit to all that seemed to her necessary to keep their relation one of the purest Platonic love. These passionate outbreaks are best understood when we compare them with those of the Wetzlar period. Though he had renounced Charlotte Buff in full recognition of Kestner's rights, yet, in the words of the latter, there had been "many remarkable scenes." Charlotte von Stein had, by the power of her pure womanhood, by her mild gentleness, by her loving spirit, roused in him a passion the outbursts of which she rebuked with the firmness she owed to her duty and her honour, and punished by temporary withdrawal of her society. To the last-named measure she was again compelled to resort about the 10th of February; this time, however, not only did she absent herself from the *Redoute*, but just before Shrovetide went without giving him a word of notice to Kochberg. On Feb. 12, on the side of the Ettersberg, he made the little poem *Wanderers Nachtlied*,² a thrilling utterance of his yearning for inward peace.

The Duke and he now traversed the country in all directions; there was no lack of crackbrained frolic on the part of the young prince, whose freedom had not yet lost the charm of being new. On the 14th of February Goethe writes to dear Tante Fahlmer:—"Herder has accepted the call to be

¹ We are now soon to lose the invaluable companionship of *Der junge Goethe*. For a general collection of Goethe's letters henceforward I have used *Goethe's Briefe mit geschichtlichen Einleitungen und Erläuterungen: Berlin, 1856*. This, however, must be supplemented by the many collections since published, and even by some previously published.—Tr.

² "Der du von dem Himmel bist." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 194.—Tr.

Superintendent-General. Probably, too, I shall stay and play my part as well as I can; and so long as seems good to myself and to Destiny. Even were it but for a few years, it is yet better than the inactive life at home, where, with the best will, I can do nothing. Here, however, I have a couple of Duchies before me. At present I am engaged in just learning the country; it is at any rate good fun. And the Duke thus acquires love for work; and because I know him entirely I am perfectly easy on many matters. I am leading a delightful home-life with Wieland; I dine and sup with him when I am not at Court. The girls here are very pretty and nice; I am on good terms with all of them. A noble soul is the Frau von Stein, to whom I am, so one might say, fixed and nestled (*geheftet und genistet*). Louise [the Duchess] and I live only in glances and syllables together; she is and always will be an angel. With the Duchess Mother I have very good times, and we carry on all sorts of jokes and pranks. You would not believe how many good youngsters and good heads are assembled here: we keep together, are very cordial among ourselves, and dramatise one another; and hold the Court at a distance."¹ Here indeed he shows only the bright side.

It was about this time that the Duke submitted the new disposition of office in the Privy Council—the highest administrative body of the two Duchies—to Privy-Councillor (*Geheimerath*) Fritsch, who had hitherto occupied the second place in it. According to the Duke's plan, Fritsch was now to take the first place; the second was then to fall to a *Geheimerath* Tabor, to be summoned from Kurmainz—probably at Dalberg's recommendation. The fourth place was to fall to Goethe, with the title Privy Assistant-Councillor (*Geheimer Assistenrath*). Fritsch made grave objection to both the new appointments; in particular he urged Goethe's "unfitness for so considerable a post." For the time the matter slumbered; but the Court party continued to grow more bitter in its opposition to the favourite, who continued to grow more dangerously powerful. On the 19th of February we find Goethe himself compelled to write to the good Tante:—"Oberstallmeister von Stein is to pass through Frankfurt very soon, and he will visit my father and mother. He is a worthy man—deserves a friendly reception; only let

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 135-6.—Tr.

no one appear too *enraptured* with my position here. Further, he is not altogether pleased with the Duke, like the greater number at the Court, because he (the Duke) does not dance to their piping; and both in public and in private I am blamed for it."¹ Malcontent of the malcontents was Seckendorff, who, indeed, found a hoped-for post of trust occupied by Goethe, and who, besides, as a punctilious courtier, must have seen much to desire in the Duke's behaviour. The Duke, Seckendorff complained, does not come forth from the circle of persons who have had the art to win upon him; and he faithfully observes the principle of these counsellors—that there is no such thing as propriety and decorum; that all existing arrangements have merely been the issue of caprice, and must be set aside by the head of the State. And yet in reality the Duke was following solely his own regardless will, and Goethe exerted his influence but to moderate or to encourage resistance to the lust of power of others!

At this time, Goethe, not wishing any longer to be a burden to Kalb, took the so-called little *Jägerhaus*, then the last house next the *Frauenthor*, on the same side of the Belvedere with Wieland's house. The present town-hall (*Stadtgericht*) was built on this site in 1836. Another entrance fee as citizen of Weimar he paid on Shrove-Monday the 19th of February by playing at the citizens' amateur theatre the part of Belcour in Cumberland's *West Indian*. At the *Redoute* of the 23d, the Temptations of St. Anthony were presented after a picture. Goethe had charge of the arrangements for this display, which cost the Court 120 thalers. He himself as the Devil of Pride went on stilts, had wings made of peacock-tail feathers, and was enormously puffed-out; the Saint in the end drove away all the devils with a rebuke. "All was natural and dreadful, not absurd; as good as two comedies," writes Philipp Seidel.

Not until Thursday the 22d of February did Frau von Stein, who had returned on Tuesday to Weimar, receive Goethe. In reading aloud a novel, however, he vividly conceived himself into the hero's position, and again broke forth in passionate self-utterance. She lovingly rebuked him for this extraordinary behaviour; for she earnestly wished to maintain the beautiful relation of intimate confidence, which

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 137. (This letter begins: "Liebe Tante, ein politisch Lied!")—TR.

was impossible if he forgot what was her obligation as wife and mother, and ventured to claim more than a sister's love from her. How far he was from self-mastery is seen in his expression :—"Thou only one, whom I can love so—and yet I live ever half in fear" [that he would be carried away].¹ She will not wean him from his improprieties, he remarks, farther on ; these would only "end with his unrest and his love in the grave." With her dark presentiment that there was no enduring happiness in store for her, she must have had but little hope that the confidential relation through which she desired to exert a calming and guiding influence on the great poet would not be shattered by the violence of his passion.

On the 6th of March Goethe writes to Johanna Fahlmer :—"I remain here, have taken a nice lodging ; but an *establishment* and a *portion* is *due* to me from my father. This my mother may introduce after her own fashion, only she must be no *child*,² as I am *brother* and *everything* of a prince. The Duke has again granted me a hundred ducats—granted—given—what you will. I am to him what I can be, and he to me what he can be ;—that may now continue how it can and long as it can."³ Gifts were not oppressive from such a friend as Karl August ; but this did not prevent Goethe from claiming the material aid to his support which he believed his father to owe. His sister, beside more than 1350 gulden of dowry, received annual interest of four per cent on a capital of 10,000 gulden ; and he thought that no less was due to him. In a letter of the 18th of March he tells Johanna Fahlmer :—"The Duke has ordered me to have all my furniture secretly made, to be a gift from him to me on our return. That, however, my father need not be told of."⁴ His father did not relish what seemed to him an unnecessary outlay ; was by no means in love with the prospect of losing his son ; and just at this time, having to pay many debts incurred by Wolfgang, he proved inflexible.

Karl August, desiring that Goethe should be universally honoured as his intimate friend, arranged that when the latter dined at court, a compliance which had been but rare, he

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, 23d of February 1776 ; written at night, after the Assembly in which he had played the Devil of Pride.—TR.

² Must not be timid and hesitating in her demands.—TR.

³ *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 139.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 140.—TR.

should no longer be compelled to put up with the Marshal's table. At that table we still find him at dinner, the 10th of March, though he had already sat at the Duke's table at supper, or when away from Weimar. But on the 21st he even at dinner occupies the position of honour—in the Duchess's absence indeed.

Karl August had planned to go by Dessau, where he would visit the Prince of Dessau, with Goethe to Leipzig, but a violent attack of rheumatic fever, brought on by a headlong ride from Erfurt, laid him up; and so Goethe, with a friendly farewell from Charlotte von Stein, set off alone for Leipzig on the evening of March 24. There he saw Käthchen again, now Frau Doctor Kanne. "Mais ce n'est plus Julie," he wrote to Frau von Stein.¹ On the other hand, Corona Schröter, now at the full unfolding of her sumptuous beauty and grace, made a powerful impression. "The Schröter is an angel," he goes on. "If God would but give me such a wife, that I could leave you in peace—yet she is not sufficiently like you." On Tuesday, the 26th of March:—"I have been with the Schröter—a noble being in her kind! Ah, if she only spent half a year in your vicinity! best of women, what would she become! Good-night! And remain to me always what you are to me now!"²

When he came back to Weimar on the 4th of April he was unpleasantly surprised by the advent of Lenz, who made an unendurable setting off to his position with the Duke. Seckendorff complains that "these gentlemen seem to increase in number day by day; Lenz is come and other Heroes are expected; Stolberg, Herder, and Wagner, will soon put in an appearance." (Stolberg had actually accepted the appointment of Chamberlain offered to him through Goethe, the duties to be entered on in spring; and his name had been officially registered, but he did not keep his engagement.) Lenz played all sorts of pranks for the amusement of the Court, at the expense of which his inn charges were defrayed. But he must have been an exceedingly inopportune presence for Goethe; who has only just resolved to enter on a practical useful life,

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, March 25, 1776.—TR.

² On the 26th Goethe writes to the Duke:—"Your thrust at Oeser is now doubly painful to me, for I have found the same old, dear, good, human being, and genuine artist." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 141.—TR.

and behold this "harlequin Genius" ("*zappelndes Genie*") arrives, and all his enemies rank the two together!

In reply to some news from Tante Fahlmer he writes:—"Of Lili nothing further; she is played out; I have long hated that family from the bottom of my heart. *The stroke* was just the keystone needed. Devil take them! The poor thing I pity, to be born of such a race."¹ We do not know what act of Lili's family so enraged him. In the beginning of February 1776 he had sent Lili a copy of his *Stella*, with eight lines addressed to her on the power of Love.²

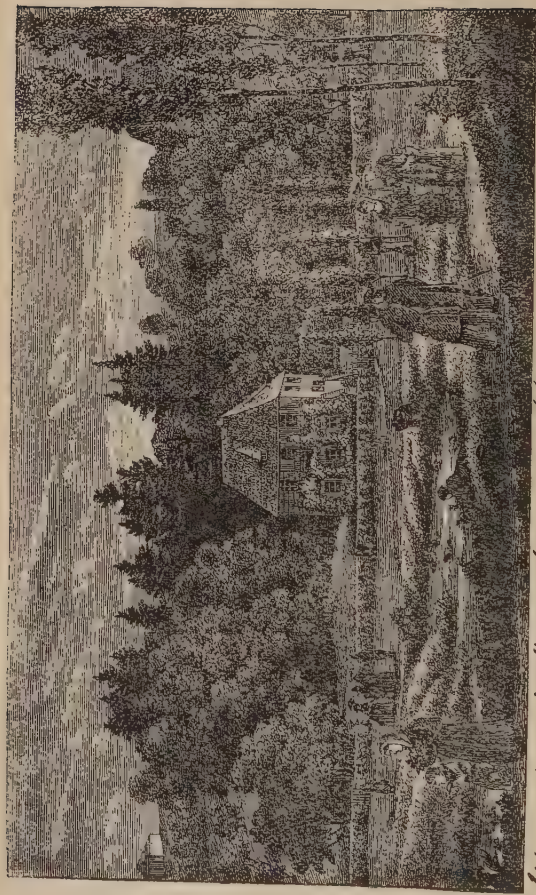
On his return from Leipzig he had found Karl August still unwell. The recurring attacks of rheumatism and vertigo continued so long, and there was such interruption of the course of state affairs, that extreme anxiety and discord prevailed, and the Duke's favourite was made the scapegoat to a large extent. During this indisposition Goethe was the companion of the Duke's sick chamber; to him everything was confided, with him everything talked over. A great pleasure was prepared for him by the Duke in the allotment to him of the Garden House (*Gartenhaus*) on the Ilm; there was a pretty garden purchased and put in good order for him, and a tiny house in it with a high shingle roof, prettily and completely though but simply furnished. Besides there was a care-taker's hut, a dog-house, and bee-house, even a perch for a wooden bird to practise shooting at. On Sunday the 21st of April Goethe took possession of the Garden,³ where four days later he received Wieland, and Charlotte with the children. He made up a modest household by taking a cook, the "old Dorothee," and beside Seidel one other servant, Christof Sutor from Erfurt; a third was added only at a later time.

On the 20th of April the Duke renews his request that Fritsch will retain the first place in the Privy Council; Tabor is not coming: Fritsch knows what the Duke's intention is regarding Goethe, who is to take the last place at the Council with the title *Geheimer Legationsrath*—Privy Councillor of

¹ Goethe to Johanna Fahlmer [April 1776]. *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 141-2.—TR.

² "Im holden Thal, auf schneebedeckten Höhen." *Der junge Goethe*, iii. 194.—TR.

³ He did not sleep there until the night of Saturday, May 18. See p. 264.—TR.



*Übermüthig sieht's nicht aus
 Dieses stille Gartenhaus
 Allen die darin verkehrt
 Ward ein guter Muth bescheert*
Goethe 1828

FIG. 21. Goethe's *Gartenhaus*. Sketched from nature in 1827 by Otto Wagner, engraved by
 L. Schütze, with Goethe's lines (1828) in facsimile.

Legation. The first draft of the letter is preserved ; an expression relating to Fritsch was changed by Goethe. On the very next day came the declaration of the old statesman—who regarded Goethe as an unprincipled misleader of the Duke, a selfish minion—that he could not sit in any *Collegium* of which Goethe was a member. Goethe himself, if he has true attachment and love for the Duke, must beg to be excused from the destined honour. The fitting reply from the Duke dates the 10th of May :—“ Were Dr. Goethe a man of dubious character, there is none but would approve of your decision. But Goethe is honest ; of an extraordinarily good and feeling heart. Not I alone, but men of insight [probably one was Dalberg] congratulate me on possessing this man. His brain and his genius is well known. You will yourself perceive that such a man would not endure the tedious and mechanic task of serving his way up in a provincial Board by slow gradation. Not to use a man of genius at the spot where his pre-eminent talents can be best applied is to misuse.” Fritsch’s declaration that he will not sit in the same *Collegium* with Goethe is a wrong equally to Goethe and the Duke ; for Fritsch must know that Goethe is the Duke’s friend ; that he has never done anything deserving contempt : but on the contrary deserves the love of all honest folk.

As Fritsch, however, did not yield, declaring that he could not hold Goethe just yet to be a useful member of the highest *Collegium* of the State, Karl August called in the interposition of the Duchess Amalia. The good Princess pleaded in the noblest way on Goethe’s behalf, as to whom after due trial she has formed her final judgment. His morals, his religion, are those of a real good Christian ; they teach him to love his neighbour, and to endeavour to make him happy, which after all is the first and chief commandment. On the 15th of May Fritsch took back his resignation. The very next day the Duke employed the younger Kalb (whom the Duke fully trusting, designed to make *Kammerpräsident*), to write to Goethe’s parents. He begs them to consent that their son, “ retaining entire freedom—freedom to take leave of absence when he likes, to leave the service altogether when he likes—shall enter the Ministry as *Geheimer Legationsrath* with a salary of 1200 thalers.”

This honourable appointment with such freedom secured

could not but please even Rath Goethe, much as he disliked the service of princes, and disappointed as he must have felt at having to give up all his great plans for Wolfgang's future, and inhabit alone the fine house intended for two families.

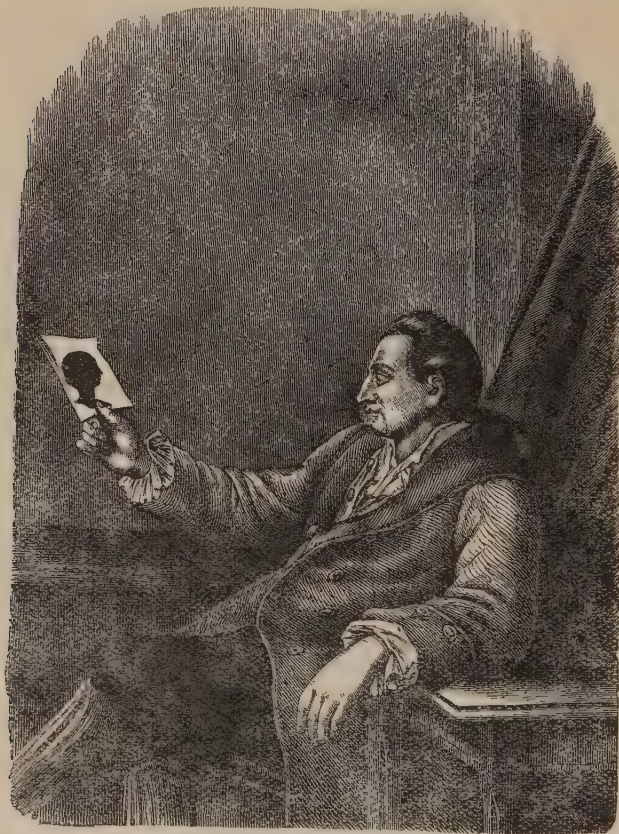


FIG. 22. Goethe. After the painting by G. M. Kraus (1776). From the *Gedenkbilder an Goethe*.

His son's high honours were an ill destiny for him. Meanwhile, Goethe was enjoying his first days in the little *Gartenhaus*. There in those first days Kraus painted him, sitting at the simple pinewood table.

Goethe's relation to Charlotte von Stein had all the spring remained a most difficult one, as his passion only too often flamed up, and each time he underwent temporary banishment—either by her command or his own self-denial. And then she was by no means content with what he had wrought as yet in Weimar: if after the great upsetting at Court through him he could again restore order, it would be better for his genius, she thought; but however good may be his purposes, he has as yet too much youth and too little experience. Of course, in this remark uttered to Zimmermann, and in her dreary picture of the Court, we may hear the accent of temporary depression; yet she did indeed fear that Goethe was not equal to the task before him.

The dreadful slanders of their Weimar doings, which were spread abroad by enemies, backbiters, and chattering go-betweens, had come even to Klopstock's ears; he thought he had it on credible authority that the Duke to strengthen his frame was accustomed to drink himself sick! Accordingly, to Klopstock it seemed a proof of friendship to address a solemn warning to the young poet. "The Germans have hitherto complained with justice that their princes would have nothing to do with their men of letters. The Duke of Weimar is now excepted from this reproach. But how great a justification will the other princes have who continue in the old tone of behaviour (*in dem alten Tone fortfahren*) if that shall happen to us which I fear will happen.¹ The Duchess is perhaps as yet able to subdue her pain, for her intelligence is very manly (*sie denkt sehr männlich*). But this pain will become grief, and can that, think you, be subdued? Louise's grief! Goethe!" Finally, Klopstock threatens that unless things improve, Stolberg shall leave Weimar soon after arriving there; he even hints that he will advise Stolberg not to keep his promise—advise him not to come to Weimar at all.² Goethe replied admirably on the 21st of May. It has been a moment's pain to the Duke that *Klopstock* should hold him capable of such actions; Goethe himself has no answer to make, for he must confess his fault like a schoolboy, or sophistically excuse it, or defend it as an honest fellow; and perhaps a mixture of all three would in truth come out. It is

¹ The death of the Duke through hard drinking!—TR.

² Klopstock's letter to Goethe is dated May 8.—TR.

quite plain from this letter that the reports had been gross exaggerations, and that he knew well his duty towards Karl August! And when he concludes:—"But let Stolberg come. We are not worse; and, please God, we are better than when he saw us," it is plain that the mad conduct which the Stolbergs' presence (November 26–December 3, 1775) had made so much madder, and in which they had taken such delight, was now tamed down, and Fritz Stolberg might come without danger. But Klopstock, spoiled by the blind reverence paid to him, trusted Goethe so little as to believe him capable of the most shameful forgetfulness of duty, and felt insulted by his frank declaration of independence; he broke off all further communication in a rude letter, forbade Stolberg to keep his engagement, and sent the little correspondence to the Markgraf of Baden as evidence of a noble deed!

In May (1776) we find Goethe occupied with the arrangement of his Garden; he slept there for the first time on the night of Saturday the 18th of May. In the Duke's company, or on the Duke's business, he now rides about the country a great deal. He takes zealous interest in the ducal amateur theatre, where the Duke himself would sometimes act. His love for Charlotte von Stein is "an enduring renunciation,"¹ for he foresaw himself always being banished anew from her, on whose confidence and sympathy depended all his peace. On one occasion he incurs severe rebuke, because his thoughtlessness is making her the theme of common talk; she even threatens to break off their intercourse entirely. And then we hear him lament:—"And so this relation, the purest, most beautiful, most true, that I have ever had to any woman but my sister, this too to be destroyed! . . . If I have not your society your love is as little aid to me as the love of my dear absent ones, in which I am so wealthy. Personal Presence in the moment of need decides all, alleviates all, strengthens all."²

The completion of the Duke's new appointments was delayed until June 11 (1776). Not until the 19th did Goethe receive the formal notification. Karl August paid him from the privy purse the salary of the half-year just closing, as he had done good service during the period. When the appoint-

¹ "Eine anhaltende Resignation:" Goethe to Frau von Stein, Thursday, May 2, 1776.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von Stein, Friday, May 24, 1776.—TR.

ment was at length made public all Goethe's enemies were bitterly incensed. To Charlotte von Stein it seemed an expedient moment for speaking out plainly to him about his position and his love for her. He replies that she is much dearer, that her goodness toward him is become much more precious in his estimation; but also a relation over which it would be so easy and pleasant to glide [into some wrong relation], about which it would be so easy and pleasant to deceive oneself, has grown much clearer and deeper.¹

In this period falls the presentation of Cumberland's *West Indian* at the ducal amateur theatre. Goethe played Belcour here too; the uncommonly beautiful and alluring Frau von Werther played with remarkable fire Belcour's sweetheart; Charlotte played the part of the young Charlotte Russport. The Duke and Seckendorff were actors also.

It was a great regret to Goethe that Frau von Stein was soon to leave for the Pyrmont Baths. "Presence it is alone which works, which comforts, builds up!"—he wrote to her on the 22d of June. "Even though it often torments—torment also is love's sunshine-rain." When he dined with her on Sunday, the 23d of June, she gave him a satirical composition (*Scherzgedicht*) of hers—three dramatic scenes—in which he figured under the Ossianic bard-name Ryno. Besides, there were Adelheide, the Duchess Mother: Thusnelde, the everyday nickname of the somewhat deformed Luise von Göchhausen, the witty companion of the Duchess Mother: Kunigunde, Frau von Werther, and Gertrud, Charlotte herself, whose lively interest in the poet of *Werther* is expressed. That he is, as we know him, serious, ay gloomy, comes out in the first scene; in the second Gertrud complains that on the track of all women he is what is called a coquette; she seems to be indifferent to him herself; in the third she remarks that the eyes of the fair carry him away, he is not master of himself, and thereby he pains many a faithful heart; but when Thusnelde boasts of the many *billets* she has from him, it turns out that all the other ladies have as many, if not more. No wonder he wrote to Frau von Stein that she has hit him hard, yet he is glad to say that he is not what she makes him out. Charlotte did not think him yet strong enough in self-control, and so did not let him see the diary

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, Saturday, June 22, 1776.—Tr.

which she had kept since they had been acquainted. Also she forbade him to come to her on the 25th, the day of her departure, as she feared a scene at leave-taking. He had a surprise on the 24th in the arrival of Klinger, whom he received with all cordiality, though he foresaw that his enemies would misuse the occurrence to cast contempt on himself, and on Karl August, who drew all mad geniuses unto him! On the morning of Tuesday, June 25, Charlotte left for Pymont. On the same day Goethe was admitted to the Privy Council and took the oath. At noon he dined at the ducal table.

CHAPTER II.

FROM GOETHE'S APPOINTMENT ON THE COUNCIL TO THE SECOND SWISS JOURNEY.

JUNE 1776—SEPTEMBER 1779.

Preliminary.—To Goethe's personal relation with Karl August we must ascribe his decision to devote himself to the service of the little state. It was our poet's great desire to influence the young prince—whose love and trust were so completely yielded him—in development to mature manhood. Yet to live on at Weimar Court without any determinate post and function seemed to him unworthy, as with his eager and restless spirit of activity it certainly would have been impossible. But before he submitted to the yoke, he required the full assurance of his freedom, that, true to his principle—"All from love,"—he might enter on a calling so adverse to the poet in him only through love for the prince, his friend. Needful, too, was the firm conviction that Destiny had chosen this strange-seeming lot for him as the only suitable one: offering the needful counterpoise to his excitable heart: the experience of the world and of men, the basis which his imagination lacked: for his active powers a definite goal to be surely attained through earnest continuance of effort. And no happier position could the young Doctor of Laws, whom the incompatibility of his profession, and of the narrow and sluggish circle of Frankfurt burgher life with "the breadth and swiftness of his being"¹ would have driven mad at last,—no happier position could he have found than that influential one

¹ See Goethe's letter to his mother, August 11, 1781:—"Das Unverhältniss des engen und langsam bewegten bürgerlichen Kreyses zu der Weite und Geschwindigkeit meines Wesens hätte mich rasend gemacht."
—Tr.

of Privy-Councillor (in reality if not in name), under the young, gifted prince of a state small enough to be easily surveyed and ruled !

The more general the denial of his fitness for this position : the more vehement the demonstrations of hatred and jealousy : the more absolutely he recognised the difficulty of his task—the more was it a matter of honour and duty to put forth all his strength. So we see him devote himself straightway with so much zeal to the heterogeneous business of the Council, that he wins the good opinion of the externally rude, hard, obstinate Fritsch—in whose house the lively young *Legationsrath* is soon a welcome guest. He missed none of the Council meetings—there were generally two a week ; he read diligently all the documents bearing on matters of discussion, and tried to form a positive decision from them. He laboured hard to acquire the necessary information on various subjects ; and he felt attracted by single departments of administration. But beside the business of the Council, the Duke gave him many other commissions out of special confidence in him ; and always, if the Duke were absent or engaged, Goethe was the ready substitute.

Section I. Goethe's Activity in Public Business, 1776-9.—Let us now, in the first place, follow his business activity during the first three years. One of the earliest cares of the Duke was the revival of the Ilmenau mining, which had languished for many years. Already, when at Ilmenau for the first time, in the beginning of May 1776, Goethe had collected manifold information on the subject ; had visited the mine and the foundry ; had viewed with regret the old furnaces ; and he did not rest until the Duke brought in the question of working the mines again. As an expert on whose counsel to rely, the Vice-Director of Mines, von Trebra of Marienberg was invited to Weimar : we find him there by the 11th of June. The Commissioners appointed to examine the matter—Goethe, Kalb, and *Hofrath* Johann Ludwig Eckard, opened their sittings on the 13th of July. Five days later they went with the Duke to Ilmenau to see things with close personal observation. On the 20th, Goethe went with Karl August down the still open *Treuefriedrich* Shaft. The Commission declared for re-opening the mines, and sketched in detail a plan of how to go about it. This declaration was

signed on the evening of the 20th of July. As Trebra stayed on until the 2d of August, Goethe had opportunity to get information on many points. On August 4 he is occupied with the Henneberg Mining Regulations, for Ilmenau belonged to the county of Henneberg. Johann Gottfried Schreiber, whom Trebra had brought from Marienberg, was introduced as Juror (*Geschwornen*) at the Kammerberg coal-mine at Ilmenau. And Trebra persuaded Johann Karl Wilhelm Voigt, a law-student of five-and-twenty, to take up the profession of mining, as there was a prospect of an appointment for him in Ilmenau, and assistance from the Duke was promised to enable him to study in Freiberg and on mineralogical tours.

Goethe was also appointed on the Commission of Building. Thus he directed the putting to rights of the parsonage to receive Herder. In the following year (1777) it is his business to look after the new official location of *Oberstallmeister* von Stein, which was to be in the so-called Saddle-Room in the upper story of the right wing of the old stable. What remained of the burnt-down Castle was examined (March), the plan on which it should be rebuilt was talked over, the carrying it out put aside for the present.

Of matters that came before the Council, he was chiefly interested by those connected with finance—though there was nothing in which he was not interested. Now it was not all fair sailing at the council-board. Thus it came to differences with Kalb, who did not on the whole justify the Duke's great hopes of him. In the negotiations with the Estates of Weimar at Weimar town, in July 1777, and with the Estates of Eisenach at Eisenach town, in September 1777, Goethe was very much employed. The most favourable testimony as to Goethe's business activity is given by Merck, who has been his guest at the Wartburg for a week, beginning September 21, 1777; they had lived on the most confidential terms. "Goethe is all-important and all-directing," Merck says, "and every one is content with him, because he serves many and injures none. Who can resist the disinterestedness of the man?" Goethe himself, however, thanks Destiny, which has most lovingly led him to emotions and situations before unknown to him.¹

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, Friday, November 7, 1777. Compare

One of the reasons which concurred to send him on a journey to the Harz, towards the close of November 1777, was a desire to investigate, undisturbed, the mining system there. Then he wanted to enjoy the *people*, the lower classes, simple, kindly-natured, happy in their limitation; he was tired of courtiers and men of business. And there was a young fellow at Wernigerode,¹ suffering from the weariness of life so common then, who had written to Goethe, and the latter wished, without revealing his name, to try whether he could not do something towards a cure. One result of this journey was that his belief in the destiny which led him so wondrously was strengthened, since it crowned this adventurous journey with complete success. And what seemed to every one impossible he performed; in the middle of winter he got to the summit of the Brocken (Dec. 10); in the evening, after the ascent, he went to the door; above the dark pines rose the Brocken, white, moonlight-bathed; and he recalled how that day with joyful tears he had offered his warm tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Love which governs all life in its own marvellous way.²

In the beginning of the year following (1778), the laying out of the Park in the so-called Star, after the fashion of the Wörlitz Park, was begun earlier than he had purposed, in consequence of a sad occurrence. A Fräulein von Lassberg had been driven by unhappy love to seek death in the Ilm waters, not far from the poet's Garden. That one might henceforth be able to view in the deepest seclusion the last places that her feet had trodden, and the spot where she had died, Goethe himself, with the court gardener, hollowed out a great piece of the rock.³ Thus was begun the work which

the entry in Goethe's *Tagebuch*, prefixed to the month of November 1777, an entry dated November 14. Keil, Goethe's *Tagebuch*, p. 130.—TR.

¹ Plessing.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von Stein, December 11. See also the *Tagebuch*, p. 138. This journey of 1777 is *Die Harzreise im Winter*.—TR.

³ Fräulein von Lassberg drowned herself on Jan. 16th. Her body was found on the 17th, and brought to Frau von Stein's house; Goethe and Karl August were on the ice when the body was found. See Goethe to Frau von Stein, January 19, and Goethe's *Tagebuch*, January 17, 18, 1778. (The ballad *Der Fischer*, written about this time, expresses the glittering weird allurements of the dark water, described in that letter to Charlotte.)—TR.

went on during the spring and summer of 1778, under his zealous and skilful direction. Another such work was occasioned by the festival with which he sought to give the Duchess Luise pleasure on her Name Day, July 9, 1778. That the rain just before had flooded the whole meadow was not enough to stop him; with quick decision he prepared a spot which lay somewhat higher for the festival, and built there a Hermitage, in which the Duchess and her train were to be received by a train of monks, with a poem of greeting composed by Seckendorff and himself, and then to be entertained there.¹ Starting from this point, all the paths constructed at a later period on the declivity towards Oberweimar were laid down. To the Duke, the Hermitage became so dear a spot that he followed out his humour by having his "*Kloster*" suitably fitted up for sleeping in.

On the 1st of October 1778 Goethe, at the Duke's wish, undertook the management of the theatre, for which he received advances, which he then kept the account of. He, too, was to sketch a plan for the rebuilding of what had hitherto been the *Hauptmann* Assembly Room as the Ducal Theatre of Weimar. He made many sketches, with the design of forming a model on some of them at last.

As the Duchess would be a mother about the beginning of the New Year (1779), some alterations in the *Fürstenhaus* were needed, and at the same time a great deal in the hastily run up building had to be renewed; it was a regret to Goethe that with all pains no very good job could be made of it. The more pressingly needful was it, therefore, that the old Castle should be rebuilt; already the clearing of the ruins had begun. The question, What quarries of the Ettersberg should supply the stone? was considered by Goethe. To gain insight he read in Blondel's great work, *Cours de l'Architecture*; from which, in December 1778, when the weather and various annoyances made him unfit for anything else, he began to make architectural sketches.

Alas! he saw more and more how much frivolousness and stupidity there was in the Ministry. A mean vote from *Kammerpräsident* Kalb, on a question about the mines, roused

¹ See Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten* for an account of this *Louisenfest*, and for a reprint of Seckendorff's "*Dramolet*."—TR.

his contempt and anger.¹ And he was extremely ill-pleased with Fritsch, too, because of many occurrences which seemed to warrant an unfavourable view of that statesman's honour. At length Goethe spoke his mind on the subject to the Duke. And he repeatedly declared against the harsh flogging to which *Rittmeister* von Lichtenberg, a great favourite of Karl August, subjected the soldiers. The shameful negligence in the War Department, of which Fritsch was head, roused Goethe's anger, and his repeated representations at length caused Fritsch to request the Duke to relieve him of the office, which then passed to Goethe, January 1779. Goethe underwent the new burthen of duty with the conscientiousness which accompanied all his action, without claiming any extra salary; he even defrayed from his own pocket the expenses of the official journeys entailed. Heavy as this addition to his burdens fell on him, he drew courage from the conviction "By tranquillity and dexterity all will yet be overcome" ("*Durch Ruhe und Gewandtheit geht doch alles durch.*"²) His strict parcelling out of time, his keen sense of duty, and his power of rapid observation and rapid acquirement, made him able to master such a number of unfamiliar labours—which were indeed more burdensome to him with his almost self-torturing conscientiousness, than they would be to mere men of business.

On the 5th of January 1779 the War Department was offered to his care, and accordingly his thoughts are, for the present, altogether bent on military economics; he "bathes" in labour, he writes in his *Diary* (January 13), and has good hopes of being able to endure. On the 9th he receives the officers who are now his subordinates. He "labours in silence" on his new department; it does not indeed escape him how difficult it is for his "withdrawn" spirit to hit on the right decision in these common things, yet, during the few years past he has grown much clearer in judgment and very cautious; often, indeed, too distrustful.³ After the 13th, on which day he formally undertakes the discharge of the duties of his new post, he does hardly anything else for the time.

His first care was to introduce order into the confusion of the military *Repositur*. Unfortunately, just at this time, came

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, p. 170, December 15, 1778.—TR.

² *Ibid.* p. 171, December 15, 1778.—TR.

³ See all this in the *Tagebuch* for January 9, 1779.—TR.

the irruption of the Prussians into the district Grossrudestedt, to obtain recruits. The choice was, alas! merely between two evils—to resist in vain, to submit. A courier was sent to the King of Prussia, on whose decision all waited. Of Goethe's extreme distress we have evidence in the very penetrating and excellent letter which he wrote to the Duke on the subject.¹

"February 1.—Council. Stupid atmosphere there. Fatal humour of Fritsch. The Duke spoke too much. . . . Dined with the Duke. Afterwards let fall some observations about speaking too much; about forgiving; moderating one's expressions; and about bringing things to discussion while in anger which should not be spoken of. Also concerning the military *Macaronis*. The Duke remains still an unmoved adherent to Form. False attribution to his position what one finds good and great in others. Bedazzlement by external whitewashing. I have fallen into just this mistake in the Building Department. I will manage the War Department well, because in business I have no imagination at all; don't want to make out that anything is which is not; do want exact knowledge and order."² He goes on to say that he does not let the proposals of various changes, which come from many quarters, disturb his judgment, knowing how often self-interest hides in such occasions.

As the care of the War Department compelled him to travel about the country, he also undertook the Department of Public Roads, hitherto neglected like the other. In his new labours he had a great support in the somewhat rough and ready Artillery-Captain De Castrop. Weimar put but 600 soldiers in the field indeed—beside 50 hussars who attended the Duke—but there were many abuses and anomalies in the mode of levying them. Goethe tried to make the burthen less oppressive, and to practise the strictest justice; he even thought of the possibility of lessening the number. When the young men of Weimar town, who were to serve, had been chosen on the 26th and 27th of February (1779), he set out on his first journey of soldier-levying, by Jena, in Castrop's companionship. He returned on the 12th of March, to leave

¹ See *Briefwechsel des Grossherzogs Carl August . . . mit Goethe 1775-1828*; Neue Ausgabe, Wien, 1873.—TR.

² Goethe's *Tagebuch*, February 1, 1779.—TR.

on the 16th for Ilmenau, on a like errand. The poet of *Iphigenie*—with which he was just then occupied¹—must have been a strange figure in his own eyes, arranging the young men according to the Method of the Rhine; but he was conscious of his good purpose; and amid all that was disagreeable and wearisome, he had the pleasure of becoming more closely acquainted with the People, so worthy of respect in its own way.

At length the recruits assembled, on the 15th of April. A week later Goethe visited the University of Jena with the Duke and Herder, and they dined with the professors. This university, so important to the little state, lay constantly on his heart; and though he was not directly concerned in the administration of its affairs, his advice was always important in determining Karl August's decisions.

In May 1779 (which to Goethe's joy brought the conclusion of peace), the long premeditated change of the Assembly Room into a theatre was begun under his direction. At the same time his thoughts were occupied not only with the country and its inhabitants (especially with a plan for lightening taxes), but with the question how to turn the State Domains to better account. Merck, whom he had on a fresh visit at the end of May 1779—a visit which lasted many days²—brought him a valuable coadjutor of great experience, the Englishman George Batty; who in order to collect materials on which to base proposals of reform, travelled the country over. He was appointed Commissioner of Lands (*Landkommissarius*), with a salary of 300 thalers. During Merck's visit, Goethe was carefully thinking over schemes of diminishing taxes; of the levy of soldiers; of establishing firemen and police; and many other things indeed he had in his head. In 1779 he had brought an unfortunate man,³ who had applied to him in 1778, to Ilmenau, where he may be said to have supported the poor being out of his own slender means. This man was to keep him informed on Ilmenau affairs; and thus not only was provided with a

¹ He began, as the *Tagebuch* informs us, to dictate *Iphigenie* on the 14th of February 1779; (from a letter to Charlotte von Stein we learn that he brooded all that day upon it).—TR.

² Merck left on July 13, 1779.—TR.

³ Known under the (assumed) name of Kraft.—TR.

pleasant occupation, but was a material aid to Goethe in carrying out his plans.

Merck, on this occasion also, was extraordinarily pleased with Goethe's position and effectivity. Merck's presence was no hindrance, as we learn from Goethe's *Diary*,¹ only stripped off a few dry husks, and confirmed him in everything good. That this is the only man who quite understands what Goethe is doing, and how he is doing it, and that he yet sees it from a quite different standpoint, gives delightful certainty. These visits of his clear-sighted friend were to him glimpses of his good destiny.

After Merck's departure, Batty's judicious report of his excursion gave Goethe the highest satisfaction; here, indeed, was a master in his own department who did not (as Goethe once in plastic art) indulge in vague general dreaming, but went straight to the point. Agriculture seems to Goethe a very delightful occupation, because in it everything gives such exact reply (*weil hier alles so rein antwortet*); but his occupation it is not to be, as his Being (*Daseyn*), once for all, is not Simple. Only his desire is—that by degrees all that is presumptuous in him may dry away, but beautiful strength may remain sufficient to pump the genuine fountains of his life to equal height beside each other.² The report occupied him for a long time.

At a great conflagration which broke out soon after (July 25) in Apolda, where he was "all day alternately roasted and boiled," his opinions about a fire-brigade system were confirmed—opinions which the Duke, too, began at length to entertain. "No man knows what I do," he confides to the *Diary*, "and how many enemies I combat to produce the small result. At my striving and contest and toil, I beseech ye not to laugh, spectator gods! At least ye might smile and give me aid." At this moment he was expecting "sharp trial perhaps within four weeks."³ It was a discord with Fritsch, who had sent in his resignation, which the Duke would not, in the long run, accept; though Goethe thought that it would be well if Fritsch left the Council. In order to console Goethe for not following his counsel in the matter,

¹ July 13, 1779, the day of Merck's departure.—TR.

² See all this in Goethe's *Tagebuch*, July 14, 1779.—TR.

³ See Goethe's *Tagebuch*, July 25, 1779.—TR.

the Duke promoted him and his colleague Schnauss—who, during the considerable absence of Fritsch, had, with Goethe, devoted himself most zealously to the discharge of the extra work falling on their shoulders—to be Privy-Councillors. Goethe had prepared a great pleasure for the Duke in a public Exhibition for Prizes at the Drawing Academy on the Duke's birthday, September 3, 1779; the exhibition showed what a quantity of good work had been done in this institution which the Duke had founded, and over which Goethe had cared. Kraus was now formally appointed Director.

Section II. Goethe's Work on Karl August, 1776-9.—If we turn from Goethe's business activity to his work on Karl August, we find here likewise the noblest success to record. Nothing could be less his desire than to prompt the young Duke to many journeys,—the desire which was attributed to him by the crowd of gossip-mongers. On the 15th of August 1776 he has to expressly assure his friend Kayser in Zürich, that they are *not* going to Italy. (Kayser would seem to have offered himself as a travelling-companion; to this Goethe's exhortation to stay quiet in Zürich points; an exhortation by no means welcome to the recipient, who had probably hoped some advance through his friend's influence.¹) Goethe sought to moderate the princely excess of Karl August's demands on life, the craving of his nature for the extraordinary; sought to lead him to a well-considered activity towards his country's welfare, to waken in him those interests and sympathies which fecundate the mind and withdraw one from idle and shallow conversation. He did not indeed succeed in restraining the Duke entirely from crack-brained behaviour; he himself, as we know, plunged into the wild student-like life of the early days of their friendship, especially when they were at Ilmenau, or hard by at Stützerbach, which had become a shaking of the head through their extravagances; but these were mere outbursts in enjoying free nature of his hot-blooded spirit of youth, so long reined in to sadness and gravity. And even here probably Goethe was not lacking in admonitions, such as we find in a letter written before his appointment, where it is represented to the Duke, that through

¹ For Goethe's letters to Kayser, see Burkhardt's *Goethe und der Komponist Ph. Chr. Kayser*, Leipzig, 1879. See also a good précis of the letters in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880.—TR.

being too hot and headlong he often wastes his own strength and the strength of his servants to unjustifiable or unnecessary purposes.¹ To the older friend's intense joy, he saw that Karl August's confidence in him was constantly increasing and developing ever purer and clearer (*sich immer reiner entwickele*). "The Duke and I grow daily dearer to each other, daily are more entirely of accord; he is happier (*ihm wird's wohler*), and is a being whose like is nowhere to be found," writes Goethe to Merck, October 22, 1776.

One chief longing of Goethe was to restore a loving understanding between the Duke and Duchess;² it was first needful that he himself should gain the trust of Luise, who long stood aloof from him. But the high opinion of him which her brother the Hereditary Prince of Darmstadt formed in September 1776 began to work a change in the Duchess's feeling; and so we find her drawing nearer to him—as when, November 1776, she asks him to lend her his play *Die Geschwister*, and to see after skates for her. For her next birthday (January 30, 1777) he provided an excellent performance of his *Lila*—a little piece which celebrated wedded love, and pointed to the fond union of the noble and gifted pair. But the passion of the Duke for the lovely *Kammersängerin* Corona Schröter was to give Goethe trouble before that performance of *Lila*; he remonstrated earnestly with the Duke. The Duchess now grew more cheerful, took pleasure in skating, an art in which she was a mistress, and in the extremely pleasant and well-arranged fêtes on the ice, of which Goethe was the manager. In the spring of 1777 Goethe often has the Duchess with him at his Garden; he too visits her in her summer residence at Belvedere; and soon a warm friendship is established with the noble princess; a friendship through which he strives to restore the harmony between her and her husband. Frau von Stein, too, as the most intimate friend of the Duchess, co-operated in this effort.

Among the Duke's friendships Goethe tried to cherish especially those with Dalberg and the gentle, gifted, and thoroughly cultured Prince Franz of Dessau, friends from whom the most beneficial influence might be expected. In

¹ Goethe to Karl August [May 4, 1776].—Tr.

² Goethe writes to Lavater, so early as Sept. 16, 1776:—"Concerning Carl and Luise be at peace."—*Der junge Goethe*, iii. 144.—Tr.

September 1777 Merck, on his eight days' visit, could see how nobly the Duke was developing. He whom unprincipled tattle had made out to be a weakling completely led astray by Goethe, has an iron will, is one of the most to be respected, the most discreet of men. Goethe's society has been full of benefit for him, and if the intimacy between master and servant goes very far, it is only because the latter is not of the nobility that objections are raised. Goethe had not indeed been able to wean the Duke from his arrogant tendency to make the natural into the extraordinary (*aus dem Natürlichen etwas Abenteuerliches zu machen*); nor, to Goethe's regret, would he renounce his princely passion for the chase; yet in these things, too, Goethe hoped that coming times would bring good changes. In the March of 1778 the longing for war shown by Karl August caused Goethe much disquiet, but a letter of the Prince of Dessau gave welcome aid to him in his endeavours to abate the fever. When—Prussia and Austria being apparently about to fall out—the Duke resolved to go to Berlin, “the fountain of the war;”¹ Goethe welcomed the “master-stroke of the gods,”² for he thought nothing fitter to quench martial desire in one so intent on *effectivity* as Karl August, than a revelation of the unimportance of the individual in the iron game. Still the great reviews at Potsdam and Aken interested the Duke and Goethe himself, and they probably kindled in Karl August his delight in soldier life, if not in war. The observations which Goethe made in Berlin were equally important to him as a statesman and as poet, for he appropriated everything as materials for his growth. He was pleased with his visit to the Opera House. In Prince Heinrich and his Captain of Engineers Boulet, he found sincere admirers. He met in Berlin the Minister Zedlitz; the old Chodowiecki; the poetess of nature, Madame Karschin; the Academician Wegelin; and the old friend of Offenbach days, André, now appointed director of music here.³

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, Berlin, May 17, 1778.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von Stein, Leipzig, May 12, 1778.—TR.

³ On May 10, 1778, Goethe left Weimar at six in the morning, and came to Leipzig at half-past nine in the evening. Karl August came on the 11th to Leipzig, and asked Goethe to go with him to Berlin and Potsdam. On the 13th they set off early from Leipzig, and were in Wörlitz by three o'clock in the afternoon. On the 15th they came to

When they returned to Weimar even the irritated Wieland acknowledges that he finds the Duke noble, good, honest, princelike in his whole behaviour; and pronounces the conviction that Goethe has led the Duke aright. Toward the close of the year, Goethe marks with deep joy that the Duke is constantly developing more and more: with him budding is accompanied by a detonation, which people always would take amiss.¹ Immediately after this, Karl August's passion for Corona Schröter again troubled Goethe, and he had a "radical explanation" on the whole matter with the Duke.² But Corona seems to have been wounded by the sternness of Goethe's interference; yet he had done nothing hostile to her personally; he himself felt a passion for her which he subdued. It was a great disappointment to him, in his endeavour to bring the married couple into harmony, when the Duchess gave birth—on the 3d February 1779—to a princess instead of the hoped-for heir. He tried to console Karl August, to awaken his love for his little daughter. "Only wait until the tiny human creature has grown a bit," he writes to the Duke four weeks later; "circumstances educate all of us, and let a man do what he will, them he cannot alter. Let it never lack paternal care, that at least we may keep it healthy. Until it can understand a human voice, we shall have occasion to think and talk much about it. God give us inward and outward peace, and there are yet good times in store for you and your land."³ Though he was unable to celebrate as he had hoped the churching of the Duchess by the performance of *Iphigenie*—that lofty presentment of the sublime power of pure womanhood—he delighted his revered princess with it on Easter Tuesday (April 6, 1779).

In the earlier part of June Goethe writes in the *Diary*:—"The Duke will soon be quite over the grand crisis. I have fair hope that he will climb this rock too, and roam a while in

Berlin by Potsdam. On the 23d they left Berlin and arrived in Wörlitz by five o'clock. They came to Dessau on the 28th, and finally arrived in Weimar, unexpected, on June 1.—TR.

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, December 15, 1778. "Der Herzog immer sich entwickelnd und wenn sich bey ihm aufschliesst, krachts, und das nehmen die Leute immer übel auf."—TR.

² On January 10, 1779. See Goethe's *Tagebuch* of that day.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August: Buttstedt, March 8, 1779.—TR.

the open plain." We indeed soon after hear him complain of the Duke's inexperience in estimating men;¹ here, too, he sought to work a change. At the beginning of August, we learn from the *Diary*, they discussed the internal government, the Court, and the Duchess. The conversation came on true knowledge of men, and Goethe pointed out why the Duke found many a thing so hard; especially exhorting him not to attempt to go into details so much. They indeed agreed as little on these matters as on the dismissal of Fritsch, to which gratitude made the Duke averse. On the other hand, he entered with all his heart into Goethe's plan of making a secret adventurous journey to Switzerland. Goethe hoped that the contemplation of nature in her grand style, and intercourse with the pious and simple-hearted family of Lavater, would refresh and calm the prince, whom the life of Court and business was drying up, and to whom the pure feeling for nature was so little known. Goethe had as yet been able to awaken but one intellectual amateurship in him—probably through Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*. He had begun to love paintings, especially Rembrandts, and had begun to collect. The amateurship, too, would meet rich nourishment on the journey.

Section III. Other Relations with the Court, 1776-9.—One of Goethe's greatest difficulties was the relation between the Duke and his brother. Prince Constantin was delicate, gentle, and full of feeling, had fine musical gifts, but suffered much from melancholy. He had not been won over completely by his brother's favourite. Constantin's heart was given to the portionless Caroline von Ilten, to whom his mother and Karl August were passionately opposed, and Goethe was with them. Goethe often went to Tiefurt, where the prince and Knebel lived, and often received visits from the prince in return, yet there was no establishing a real intimacy; he had to satisfy himself with keeping the rift from growing wider.² Goethe thought the prince "poor" as a

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, July 30, 1779.—TR.

² In Goethe's *Tagebuch* the Prince is meant by the sign of the gloomy Mars ♄; the Duke is Jupiter ♃; Charlotte von Stein is the Sun ☉; the Duchess Amalia is the Moon ☾; Wieland is Mercury ☿; the Duchess Luise is a Star *; the Earth is perhaps Fräulein von Waldner.—DÜNTZER. Countess Werther is Venus ♀.—TR.

lover,¹ as he was entirely absorbed in himself. Even when he had apparently given up his love, no confidence grew between the brothers. Once Goethe, dining at the Duke's table, was witness of a "painful explanation" (*leidliche Erklärung*) between them.²

With the Duchess Mother Goethe had no such difficulty in forming an alliance; for this kind-hearted, easily-friendly princess loved and esteemed him extremely: her interest in art and science; her infinite brightness and humour (by no means terrified at a spice of coarseness), made intercourse with her delightful. At her wish, he had been the agent in getting Corona Schröter appointed singer in the Court Chapel. He was always ready to contribute to her amusement, whether at Weimar or at her summer residence at Ettersburg, where so early as 1777 an open air theatre was instituted. In his own little pieces, which the Duchess loved, he often acted. Her demands on him were indeed occasionally very burdensome, as when at Ettersburg, in October 1778, he had not only to appear himself in his *Jahrmarkt* and in Molière's *Médecin malgré lui*, but to manage everything connected with the representation. Still, though the interference with his business and with his favourite occupations was sometimes unwelcome, it was more often a refreshing change; and it rescued him from absorption in himself and his own aims. Occasionally he reminded the Duchess Mother frankly that he was not there for mere social entertainment. In Ettersburg, in the very last days in which he indulged extravagant spirits (August 1779), there was the most humorous fooling, during which Goethe once, in a circle of merry companions, was carried away to parody the termination of Fritz Jacobi's *Woldemar*, and make the devil carry off the hero. *Woldemar* had appeared a short time before; the sentimental philosophy that exhaled from its pages disgusted Goethe. After the parody he proceeded to give the book the "exaltation of the cross,"—that is, he climbed a tree, and nailed the book to the trunk by the extremities of the covers, "as a well-deserved penalty and a startling example."

As he managed everything at the Court, even its festivals

¹ "Der Prinz in seiner Verliebschaft höchst arm." Goethe's *Tagebuch*, December 15, 1778.—TR.

² Goethe's *Tagebuch*, July 14, 1779.—TR.

were his care ; he aimed at making them of merit in point of art, and giving them deeper significance ; and he knew that this would please the Duchess Luise. In the first months at Weimar, before his appointment, he had not only worked in the management of the Duke's private theatre, but had acted amid the greatest applause. In November 1776 he thought that *Die Geschwister*, a piece which sprang from his relations with Frau von Stein, as the last birth of his Muse ought not to be denied to the Court. The charming Amalia von Kotzebue and Goethe himself played the two leading parts of the play. The Duchess's first Weimar birthday (January 30, 1776) had been celebrated merely by a state dinner, a court reception, and a ball. Goethe thought he ought to honour the next one (January 30, 1777) with some important new play, and so produced in the first year *Lila* (which, it will be remembered, bore reference to the Duchess) ; in the second year (1778) he mocked the sentimentality¹ which he had formerly sublimed to material for poetry, but which had now become the unpleasant fashion ; in the third year, when the birthday could not be celebrated because the Duchess was soon to be a mother,² he created a nobler piece of art, to the spiritual elevation of all : the *Iphigenie*³ of Goethe made the Ettersburg stage memorable for ever.

Though the two former pieces were but occasional, without high poetic value (except the lyric monodrama, *Proserpina*, introduced as an intermezzo in the performance of *Die Empfindsamen*), they were serviceable as practice for his dramatic talent ; and as he breathed his spirit into all he wrote, they were no mere spending of the time. Yet Goethe's share in the Court festivals went farther. There were plenty of Carnival drolleries (*Possen*) and extempore compositions in verse ; thus we hear of a tragi-comedy given at Shrovetide in the year 1777, *Leben und Thaten, Tod und Elysium der weiland berühmten Königin Dido von Karthago*, a piece in which he

¹ *Die Empfindsamen* ; altered afterwards ; now called *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*.—TR.

² Her first daughter was born on February 3, 1779. See p. 279.—TR.

³ *Iphigenie* was acted first on the 6th of April 1779 ; again on the 12th ; and on July 12, Merck being a guest at Ettersburg, it was acted for the third time.—TR.

at least had a hand; and at Ettersburg, on the 5th of January 1778, we read in Goethe's *Diary*, amid "every kind of folly" a comedy was extemporised. There were theatrical representations, too, at the *Redoutes*.

Section IV. Literary activities; personal circumstances, 1776-9.—To his joy he observed that amid all his business and all distractions much "blithe imagination" (*fröhliche Imagination*)¹ was left him. "The pressure of business is very beautiful for the soul," he notes in his *Diary*, January 13, 1779, thinking of himself; "when the burthen is gone the soul's play is freer, and life is found a joyous thing. Nothing is more pitiable than the easily circumstanced man without work." He indeed confesses soon afterwards, when engaged on *Iphigenie*, that he sees that he is treating this good gift of the Heavenly Ones [Imagination] a little too cavalierly, and must be somewhat more careful of his *Talent* if he is ever to produce anything;² but how completely this was still at command is shown by his successfully finishing the play before the month had run. In the early part of 1777 had been begun *Wilhelm Meister*; the hero, the son of a rich merchant, was to be impelled by love for an actress, and by the idea of founding a National Theatre, to take to the stage, for which, as he must himself at length perceive, he has no aptitude whatever. The author, indeed, remained fast at the Second Book, as the development of another novel attracted him, which, however, came to as little result as his drama *Der Falke*, which he had projected on the lines of a tale of Boccaccio. But during the Frankfurt time, too, he had left many a thing unfinished as the impulse died, and he was so far from giving up his *Wilhelm Meister* that he zealously gathered material for it everywhere.

The praise which he lavished on Wieland's *Oberon* shows how receptive he was for genuine poetry. When the Duchess of Würtemberg expressed a wish that Goethe and Wieland should sit for the painter, *Hofrath* May, both of them thought it right to comply. Goethe sat in the forenoon and the afternoon of July 26, 1779, and Wieland did him the pleasure of reading aloud from *Oberon*, five cantos of which were finished at that date. Wieland tells Merck that he had never before

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, February 12, 1778.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August; Buttstedt, 8th March 1779.—TR.

seen a man take such delight in the work of another. In May's picture can be felt, one might say, Goethe's happy mood, and the pleasant impression which the charming poem



FIG. 23. Goethe. From a photograph of May's painting.

made. He writes in his *Diary* that *Oberon* will be treasured by children and by connoisseurs; Wieland is safe from imitation here. Very deep was his gladness that his friend had thus succeeded in producing a poem perfect in its kind; fulfilling all the requirements of Art; very entertaining withal.

His own fame as a poet did not trouble him; he let things be when the pirates, without hindrance from his original publishers, peddled his books everywhere; the Berlin bookseller Himburg, actually published *J. W. Goethens Schriften* in three volumes; a reprint of this appeared in Karlsruhe. When publishing the third edition in 1779 Himburg added a fourth volume containing, besides smaller things overlooked before, a collection of Goethe's scattered lyrical poems. Himburg, with shameless politeness, sent the poet some copies of the fourth volume, boasting of the service rendered him in collecting his poetry, and offering some Berlin porcelain as an acknowledgment of his own profit by Goethe's works. Goethe revenged himself after his manner by writing some sarcastic verses,¹ shown only to his most intimate friends, and by contemptuous silence towards one whom lust of gain had prompted to collect his trifles before he was dead.

Plastic Art, no less than Literary, had still the old charm.

¹ The verses beginning "Lang verdorrte halb verweste Blätter vor'ger Jahre:." See Goethe's *Briefe an Frau von Stein*, July 1779. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, xvi. Buch, an altered version is given. — TR.

He drew, he painted, he etched, and especially delighted in portrait sketching. Frau von Stein, Corona Schröter, the Waldner, and old Dr. Siewers of Oberweimar, were drawn by him. He succeeded best with Wieland's likeness, drawn on the 24th of June 1776 at the Garden, better than any painter yet had drawn it, and still he would fain do it over again. "The main thing is that Goethe and *con amore* painted it," wrote Wieland to Merck. In his comprehension of paintings he gained every day fresh insight, and he meditated on all varieties of Art.

Then his business part of life led him to new, hitherto all but unthought of, kinds of knowledge; the chief being mineralogy and botany, which were to be of such importance later on. Physiognomy he now gave up almost entirely, though the third volume of the *Physiognomische Fragmente* went through his hands. For a while so interested was he in craniology that the Duke procured six skulls for him, but his pleasure in the subject faded fast, as mountain, field, and wood engrossed him more and more.

Unfortunately nearer knowledge estranged him more and more from those of the Court and those whom he met on business; he buried himself in himself.¹ But he was not therefore a misanthrope; amid all that he suffered and endured he felt happier than any one he knew, in the hand of a Destiny whom he believed propitious. In melancholy moods, at times indeed, he views all his life up to the present gloomily, he laments that he has, as yet, made no way; but

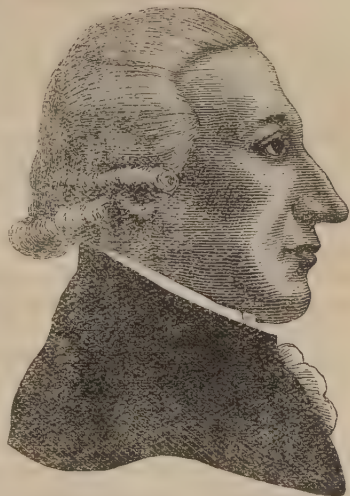


FIG. 24. Wieland. From the sketch by Goethe, preserved in the Ducal Library at Weimar; here reproduced for the first time.

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, October 8, 1777; February 12, 1778; January 9, 1779.—TR.

this reproach is true only of his youth—the time before the new life that broke in Weimar; that he had not yet ventured to review.¹ The calmest content speaks in the letter of August 9, 1779, which announces to his mother that the Duke and he are coming:—"I have all that a man can desire, a life in which there is daily exercise of my powers, and in which I grow daily; and at this time I come, healthy, free from passion, free from entanglement, free from dark ill-understood workings, like one of God's Beloved, half whose life is spent, who hopes from pain that is over many a good in the time to come, while sure also of a heart tested to meet the pain to come."² At this time, too, he found himself in good bodily health, partly owing to diet; he and the Duke had given up coffee altogether, he only drank half as much wine as he had before, and often in merry company took neither wine nor punch. He, like the Duke, was content to sleep on a sheet spread over a straw mattress, with a light bed covering. He loved cold water bathing even in winter; thus we find him in February 1779 bathing with Frau von Stein's boys. Then, too, he delighted in exercise, at first chiefly on horseback, afterwards on foot, and he did not neglect fencing and other physical accomplishments.

Section V. Goethe and Charlotte von Stein, 1776-9.—On the 2d of June 1778 Goethe writes to Frau von Stein:—"That you love me I believe and feel. You and the Duke are set above me (*wohnen über mir*) as the nail and cord by which frame and picture hang." Much pain had come with his deep love for Charlotte, but he *must* open his heart to her, and his trust in her had grown deeper and deeper.

We left Charlotte setting out for Pymont on June 25, 1776. After her return to Kochberg she delighted the yearning poet, then with the Duke at Ilmenau, by announcing that she would stop a night there on her journey from Kochberg to Weimar. This she did in the first week of August 1776. Goethe conducted her on the 6th to his favourite spot in the Hermannstein Cave, where, holding her hand, he traced an S. in the dust (after she had gone he came there again and chiselled the same

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*; the long entry of August 7, 1779.—TR.

² For letters to and from Goethe's mother, and even about her, see Robert Keil's *Frau Rath*, Leipzig, 1871. A good translation of this book has been published in the United States.—TR.

letter in the rock for a memorial); he accompanied her part of the way to Weimar. Alas! this day did not calm him as Charlotte had hoped it would. When back in Weimar he was so restless, so passionate, that she forbade his visit on his birthday (August 28, 1776), fearing an outbreak, nor did she delight him with a birthday present. Though, during the days immediately following, he was able to preserve his self-control in her presence, he draws an earnest exhortation from her on the 1st of September; he replies fretfully that if matters go on thus they will become living shadows. When, within the next ten days, she goes to Kochberg she forbids him to visit her there, while she gets Lenz to come to give her lessons in English. That this "distracted soul" ("*zerstörte Seele*"¹) should be honoured by intercourse with her awakened his bitterest envy; yet she did not fail to send little messages and letters, in which is expressed the conviction that he will never learn to control himself in her presence. During her absence his greatest pleasure was to draw for her, but so deep was his pain at being forbidden to come to Kochberg that he never forgot it. She came to Weimar for a short stay on the 5th of October, and she had to reproach him for fresh indiscretion. "For some time back you have come before me like the Madonna, who is going to heaven," he wrote with deep yearning; "in vain he who is left behind stretches out his arms to her; in vain his tearful gaze of farewell longs to meet hers once more; she is absorbed alone in the glory around her; is filled alone with longing for the crown that hovers above her head."²

In reality, Charlotte was intensely affected by his lament, at the same time was full of anxious doubt whether her wifely duty did not demand that she should entirely break with him.³ However, she felt strong enough to keep her faith to her husband

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, Tuesday, September 10, 1776.—TR.

² Goethe to Frau von Stein, October 7, 1776. In the *Diary* for that day Goethe writes:—"After dinner the Stein; gloom!" She went back to Kochberg on the 8th.—TR.

³ On the back of the letter of Goethe last quoted, the following remarkable lines are written in pencil in Charlotte von Stein's hand:—

"Ob's Unrecht ist was ich empfinde,
Und ob ich büssen muss die mir so liebe Sünde,
Will mein Gewissen mir nicht sagen;
Vernicht' es, Himmel du, wenn mich's je könnt' anklagen."—TR.

intact ; and she recognised it as her mission to keep the great poet true at the same time to her and to virtue, by determining him to renunciation, to a pure love of soul for soul.

After her final return to Weimar (October 31), he showed such self-control and calm that she ventures, November 7 (1776), the first anniversary of his arrival in Weimar, to show him the diary which she had kept since they were acquainted. He had already pronounced his renunciation in poetic wise in *Die Geschwister*—acted November 21. On the evening of the 16th, after trying the piece over with Amalia Kotzebue, he goes to see Corona Schröter, just arrived ; as the agent in bringing her to Weimar, he had carefully looked to the preparations for her accommodation. On the evening of November 18, he made a waxen model for a sleigh which he intended for Charlotte ; and he gives orders next morning for its manufacture. In the afternoon of the same day (the 19th) “disquiet has him again by every hair,”¹ so that he has to get a horse and ride out. This disquiet was the stirring of his love for Charlotte ; the arrival of even lovely Corona Schröter was powerless to make him forget Charlotte. Next day found him in the same condition, and he grew calmer only on the 21st, after the performance of *Die Geschwister*. A few days later, Lenz read out a comic poem, which made mocking reference to Charlotte von Stein in her relation with the poet, and to the Duchess Amalia. “Lenz’s donkeyism” (“*Lenzens Eselei*”) is noted in Goethe’s *Diary* under November 26. One need only remember with what care Charlotte had been striving to escape becoming the theme of vulgar tongues, to understand how deeply incensed Goethe was at this desecrating act of the crack-brained fellow, who had received such generous treatment. There was no appeal ; go he must who had pained the noblest heart—the heart of the beloved. Goethe’s intense pain showed Charlotte how deep and genuine a love he cherished for her.

When he returned from the journey, in which he accompanied the Duke to Leipzig and Dessau (December 2-21, 1776), he found the most affectionate welcome in Charlotte’s house. To his great joy she gave him a keepsake, probably a ring ; and he gave her a walking-stick. Unfortunately, the

¹ From his letter to Charlotte at half-past four in the afternoon on that day.—TR.

journey and the inclement December weather had tried his health so much that medical treatment was necessary. (It was then that he conceived the thought of putting up in his Garden a stone dedicated to Fortune.) When he visited Charlotte with birthday congratulations on Christmas morning, there was a violent scene,¹ which brought him to despair and embittered the close of the year for him, though he sought in every direction means to divert his thoughts from his pain. The cause of disagreement was probably the sleigh, his intended Christmas gift, which she refused with decision, because it would make her the subject of gossip. On the last day of 1776, Charlotte dines at the Duke's table, and then goes with the Court to Tiefurt. Goethe dines with Wieland, and then follows to Tiefurt on the unlucky sleigh, which breaks down on the journey. The *Diary* of that day closes with the words:—"Strange doings in the harbour. Feverish melancholy." Charlotte had threatened to break off with him altogether. How if she did what she threatened? He could have endured Weimar no longer then, and yet how he felt chained to the spot! Corona Schröter's beauty drew him powerfully; but she had no heart on which he could repose, no depth of intelligence or emotion to elevate or sustain.

The two years that followed were not lacking in the "sun-showers of love"—in "torment."² Still did Charlotte find it necessary to use the well-proved remedy of banishment from her presence when Goethe was carried away by passion, or when she feared—and especially on important anniversaries—from his excited manner that an outburst was imminent. Nor must her tendency to gloomy reflection be forgotten; her faith in the frequent dreams that disturbed her; and her fear that no real happiness is ever to be her lot, that accordingly Goethe will one time be untrue to her—will not continue in the beaten way of virtue. And he frequently found himself unwell, or ill-matched with circumstance, and his spirit would grow very dark and mournful; so that even in her presence he was moody and impatient, that she at times could not help

¹ In Goethe's *Diary* for December 25 we read:—"To the Stein; suffered much. Dined alone. Again at the Schardts' [Charlotte von Stein's relations]; deep, deep suffering."—TR.

² "Das Plagen ist der Sonnenregen der Liebe," wrote Goethe on June 22, 1776, to Charlotte von Stein (already quoted on p. 265).—TR.

doubting his love. In March 1777 she was poorly, and he was much with her : he sketched her picture. On the whole, they were happy in the consciousness of their true love, and of the entire worthiness of each other. In the evenings he “rests in her eyes,” as he says,¹ from many a weariness, from all the burden and painfulness of the day. Charlotte’s love was the thread—so he puts it—by which all his other “little passions, pastimes, and flirtations hung.”² In the last quotation we are



FIG. 25. Corona Schröter. From a photograph of Anton Graff's painting.

reminded of a remarkable characteristic of Goethe ; that he always needed a number of feminine hearts, of more or less personal interest to him, in which to mirror himself. We have already heard of the witty and keen Fraülein von Göchhausen, of the loveable Amalia Kotzebue, and of the charming and intellectual Frau von Werther. Of nearer intimacy was the

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, between the dates April 21 and April 27, 1777.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 12, 1777.—TR.

Maid of Honour to the Duchess Luise, Adelaide von Waldner-Freundstein, whose pleasant sociable nature, though wanting in depth, attracted him, and made him a frequent visitor to Belvedere; but later on she seemed to him to grow constantly more coquettish. Then he had a high estimate of Charlotte von Stein's sister-in-law, Fräulein von Stein, Maid of Honour to the Duchess Amalia. She was deep and serious, but very reserved.

These and the other ladies of the Court were far outshone in beauty, dignity, and artistic feeling by Corona Schröter. He became aware of a passion for her stealing upon him—a passion strong enough to disquiet and excite, yet he overcame it; and the more easily since she was anything but disposed to meet any advances from him, and since the Duke himself fell passionately in love with her—for if Goethe was to move the Duke to self-control, he must begin by mastering himself! So, too, he felt a barrier between himself and Caroline von Ilten—though she liked him, and showed it—because he had had to oppose her union with Prince Constantin.

In March 1777 he is delighted at being commissioned to look after the official residence of Charlotte von Stein's husband. A few months later Charlotte and Goethe were brought nearer by mutual sympathy in each other's sorrows. His sister Cornelia died June 8; he knew it June 16.¹ In Charlotte he found comfort; and he soon after was able to assuage her deep grief at the death of one of her friends. In the following year (1778) the family relation between the Steins and Goethe grows. He dines every Sunday at Charlotte's table, and during the week he occasionally has dishes brought across from her house in a vessel, on which he had got Kraus to put the motto "All from Love;" occasionally, too, he sends some eatable to her. He takes the most loving interest in her children, especially in her favourite the four-year-old Fritz. She shows herself more freely out of doors in his company, even goes walking with him in the evenings; yet he troubles his happiness by jealousy at times, though we have come just to the point at which Corona had grown more important to himself. Charlotte's elder brother brought

¹ In his *Diary* the day is marked "dark, distracted day" ("dunkler zerrissener Tag"), and the three days that follow "sorrowing and dreaming" ("Leiden und Träumen").—TR.

her in the spring of 1778 a very dear sister-in-law, the extremely charming, fine-feeling, highly-cultivated Sophie von Bernstorff, then in her twenty-fourth year. She had lived a considerable time with her aunt, the widow of the famous Danish statesman, Bernstorff. To this aunt Charlotte wrote that it was high time that she (Charlotte) had been met by an angel; her heart had been just closing. Bearing companionship to her new sister was a large claim on her time; Goethe found himself unpleasantly shut off by it, especially since he might not visit Kochberg. Charlotte's stay there this autumn (1778) was unusually long.¹ When she returned he was estranged from all society and very melancholy.² "She appears more and more loveable though more reserved, as do others too"—he confides to his *Diary* on the 9th of December. On the day following he writes to her:—"Love me still even through the ice crust, perchance it is with me as with frozen wine."

From this time forward their relation is deep and untroubled. At the very beginning of the year 1779 he plans how he will honour her Name Day, the 5th of July, with a table of his own invention, the separate parts of which he will look out and put together himself. There is a breach with Corona Schröter,³ yet, after a considerable time, when she extends a hand of amity, he takes it with unfeigned gladness, feeling that he has not been blameless. And their relation of friendly good-will was henceforth firm and decided. Before he goes to Jena, at the end of February, to look after the levies, Charlotte gives him a waistcoat. He writes from Dornburg on Tuesday the 2d of March 1779:—"Something more you should have been able to give me, one talisman more, for I have, indeed, things of all sorts and yet not enough." She

¹ She left Weimar September 8; Goethe rode to Kochberg on October 11, and rode back October 12 (*Diary*); Frau von Stein visited Weimar October 14; in a letter, dated November 21, Goethe is glad to hear that she will soon return; on December 5 was with her in Weimar (*Diary*).—TR.

² "Was frozen against all men" (*War zugefroren gegen alle Menschen*) is his entry beginning the *Diary* for December 1778. "Knebel's hypochondria," noted at the end of November, was doubtless one cause of this. Another cause was overwork.—TR.

³ It will be remembered that in January 1779 Goethe had a "radical explanation" with the Duke—about Corona Schröter. See p. 279.—TR.

was his Muse as he brooded his *Iphigenie*; the calming influence of her presence during the two years past was on him as he wrote. The triumph of *Corona* acting with Goethe in this glorious play, was a source of the most genuine pleasure to Charlotte. She urged him earnestly to go on with *Egmont*; and *Wilhelm Meister*, too, interested her extremely.

As, in spite of all efforts, the table was not ready for her Name Day, he gave her instead an engraving of a Saint Cecilia. Before going to Kochberg on the 11th of August she again gave him a waistcoat, to his great delight. He visits her in Kochberg eleven days later; it is the first time, he thinks, that he has felt happy there; and he cannot even now feel quite on friendly terms with the place and its neighbourhood, for remembrance of the pain three years before, when she forbade his coming thither. To his regret a quite unexpected necessity summoned him to Weimar. On his birthday he had another gift from her.

Six days later, September 3, 1779, he tells her that he is very soon going with the Duke on "a journey he had wished and hoped for;" as to whither he had to be as secret as two years before when about to go to the Harz; even the Duchess did not know. When, on the 6th of September, he received his appointment as *Geheimerath* "the eddy of earthly affairs took hold upon him, also all kinds of thronging personal emotions (*anstossende persönliche Gefühle*)," emotions which, however, it becomes not to record.¹ No doubt the thought may have come to him that, notwithstanding all the good things Weimar had brought, he was still without a wife and a home, but he probably reflected, too, how far from attainable such happiness was as he stood at present;² and he gave thanks to Fortune who had given him such a woman as friend and confidant. When on the same day he notes a politic defect in himself, one hard to eradicate, we must think that he means the fundamental seriousness and truthfulness of

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, September 6, 1779.—TR.

² It may be noted that some have thought—both of those who knew Goethe living, and of those who have since been familiar with the story of his life—that such happiness was by no means unattainable—that *Corona Schröter*, beautiful, pure, intellectual, would have been a true and loving wife—that Charlotte von Stein did Goethe and *Corona* grievous wrong.—TR.

his character. Immediately before departure he said yet once more farewell to Charlotte, and thanked her for the new "talisman" just sent him. "We are going to Frankfurt," he writes; "I know that you will rejoice in the joy of my old parents." He left behind with her the keys of his house and garden.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND SWISS JOURNEY—THREE YEARS OF MULTIPLYING CARES.

SEPTEMBER 1779—JUNE 1782.

ON the morning of September 12, 1779, Goethe and Karl August left Weimar. They were accompanied only by the kindly and helpful Chief Ranger (*Oberforstmeister*) von Wedel and by a few servants, one of whom was Goethe's trusty Seidel. In Cassel they looked up the great traveller Georg Forster, who was a teacher of Natural History there. Wedel, who introduced himself as *Kammerherr* von Wedel, and Goethe, who remained unnamed, called on Forster, and invited him to meet the Duke, whom they called *Oberforstmeister* von Wedel. Not until Forster questioned him did Goethe tell who he was. Goethe was serious, talked little, asked Forster about the South Sea islanders—as did the Duke too—was pleased with their simplicity, for the most part merely listened to the others' talk. Forster led the conversation on Jacobi, whom he had lately begun to know, and on *Woldemar*, mention of which must have been painful to Goethe. The Duke, as he asked many questions, but nothing foolish, pleased Forster. All the *Landgraf's* Collections, and the Weissenstein (now Wilhelmshöhe) were visited. Goethe refreshed his spirit in the picture gallery.

One of the happiest moments of his life was that in which he led the Duke into his father's house in his native city. A meteor signalled the entrance of our travellers into Frankfurt. What a number of visitors had been there since Wolfgang had left it—Lenz, *Maler Müller*, the *Kraftapostel* Kaufmann, Wieland, and the Duchess Amalia, with the witty Fräulein von Göchhausen, and others. The maternal heart of the

Frau Rath beat high when she saw her "*Hätschelhans*" so well, and in such joyous excitement lead his Duke to her; it was the fairest fulfilment of her most daring hopes; to use the words of his letter of announcement, he had brought her such a good day as none before. On the other hand, his father could not receive him with full heart. That Wolfgang far away was leading a brilliant but difficult life at the Weimar Court—that all his paternal schemes of a distinguished life together in the handsome Frankfurt house were gone to the winds, was a bitterness in his cup. "God has not willed," wrote Wolfgang with resignation to his mother when announcing his coming, "God has not willed that my father should be able to enjoy the fruits so earnestly desired, now that they are ripe; He has taken away appetite, and so be it." Nor was his father pleased that Wolfgang's larger literary activity had now been so long suspended, though so much hostility had been aroused by it in old days. He called Wolfgang "a second Colomesius," referring to that Colomiès who earned the title: "*l'auteur des petits livres*."² He was silent and dull, his memory was failing, while Frau Aja "was in her old power and lovingness still."³ All the old friends and acquaintances streamed into the house with the three lyres—the *casa santa* as Wieland called it—and rejoiced in their fellow-townsmen; Merck, too, came from Darmstadt. The only thing to trouble Goethe's pleasure was a letter from Jacobi, complaining of Goethe's treason to their friendship; distorting rumour had brought to Jacobi's ears the story of the ridicule of *Woldemar*. In Frankfurt as in Cassel, the Duke was *Oberforstmeister* von Wedel, but his incognito was very transparent. They pursued their journey, hoping soon to return.

From Frankfurt Merck accompanied the travellers as far as Eberstadt on his gray horse. When they were opposite Speier waiting the ferry, Goethe wrote to Charlotte (September 24), confiding that they were going to Switzerland to move about among the earth's great forms, and to bathe their spirits

¹ Goethe to his mother, August 1779.—TR.

² Herr Düntzer kindly explains further in a letter: "Wolfgang's father desired to see works actually *published*; and, moreover, thought that his son ought to be a great writer on jurisprudence and fill shelves with stately calf-bound volumes."—TR.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, September 20, 1779.—TR.

in the majesty of nature. It is a great joy the repeating of his life on this journey, the seeing all his old acquaintances again. In Speier they visited the cathedral and the picture gallery of the Canon Beroldingen.

At Selz Goethe left the Duke and rode to Sessenheim (evening of September 25), where he met a "thoroughly good and friendly" reception. Friederike, whom he had left "at a moment when it almost cost her her life,"—thus he writes to Charlotte—passed lightly over that to speak of the delicacy which still clung to her from an illness of that time. She behaved exquisitely, with such cordial friendliness from the instant at which he unexpectedly met her on the threshold; nor did she make the least endeavour to waken the old feeling in him, though she led him into every arbour. They talked a great deal about Lenz, who had been taken back to Riga three months before, having lost his wits; Karl August had been paying for the unfortunate fellow's keep.¹ Friederike said that Lenz had pretended to be in love with her, and had sought to make her think ill of Goethe.² He had visited her again after his banishment from Weimar. Goethe found that she had all the songs he gave her safe, indeed everything from him she treasured still. Her parents were friendly; he was thought to have grown younger. They spent the evening beneath the great full moon, recalling sweet memories of eight years ago. Next morning he left with a good-bye from friendly voices, glad at heart that he could think again with tranquillity of the place of his purest youthful love, being reconciled with her whom he had wounded so.

Friederike, "who had in days gone by loved him more beautifully than was his desert, and better than others on whom he had wasted much passion and truth"³—Friederike Brion and Goethe never saw one another again. She lived on in faithful remembrance of the lover of her youth, after whom there could be no other for her. When her father died (1787) she, with her sister Sophie, opened a small shop at Rothau in the Steinthal, where her brother was pastor, and took pleasure

¹ At Schlosser's house.—Tr.

² See Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten*.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein; Emmendingen, Tuesday, 28th September 1779 (the letter from which the account of this meeting with Friederike is mainly derived).—Tr.

in preparing young girls for domestic service. Gervinus has it that she spent several years (this can have been only between 1788 and 1792) in the house of a sister of Weyland, who had married the Alsatian Rosenstiel. Rosenstiel was *Jurisconsulte du Roi* at Versailles; in 1789 he followed the King to Paris, where he lived in complete privacy. That Friederike lived with the Rosenstiels is gravely doubted by the Weyland family. It is certain that when, in 1801, her brother was transferred from Rothau, Friederike went to her brother-in-law Pastor Marx, of Diersburg in Baden, and when, in 1805, Marx was transferred to Meissenheim, near Lahr, she accompanied him thither. Here she lived, universally beloved for her kindness, cordiality, and beneficence, known as "Tante" in the neighbourhood. A lady, the kindness of whose mother, dead, Friederike, while in Diersburg, sought for a time to supply, tells how, when a child, she could for a long time only imagine an angel as Tante Brion in a white garment. Friederike died on the 3d of April 1813. The First and Second Parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* had appeared, the Eleventh Book, which contains the chief part of the account of her and Sessenheim, was written before her death. A *Life of Goethe* must tell with deep reverence the story of his purest, truest, young love. This maid of twenty had strength to renounce the splendid youth, in her belief that she must not fetter him, yet holding him fast locked in her heart for ever—one of the most glorious of Love's patient ones. On the 19th of August 1866, a well-devised memorial was erected in Meissenheim churchyard to her who had fallen asleep so long before, and thus a debt of honour redeemed for the German People. No portrait of Friederike has been preserved, and Hornberger, in the figure on the monument, was guided only by his imagination. As we are without her picture, let a facsimile of some lines written by her hand give us a feeling of personal drawing near to the Beatrice of Goethe's life.

On Sunday, the 26th of September, Goethe rejoined the Duke; by noon they were in Strassburg. "I went to Lili," he writes to Charlotte, "and found the lovely '*Grasaffé*' playing with a baby of seven weeks, and her mother by her. Here, too, I was received with surprise and joy. Inquired after everything and looked into all corners. So I found to my delight that the good thing is right happy in her marriage.

Wachseln in Zerkling, v. Jena
L'empire, o Kinder, ich sag
Sich hängt in in Leben und Leben
Ein göttliche Sing und Leben.

Kaufman 20 April
1785

Am nützigen Ansehen,
Sich was zu will,

Sich mit Leben
Sich an den
Hochschule
Sich Leben

FACSIMILE 5. Written by Friederike Brion in the album of Jonas Böckel, a fellow-student of her brother.
From J. Leyser's *Goethe zu Strassburg*.

Her husband, from all that I hear, seems worthy, sensible, and industrious; he is well off; a handsome house; a respectable family; good burgher rank, etc. All that she desired, etc. He was absent. I stayed for dinner. Went afterwards with the Duke to the Cathedral; in the evening listened for an hour to Paesiello's beautiful music in *L'Infante di Zamora*. Then supped with Lili and went away in lovely moonlight."

What a different figure from Friederike is Lili—well off, happy in her married life, having found everything that she needed! Yet already disappointments had been frequent to discipline her. The loss of Goethe had cost her a struggle, lightened, indeed, by her family's misrepresentations of his character. In June 1776 she had been betrothed to a merchant of Strassburg, named Bernard, a relative of her Offenbach uncle. The shattering of Bernard's fortunes determined him to emigrate to Jamaica. When Lili was told of it the shock brought on a severe illness. She had now been married since the 25th of August 1778, to the Strassburg banker Bernhard Friedrich von Türckheim. Her nature had been deepened by misfortune and by memories of Goethe, whose influence upon her heart and mind had been very powerful. She became one of the noblest women, the best of wives and mothers. After the proclamation of the French Republic heavy blows fell on her, beneath which she showed heroic courage and endurance. In the days of her sorrow she sent a greeting to her old friend Goethe from Erlangen; later still she recommended to him a protégé of hers for whom, to his deep regret, he was unable to do anything.

Before entering Switzerland there was one other very dear and very sad spot to visit. On September 27 the travellers rode from Strassburg to Emmendingen. "Here now I am by my sister's grave; her household is like a tablet on which a beloved form used to be that now is wiped away. . . . Her children are handsome, bright, and well." Schlosser had married Johanna Fahlmer. When, in November 1777, Goethe received a letter from her announcing their betrothal, he had replied:—"That you can be my sister makes my insupportable loss new again." And now it must have moved him strangely that she could thus have stepped into the place of the beloved dead. She spoke to him about the *Woldemar* affair; he represented his ridicule as merely playful fun,

which would not have annoyed Jacobi had he been himself present. A peculiar dislike to the discussion of such a matter by letter prevented Goethe from attempting directly to pacify his old friend. His brother-in-law Schlosser he found very good; Schlosser rejoiced in his Goethe, and in the Duke for the sake of both, because he deserved to be a Duke and to possess Goethe. Two Fräuleins Gerock were at Emmendingen on a visit. Schlosser, his wife, and these ladies, accompanied our travellers as far as the *Höllenthal*.

At Mechel's house in Basel they saw excellent paintings. Their way then lay through the glorious *Münsterthal* to Biel; they visited St. Peter's Island, made famous by Rousseau's sojourn; it was the season of vintage—a great source of pleasure to our travellers, as in Baden the unusually bountiful fruit harvest had been. They reached Murten (Morat) after a difficult ride through a moss; Goethe brought away from the charnel-house part of the skull of one of the Burgundians who had fallen in the battle of 1476.

Then followed an excursion through the Bernese Oberland in the loveliest weather. Karl August displayed his tendency to attempt, without aim or necessity, dangerous and laborious feats. This determined Goethe to go neither as high nor as deep as he would otherwise.¹ There were other passions of the hot-blooded young Duke which gave his companion anxiety. On the other hand he had a good kind of observation, sympathy, and curiosity.² In Berne³ all collections and important people were visited. To

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein; Thun, 14th October 1779; Abends 7.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, 14th October 1779.—TR.

³ I here give an abstract of a portion of the journey:—They arrived in Berne from Murten *first* on the 1th of October. Then followed an expedition to the Bernese Oberland by Thun, Unterseen, Lauterbrunnen, the Oberhasli Pass, Brienz, Thun again. Back to Berne on October 15, when there were visits to collections, short excursions, etc. They left Berne finally on October 18. Then by Murten, Payerne, Moudon to Lausanne. Arrival in Lausanne October 22. After an excursion to Vevay, set off by Rolle for Geneva. A side-spring to *La Vallée des Joux*, and they arrived in Geneva on the 27th of October. They left on the 3d of November—Wedel went with the horses through the Vaud into the Valais—Goethe and the Duke followed the Arve past Bonneville, Cluses, Sallanches, to Chamouni Valley; then over the Col de Balme to Martigny; then to St. Maurice *down* the Rhone to meet Wedel with the horses at Bex; then up the Rhone valley; through the Furka Pass—and Goethe was at the Gott-

the great naturalist Wyttenbach Goethe paid a three hours' visit. In Lausanne the bewitching Marchesa Branconi laid her spells on him; Lavater, who knew the strange fortunes of this Venetian lady, secretly wedded to the Duke of Brunswick and ennobled by him, honoured her as one of the noblest and purest of women.



FIG. 26. The Marchesa Branconi.

Engraved by A. Weger of Leipzig : from an oil-painting.

It was the Duke's earnest wish to travel from Geneva, through the Savoy ranges, into the Valais. There were many voices to dissuade, but the great naturalist, De Saussure, declared the enterprise as safe as at an earlier season. So they passed beneath Mount Blanc and over the glaciers into the Valais, and having traversed all its length they came

hard for the second time ! From the Gotthard down the Reuss to Luzern Lake ; then a sail by Schwytz to Luzern ; whence they rode to Zürich and Lavater. See Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein, and the *Briefe aus der Schweiz*.—TR.

through the Furka Pass at its head to the Gotthard. This time, too, Goethe repressed the longing for Italy; he saw that the Duke would not derive good from the journey thither, and it would not be prudent to remain so long away from home.¹ Charlotte had been enjoying the admirable descriptions, the loving confessions of his letters of travel, but he had heard from her only seldom in comparison. At Zürich he received his first Weimar letter from her—the others she had written from Kochberg. She had been delighted with the writing-table, his gift, which she had found awaiting her in her Weimar home. Her fear that it was too costly was waived by Goethe's² simply pointing to the true mode of estimating its value; from the beginning of the year it had been the object of his loving anxiety; this, if friendship can be *reckoned*, seems to him the only way which God and men approve.

In Zürich³ they stopped at the finely situated inn, *Zum Limmat*, and had a very good time in the society of Lavater, around whose brown table they often assembled. They saw all the "cabinets, drawings, men, and animals"⁴ of Zürich. Intercourse with Lavater was, as Goethe had hoped, "the seal and highest point of the whole journey, and a feast at Heaven's table."⁵ "It is to all of us a Cure to be with a man who lives and strives in the household service of Love; who finds joy in activity, and with incredible painstaking supports, nurtures, guides, and gladdens his friends."⁶ Goethe hoped

¹ Goethe writes to Frau von Stein on Saturday, the 13th of November, from the Capuchins' Hospice on the Gotthard:—"At the turning-point of our journey. Until Geneva was reached we were moving farther and farther from you; since we left Geneva we have in our diagonal course remained at somewhat the same distance; and from the morrow every step will bring us nearer home. For the second time I am in this room on this summit; what my thoughts are I say not. This time, as before, I overcome the charm of Italy. That a journey thither would not now benefit the Duke, that it were not good to stay away from Weimar so long, that I shall see you soon again—all make me turn my face a second time away from the Promised Land, which I yet hope to see before I die."—TR.

² Writing from Zürich, Tuesday, 30th November 1779.

³ They arrived in Zürich about November 20; they did not leave until December 2.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Herr von Stein, 30th November 1779.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, in a continuation, written at Zürich, of the letter already quoted, which had been begun on the Gotthard.—TR.

⁶ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein: Zürich, November 30, 1779.—TR.

much benefit from this society for the Duke, who could not be content at home and in his family—always impelled towards something high and special. And the love for old engravings and woodcuts which Goethe had fostered in him found rich sustenance here.

Kayser was still in Zürich. Two years ago Goethe had taken some trouble to find a publisher for the *Gesänge mit Begleitung des Klaviers*; but Kayser had fallen out with himself, his music not having produced the great effect which he had hoped: he lacked the right inward moral self-support (*Halt*). Goethe tried to inspirit his old friend to fresh effort, and already meditated writing a *Singspiel* for him, a dramatic Swiss idyll, the music of which would make Kayser a name in Weimar, where it should as soon as possible be acted, and a name in Switzerland too. From Zürich our travellers went to Schaffhausen. Lavater could not deny himself the pleasure of seeing once more those who had grown so dear, and surprised them by his arrival on the 6th of December. On that day they viewed the Rhine Falls together, and there was an earnest talk about the Sublime. "It is with Lavater as with the Falls," writes Goethe to Charlotte on the 7th; "him too when you see anew you think you have never so seen before: he is the flower of humankind—the best of the best."¹

After all, the Duke could not deny himself the pleasure of visiting Courts on his return through Germany. They stayed a week in Stuttgart. Though the incognito was strictly observed, Schiller's Duke showed every attention to Karl August, and was very polite to his retinue. They were present at the annual distribution of prizes of the Military Academy (December 13). There Goethe and Karl August saw how one pupil—a red-haired youth of twenty—carried off three prizes in medicine, and did not take that for German language and literature only because the drawing of lots was against him. It was Schiller—who thus for the first time saw the poet of *Werther* and *Clavigo* in the company of his Duke.

Goethe was at the time engaged on his Swiss idyll, *Jery und Bätely*; the restored Weimar theatre should not come short because he went travelling; on the contrary, he hoped that this *Singspiel* with its reminders of their Swiss journey—the poetic fruit, as it were, of that journey—would

¹ They left Schaffhausen on the 8th of December.—TR.

have a remarkable effect. He also meditated the plan of erecting in the Park at Weimar a monument to the journey which, as he writes to Lavater, a good spirit had guided, which the fairest fortune had crowned; and as he desired to have something thoroughly worthy of this first ramble alone with the Duke in the free world, he begged Lavater to get a design from the painter H. Füssli, whose last things Goethe had seen at Lavater's house in December.

Much less important than the ever-memorable and instructive stay in Stuttgart, were the days spent at the Court in Karlsruhe, where they were indeed treated politely, but the Duke met with no friendly warmth, and there was an intellectual poverty which makes Goethe write:—"God in heaven, what a paradise is Weimar!" Then they passed on to Frankfurt, whence, on the 29th of December, Goethe sends *Jery und Bätely* to Kayser, who is to compose to it rapidly, for presentation at Weimar. Then they dragged through a dull round of courts—Darmstadt, Homburg, Hanau, and Zwingenberg; five years later, Goethe could not think of this time without aching twinges in his limbs:¹ they were frozen; they were bored; they got wretched food and worse drink.² The Duke indeed was better off among his relations; but Goethe knew no content until he got back once more to the fleshpots of his mother. They rested a few days in Frankfurt, and strengthened themselves with good wine. Frau Aja again beamed with cheerfulness and joy, nor did her hospitable husband allow his depression to be seen.

On the 14th³ of January 1780, after an absence of four months, our travellers entered Weimar, and appeared the same evening at the *Redoute*. The journey had cost—includ-

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, December 8, 1784.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Homburg, January 3, 1780.—TR.

³ The generally received date of their arrival is January 13. This is founded on the dating of Goethe's letter to Kraft on that day: "Weimar, 13 Januar 1780." But it is well known how easily a slip about the day of the month is made in dating letters. Therefore, Herr Düntzer thinks, when Wieland mentions *Friday* as the day of the travellers' arrival, we have stronger testimony to the 14th than that above mentioned is to the 13th. The travellers would be glad to surprise all the Court at the *Redoute* on Friday evening. There is a doubt, Herr Düntzer also thinks, about the reading of the date of the letter to Kraft, perhaps "15th" would be correct.—TR.

ing the price of the objects of art purchased—more than 8900 thalers. People had been enraged by the appointment of Goethe as *Geheimerath*, and still more by the secret journey to which the minion had allured the Duke; the longer the journey lasted, the less the information of it that leaked out, so much the more was it feared that the Duke had been perhaps entrapped into going to Italy. And thus the administration, they said, is being neglected! Others must do the work of the over-paid stranger! Enormous sums are being spent! So the blaze of wrath rose high, and was only appeased when word came that the Duke was visiting among the little Courts. Of course, when on his return the Duke was seen to have grown more contented, more tranquil, more exact, and the precise truth about his Swiss travels was known; when the new *Geheimerath*—who after all was there, and could not be got rid of—was found more free, open, and cheery, people began to reconcile themselves with the journey, at last even began to praise it as a masterstroke, now that it had come to a successful close!¹

The first days after return were so engrossed by visits and by various matters of business that Goethe chafed a little. One of his chief personal affairs was to get made Freemason; for that he did not belong to the Society had often on his journey hindered close acquaintance with important men. Accordingly, only three days after his return, he applied to Bode, who had now been a year in Weimar as man of business of the Countess von B~~er~~storff, and had zealously devoted himself to the spread of the Order of Freemasons, an order which he esteemed very high as a means of furthering true culture and humanity. Goethe was convinced that this was an honest man.² Yet four weeks passed before he wrote to the Master of the Lodge—no other than his colleague, Fritsch—petitioning for admittance; he did not conceal that he would not have written but for desire to join the Society.³ The reception did not take place until the 23d of June, the date of the Midsummer Lodge of 1780.

Great exertion was now necessary in order to cope with the arrears of business which had accumulated during the

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, January 17, 1780.—TR

² Goethe's *Tagebuch*, January 17, 1780.—TR.

³ Goethe to Fritsch, February 13, 1780.—TR.

journey. The finances had fallen into great disorder through Kalb's carelessness and incapacity. Goethe was sternly resolved to bring more order, clearness, and sequence into every department. But in the midst of his labours he found himself extremely wretched and feverish with influenza (close of January). Then he could not entirely renounce literary and scientific work. It was indeed a hard task to satisfy all demands, though he had long disciplined himself to pursue Art and Science as a recreation from business, and knew how to make social intercourse yield its intellectual tribute. In the period immediately following his return, he works up the letters written to Charlotte von Stein from Switzerland into a methodical account of travels;¹ he pushes on with *Wilhelm Meister*; and busies himself with a life of Bernhard the Great of Weimar, which was to present a living picture of a great ancestor of Karl August, to indicate the noble original germ of the Weimar dynasty.

Of his own special departments the most pressing at this time were the War Commission, the construction of highways, and the management of Crown Lands. In the last-named of these he had in Batty an admirable force at his disposal. All that Batty did was sure to give Goethe the most welcome instruction, was just as sure to be the best thing for bringing about the desired results. And as to the Roads he could depend on Castrop in the main. Still, it was his desire to see everything with his own eyes, to learn by personal contact with things. In the War Department, *Kriegsrath* Volgstedt was a hindrance so great that Goethe did not rest until he was shaken off.

That indisposition prevented him from taking part in the *Redoutes* of the early-closing Shrovetide of this year (1780), or in the Duchess's birthday fête. Not until the 11th of February could he resume steady work. Two days later he went with the Duke to the Gotha Court for the first time; he was well-pleased with his visit. After his return he is busy about the transformation of the theatre—busy already with the still far-off opening of it. A new piece had to be chosen for this opening. Goethe himself had none ready; for Kayser was very slow in his composition for *Jery und Bätely*. So he had to agree that Seckendorff's poor tragedy *Kallisto* (properly

¹ See in Goethe's Works *Briefe aus der Schweiz, Zweite Abtheilung*.—Tr.

Kalliste), founded on an adaptation of one of Rowe's plays, should be chosen for this honour.¹

On the 11th of March he goes with Batty into the district Grossrudestedt, where everything that his right-hand man had done seemed good: the way in which the people had been dealt with good beyond improvement. On March 19, the new piece was read at Seckendorff's house, and the parts allotted; next day took place the illumination of the theatre with the candelabrum of Oeser's designing. On March 28, Goethe speaks with the architect of mistakes in the construction of the theatre, and of the way to remedy them.

For all his self-mastery and endurance in business, he feels at times oppressed. The alternation of good and bad days struck him—an established round, he believed; so too Passions, Fidelity (*Anhänglichkeit*), the impulse to do This or That, Invention, Performance (*Ausführung*), Order, as well as Cheerfulness, Gloom, Strength, Elasticity, Weakness, Self-Possession (*Gelassenheit*), Inordinate Desire (*Begier*), all followed in regular circuit, and he desires to discover in what time and sequence he thus circles around himself.²

At the end of March 1780 he is pleased to find that he seems successful in his endeavours to shake off many odious conditioning circumstances which had clung around his advance.³ The matters in hand then were the behaviour of Volgstedt—whose dismissal was accomplished at the close of the year, and Kalb's administration of finance. On March 31 a letter from Kalb had caused Goethe "momentary agitation." On the 2d of April he is visited by Kalb; how sadly the minister has fallen stands out plain after an interview of

¹ Herr Düntzer has shown (*Archiv für die Literaturgeschichte*, vi. 551) that Seckendorff in *Kallisto* worked on a German translation (1770) of Rowe's play, *The Fair Penitent*.—TR.

² Goethe's *Tagebuch*, March 26, 1780:—"Ich muss den Cirkel der sich in mir umdreht von guten und bösen Tagen näher bemerken, Leidenschaften, Anhänglichkeit, Trieb dies oder jenes zu thun. Erfindung, Ausführung, Ordnung alles wechselt, und hält einen regelmässigen Kreis. Heiterkeit, Trübe, Stärke, Elasticität, Schwäche, Gelassenheit, Begier eben so.—Da ich sehr diät lebe, wird der Gang nicht gestört und ich muss noch heraus kriegen in welcher Zeit und Ordnung ich mich um mich selbst bewege." The punctuation is Goethe's own.—TR.

³ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, March 31, 1780. Immediately after he writes:—"Nemo coronatur nisi qui certaverit ante. Sauer lass ich mir's denn doch werden."—TR.

two hours. Goethe writes in the *Diary* of that day:—"It dizzies me, the height of fortune I stand on compared with such a man. Many a time I would fain, like Polycrates, fling my dearest jewel into the sea. All that I undertake succeeds. But now to undertake also be not slack!" Soon after this the levies engaged him for four days. In the latter half of April he again feels somewhat agitated—"suffer in Prometheus wise" ("*little Prometheus*"), he writes in the *Diary*,—yet he can say that his glance is growing surer, his skill in everyday living is increasing; only it is with him as with a bird entangled in a thread—he feels that he has wings, and cannot use them. For recreation he has recourse sometimes to history, sometimes to trifling with a new novel or drama.¹ A laurel wreath sent to Wieland was the indication of his warm unenvious delight in *Oberon*. Walking to Tiefurt, March 30, 1780, the conception of *Tasso* had occurred to him: the relation of the poet to the Princess attracted him; it would be a mode of expressing in poetry his own earlier passionate love for Charlotte von Stein. His drawing began to be more successful; he continued to approach precision, and to gain a more vivid feeling of the Image. "I don't draw much, but continually a little, and lately once from the nude," he writes on the 29th of March to Merck. "I seek to exercise sometimes in the rapid delineation of form, sometimes in correctness; again, I seek to habituate myself to the more various expression of attitude, partly from nature, partly from drawings, engravings, from imagination too; and thus always more and more to work forth from vagueness and twilight." Side by side he zealously pushed on the enlargement and arrangement of his own and of the Duke's collection of paintings, engravings, and drawings, a task in which Merck gave willing help as agent. The Duke desired to have only the best in his collection. Goethe in the letter already quoted tells Merck:—"For Dürer himself, and for the collection [of Dürers] in the Duke's possession, I gain more respect every day. So soon as I find time I will set down a thought or two about the most noteworthy sheets (*Blätter*); not so much about invention and composition as about the expression and the pure gold of perfect execution."

His concernment with the mining had led him continually

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, during the latter half of April.—TR.

deeper into Mineralogy and Geology. The surveyor, Johann Gottfried Schreiber, had been brought to Ilmenau, and had made a map of the neighbourhood and of the mine. But negotiations with the Saxon Court about taking up the mining remained for the time without result. The young Voigt was a great aid to Goethe in the study of mineralogy. Buffon's *Époques de la nature*, not to him as to Forster "a hypothesis or a romance," occupied much of his attention.

The Duke improved daily, and Goethe held this ample reason for content. Only it is a necessary evil that a prince can never see things from below upwards, and often though he sees what is wrong knows not how to remedy it.¹ Karl August had grown very much more mature in his judgment of men and things. Not seldom they had delightful mutual explanations. Thus we read in the *Diary* of April 3, 1780:—"Got on our old ethical chargers, and had a right good tourney on them. One clears oneself and others infinitely by such conversations." His only trouble at this time was the ill-health of Charlotte von Stein. In her pure faith he found rest, to her he came for relief every evening when the day's burden was put off. His own health was not indeed perfect; the bad climate came against him often.

Then came a journey with the Duke to Leipzig on the 22d of April, and some days following, better than medicine. On this journey Goethe had the real pleasure of meeting the Prince of Dessau. The particular object of the Duke and Goethe was the collecting of engravings and woodcuts. Goethe writes with delight in the *Diary* that he is "gaining much territory in the earth." At the beginning of May 1780 he rode with Castrop to Erfurt, and thence on to Dietendorf to examine "bad roads, on which much has been expended, and which yet are not better nor to be made better."² Goethe and the Statthalter Dalberg talked on many matters—political, philosophical, and literary. Dalberg's narrations from a varied political life lifted Goethe's spirit "out of the simple web which I spin around myself, and which, although it has many threads, yet tends too much to fix me at length to one central point."³

As—if not in name, yet in fact—Goethe was House

¹ Goethe's *Tagebuch*, end of April 1780.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein: Erfurt, May 5, 1780.—TR.

³ See the letter just quoted.—TR.

Minister at Weimar, it fell to him to adjust the disagreement which broke out after his return between Prince Constantin and Knebel. Knebel was extremely angry because his pupil had informed the Duke of a desire to travel to Italy, France, and England, begging that his tutor's companionship on the journey should be dispensed with. Goethe found it hard to appease his easily-angered friend, and to persuade him to take a journey to Switzerland, for which money would be advanced. It was also arranged (May 1780) that the prince's establishment should be diminished; that he should come to live in the town in winter: the *Jägerhaus* had to be fitted up for him.

The theatre had meanwhile been finished, and after many tiresome rehearsals was opened on the 26th of May with the miserable *Kallisto*. Goethe acted with Corona Schröter. If Seckendorff and Corona had been discontented with his acting in rehearsal, because—as he writes on March 30 to Charlotte von Stein—he only “half opened the Æolus bag of the Passions,” they must now have been appeased. He played “a poor part with great diligence and with considerable success,” and, on the whole, produced the impression he had desired. “The theatre is one of the few things left in which I still have both a child's and an artist's delight.” Kayser's composition to *Jery und Bätely* was unfortunately not forthcoming, and that which Seckendorff produced was a failure. Goethe could see this May go out with the feeling that he now had order in all his affairs, only he desires that full experience and ready skill may be added unto him also.¹

On the 5th of June 1780 he went on a visit to Gotha Court, where he now felt among friends. Before his return Charlotte von Stein went to join her sister at Mörlach, near Nürnberg. A short time before this she had given him a ring, but had not allowed him his desire that her initials (C. v. S.) should be graved thereon; this token of her fullest confidence awaited him on his return. Her absence left a void, as he writes in the *Diary*; so had “*a love and confidence unlimited become his daily fare.*”² There was, of course, no

¹ See most of the foregoing in Goethe's *Tagebuch*, two long entries at the end of May 1780.—TR.

² “*Eine Liebe und Vertrauen ohne Gränzen ist mir zur Gewohnheit geworden.*” Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Friday, June 30, 1780: (the sentence thus in italics.)—TR.

lack of activity and diversion ; but the thread that connected all things was missed. Beside the usual Council business there were the new paths to be laid out in the Park ; there was the War Department, the trial of a fire-engine, and many other things to claim his attention. Voigt's mineralogical description of Weimar, Eisenach, and Jena was of great interest and satisfaction to Goethe, who had sent Voigt through the country for the purpose. For Goethe himself Voigt had collected and classified specimens of the rocks of Weimar and Jena.

Very animated was his connection with Ettersburg during this summer, where Oeser was engaged in an endeavour to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in the scene-painting. Oeser having asked for a piece to paint to, Goethe chose to carry out a plan which had long floated before him—an adaptation of the first act of *The Birds* of Aristophanes, which he dictated in a few sittings to Fräulein von Göchhausen at Ettersburg.¹ The Duchess Amalia had procured an electric battery, and there was great fun getting shocks from it. To Goethe's pleasure the Duke had begun to take an interest in Physics ; *Hofrath* Albrecht entertained him with experiments and instruction in it for three hours every Sunday. *Jery und Bätely* was at last presented on July 12 with music by Seckendorff. The welcome return of Charlotte von Stein nine days later proved no interruption to the frequency of intercourse with Ettersburg. On the 22d, Goethe and Einsiedel won applause in a rehearsal of *Scapin und Pierrot*. Six days later there was another performance of *Jery und Bätely* in the presence of Charlotte von Stein. "Wedel played *Thomas* capitally," wrote she to Knebel, "the whole hung together very well." The rehearsal of *The Birds*, which the Duke was very eager about, engaged Goethe's time and thoughts excessively. On the 18th of August the performance came off amid great applause.

The Marchesa Branconi came to Weimar just before Goethe's birthday (August 28); her marvellous loveliness moved him to wonder as before.² He spent a happy birthday

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 14 and June 26, 1780.—TR.

² He writes to her—"In Ihrer Gegenwart wünscht man sich reicher an Augen, Ohren und Geist, um nur sehen und glaubwürdig und begreiflich finden zu können, dass es dem Himmel nach so viel verunglückten Ver-

with the Steins at his Garden; the birthday of the Duke (September 3) was passed quietly at Belvedere.

On the 5th of September business compelled him to Ilmenau, whence he made a very instructive excursion through the mountains. In the Hermannstein Cave he kissed the S which he had made there in August 1776, and which was "as clear as if only cut yesterday."¹ The Duke too came to Ilmenau, and was soon overtaken by the temper of mad frolic of former days, while Goethe felt his spirit exalted, purified. He gained during their stay light on many points of geogenesis. And he began his Romance on the Universe in letters.

On the 11th, with the Duke, Batty, and Stein, he set out from the Stützerbach, with its painful memories, on a journey of inspection through the Oberland. Batty's improvements in the meadow-land of the district gave Goethe high satisfaction. With the Duke he had "vivid and luminous conversations;"² but he saw with regret that the Duke, notwithstanding his fine judgment and the best purposes, was easily carried away by passion. Goethe did not always remember that the Duke was eight whole years younger than he.

About this time he writes to Lavater:—"The labour which is laid upon me, which grows continually both lighter and heavier, exacts my presence,—waking or dreaming; this duty becomes daily dearer to me, and in its discharge I wish to act like the greatest men, I wish in nothing to act like the merely greater. This desire—to make the Pyramid of my being, the founded basis being given to me, soar as high as can be in the air—outweighs all else, and permits hardly a momentary forgetting. I may not linger, I am already far in years, and perchance destiny will come and break me off in the middle of my building, and Babel Tower will stand unfinished, blunt. At least it shall be said,—It was a bold design! and if I live my strength, God willing, shall suffice to carry it into execution. And very powerful is the talisman of a beautiful

suchen auch einmal gefallen und geglückt hat, etwas Ihresgleichen zu machen."—TR.

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, "On the Gickelhahn," September 6, 1780.—TR.

² See Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Ostheim, September 21 (No. 12); and then look back to his letter of September 9.—TR.

love, such as the Stein seasons life with for me. She has by degrees succeeded to my mother, my sister, and my former loves, and a bond has formed between us as strong as are the bonds of Nature."¹ Thus was he clear and firm in the consciousness of his striving, and perfectly sufficient to himself.

He went on with the Duke to Meiningen Court, where they had the most cordial reception. The Duke bought four excellent paintings; Goethe secured some beautiful drawings.² Returning by the Wartburg, he could not overcome his impatience, and left it on the second day of his stay, the 3d of October, for Kochberg. For the Duke arriving on the 9th of October, Goethe had prepared a reception humorous as it was simple in device. Clad as an honest countryman, he presented an address in doggerel verse: the good Sebastian Simpel begged the Duke to interest himself in the "true peasant blood," which always would be his best possession, on which he may congratulate himself rather than on his horses and studs.³ This was, so to speak, the moral of the journey just over. Before this, on the 4th, Goethe had again written on the edge of Charlotte's writing-table: he is "The Same" ("*Ebenderselbe*"). But even in Karl August's presence, he allowed himself to be carried away in a mad fit of jealousy at the friendliness of Frau von Stein towards the Duke, a friendliness which she showed to all. On the following morning, as she accompanied him up the hill to the road by which he was about to travel to Weimar, she reproached him for his behaviour so earnestly that he almost broke forth in tears. Not till three days later did he receive comforting words from her; but her return on this occasion was long delayed by illness in her family, and still she did not seem appeased. (At this time, too, she was rendered anxious by fear of monetary embarrassment; her husband's many and various schemes did not turn out well.)

Notwithstanding the quantity of business which awaited Goethe on his return to Weimar, he found time for the study of mineralogy and geology. He planned to write a little essay on the relations of position of various rocks. On the 20th of October he went to meet Merck at Mühlhausen, and

¹ Goethe to Lavater, Ostheim vor d. Rhön, September (?) 1780.—TR.

² Goethe to Merck, Weimar, October 11, 1780.—TR.

³ See it reprinted Hempel's *Goethe's Werke*, Bd. iii., s. 317-18.—TR.

spent a very good day and a couple of nights there. Now for the first time he seriously dubs Merck—even before his coming—"Mephistopheles;"¹ and writing to Frau von Stein afterwards, he says—"The old dragon always makes me bad blood; it is with me as with Psyche when she saw her sisters again."² Goethe had indeed in jest already given him this nickname in Frankfurt, because of the mocking sharpness which made Merck like the Mephistopheles of *Faust*. Merck must have been reproaching him by letter for meddling with so many different kinds of work, and for wasting his power on so many commonplace things, and these reproaches had now probably been repeated in person. Ten months later, Goethe observes in a letter to his mother that Merck has eyes only for what he (Goethe) is sacrificing, no eyes to see what he is gaining—to see how daily he grows richer, while daily giving away.³ Merck perhaps made him re-consider certain isolated points in his conduct of life, but did not at all shake his general conviction that the only right path for him was that which he pursued.

Merck brought him news that his father was very ill (it is said had grown weak-minded); yet at this time it was impossible for Goethe to leave Weimar. The Duke had sent a bust of himself to Rath Goethe in grateful acknowledgment of his hospitality; and without Wolfgang's knowledge had indemnified Frau Aja for the heavy expense at which that hospitality had been exercised.⁴

Towards the close of the month Goethe had a good deal to look after in his capacity of *Hausminister*, especially the arrangements for the new domestic establishment and the journey of Prince Constantin. Yet amid all, he found time and energy to begin *Tasso*.⁵ Not until the 4th of November could he visit Charlotte at Kochberg in company with the Duke. There was a perfect reconciliation. For the third time he wrote his name on the edge of the writing-table. Thus he was again perfectly content; Charlotte is "the one Ideal of his soul."

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, October 20, 1780.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, October 25, 1780.

³ Goethe to his Mother, August 11, 1781.—TR.

⁴ See Robert Keil's *Frau Rath*, p. 163, note.—TR.

⁵ "Began to write *Tasso*," is an entry in the Diary between the 14th and 31st October 1780.—TR.

When she at length came back after the anniversary of his arrival in Weimar—the 7th of November—his chief effort for the time was to push on with *Tasso*, the first scene of which he read aloud (November 10) to Charlotte and Knebel, “his best and only public.” Soon the first Act is finished, and, at Charlotte’s earnest desire, the second begun; but no exhortations could avail to push this Act forward, and at the end of the month he has to lay it aside.

Towards the close of the year 1780 he became right weary of his load of business. Charlotte was his one consolation. The Court on the other hand grew colder. “Yesterday evening I grew very sad—sad from the bottom of my heart,” he writes to Charlotte on the last day of 1780; he will tell her more when they meet. The cause of his pain was the drawing back of the Court, which was due, he felt, to his not being of the nobility.

In the New Year (1781) he found the amount of work in the War Department much increased by the dismissal of Volgstedt; he had become the centre from which all directions must radiate. In this year he founded a spinning and knitting school for poor soldiers’ children, laying out to admirable advantage the 100 thalers advanced by the State. The superintendence of this school he gave to Seidel, who set up besides a linen-spinning establishment on his own account. In all the other branches of his practical activity, Goethe laboured “*ohne Rast*.” Yet he found time not only for social life—for skating especially—but time to contribute to the entertainment of others.

Friend Kayser, then in Weimar, he sought to bring under public notice in the most advantageous way, hoping for Kayser that in Weimar, besides seeing and hearing a great deal of his own art, he would grow more pliant and dexterous. Kayser had shortly before published a Christmas Cantata; Goethe subscribed for twelve copies.

The bright little *Song of the Three Kings*¹ was written for Twelfth Night evening, 1781, and was sung by Corona Schröter and two professional singers, to the delight of the Duchess Amalia and her guests. For the Duchess Luise’s

¹ See *Epiphaniastag* in Goethe’s *Gedichte*. Corona Schröter sang the part of the First King:—“Ich Erster bin so weiss und auch so schön . . . werd ich sein Tag kein Mädchen mehr erfreun.”—TR.

birthday (Jan. 30), in the absence of any new play, it was resolved to repeat *Iphigenie*, and Goethe, though poorly, had to act. In the first week of the year he had written a *Gespräch über die deutsche Literatur*,¹ moved by the unjust depreciation of German literature in the essay *De la littérature allemande*, published by Friedrich of Prussia towards the close of 1780. Then for the *Redoute* of the 2d of February, the first after the birthday of the Duchess, he had to arrange a masquerade congratulating her. On the 4th of February it was planned to have another at the next *Redoute* (Feb. 16), with Charlotte von Stein and her husband, the Prince, Knebel, and other persons of rank, as actors. If, hitherto, it had always been Charlotte von Stein who hesitated to appear in public with her friend lest the tongue of slander should be loosed, on this occasion it is Goethe whom we find so anxious, that he proposes to give up to the Prince his part of "Sleep," who was to appear leading "Night"—Charlotte—by the hand. But Charlotte's faith in the steadfastness of their pure relation was too great to admit of the least uneasiness. And so Goethe appeared in the masque *Winter*, which was presented amid the greatest applause on February 16.² But Goethe opposed the Duke's desire to have a picture of the masque taken; he did not wish so dear a remembrance to be desecrated. *Winter* was repeated on March 2. That all this time he felt very unwell he would betray to nobody, that he might "not lose his credit."³

The devotion for Charlotte had now grown to a very noble emotion, pure from baseness and distrust. Before he started

¹ *Dialogue on German Literature*. Goethe sent this *Dialogue* to Merck, who praises it in a letter to Georg Forster. It was not published, because Möser anticipated what it had to say in his *Schreiben über die deutsche Sprache und Literatur*. It was lost, and has not, I believe, been yet found.—TR.

² On the 15th of February 1781, the day preceding this representation, Lessing had died at Brunswick. Goethe knew of the death on the 20th; he writes to Charlotte von Stein:—"Not a quarter of an hour before the news came I had made a plan of visiting him. We lose much, much, in him, more than we believe."—TR.

³ So, writing on February 19, 1781, he tells Lavater. He adds:—"I hold on often with my teeth when my hands fail me . . . I take upon me almost too great a burthen, and yet I cannot do otherwise. Any man who has to do with matters of State ought to devote himself to them wholly—and there is so much that I want not to let drop."—TR.

with the Duke for Neuenheiligen on March 7, to visit the Countess Werther, Charlotte gives him a night-jacket. "The repose of assured love and of firm confidence" makes him happy in absence as well as in presence.¹ She it is who has restored his openness and calm of heart, and his friendly sympathy with life. The Duke's childishness in the modes of self-indulgence—a childishness so strangely united with good judgment and understanding—vexes Goethe.² All hope of seeing him live happily with the Duchess had now proved quite vain, and Goethe was glad that the Countess Werther was the object of his passion; a noble being whose love for the Duke was of much rarer quality than the Duke's love for her.³ Their relation resembled that of Goethe and Charlotte, only the young prince was not so easily governed, and his rapture in the tender devotion of the Countess was by no means of that deep inward kind—content in itself. He had nothing but ridicule for the submission, the self-renunciation, of Goethe's love.

Goethe, in his "*Reiseandacht*" for Charlotte, falls into the intimate "*Du*" when writing on the 12th of March. With the ribbon she had sent around his arm, he speaks his desire to grow like her in goodness, wisdom, moderation, patience:—"I pray thee on my knees, complete thy work, make me right good! Thou canst do it—not only through loving me; thy power will be infinitely enlarged if thou believest that I love thee."

On his return to Weimar his business cares were pressing as ever, yet he found leisure moments to devote to science and art, and was very happy in the pure love of Charlotte von Stein. He is, however, tormented by the weather; he was the "*Desidirteste Barometer*."⁴ At the close of March 1781, the meeting of a Freemasons' Lodge being at hand, he petitioned the Master of the Chair to advance him as soon as

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Sunday, March 11, 1781. See the close of the letter.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Saturday, March 10, 1781.—TR.

³ So Goethe tells Charlotte, writing on March 12. In the letter of March 11 the character of the Countess Werther is described in a passage which must be considered one of the most delicate and sympathetic that Goethe has anywhere written. It may be compared with Dr. Newman's character of a gentleman, in the *Idea of a University*.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, 27th March 1781.

possible to the rank of Master-Mason—a promotion which he desires not only for his own sake, but for the sake of his brethren, who are often embarrassed by having to treat him as a stranger. His admission probably followed at no long interval. In the following year (1782), before the Midsummer Lodge, Goethe wrote to Kayser, a zealous Mason :—"I am a Master in the Order, that does not mean much ; a kind soul let me through anterooms and chambers *extrajudicialiter*, and I know *the Incredible*."¹

That happy harmony of soul in which he felt inspired to take up and continue *Tasso*,² was unpleasantly disturbed by an invitation from the Duke to be the companion of a journey to Dessau, Halle, and Leipzig. Already, during the Neuenheiligen visit, had Goethe declined to go to Kassel with the Duke ; now he wrote a reply, which he enclosed to Frau von Stein (April 27, 1781), writing :—"If you think well, send the letter to the Duke, speak to him, and do not spare him. I desire nothing but repose, and that he should know how he stands [with me]. And you can say I have declared to you that I will never travel with him again." Thus did matters stand ; Charlotte was the mediator between Goethe and the Duke, no doubt with wise moderating influence.

In the beginning of May 1781 we find him much agitated. On May 3 he writes to Charlotte—now regularly addressed with "*Du* :"—"I am busy and dreary. These days make another of my epochs. Everything tends to fix certain conceptions firm within me, and to impel me to certain decisions." To Lavater, on May 7, he writes :—"There is an infinite purification going on in me."³ From the Court he at this time held entirely aloof, and is so buried in himself—his own business and favourite pursuits—that on May 14 he remains indoors unmoved when two cannon shots signal a fire, a self-control which he had never before exercised. One of the occasions of work to him was the meeting to take place in

¹ Goethe to Kayser, June 4, 1782.—TR.

² He was working on *Tasso* on the 19th April 1781, as he tells Charlotte von Stein. On the 20th he writes to her :—"I have, even while writing at *Tasso*, adored thee."—TR.

³ "And yet," he adds, "I confess frankly that God and Satan, Hell and Heaven—all which are so excellently defined by thee—dwell within. . . . Write to me often, and steal a quarter of an hour for me. My name is Legion, in doing good to me thou doest good to many."—TR.

summer at Ilmenau, of delegates from the Saxon Courts, for deliberation on the question of the conjoint conduct of the mines. With this meeting in view Goethe drew up an exhaustive memoir, in which the expenditure of the House of Weimar on the mines was clearly set forth. It was a great distress to him when, about the 20th of May, Charlotte overtrod her foot—an accident which made her a sufferer for a considerable time. On the 24th of May departed Kayser, whom Goethe had wished to help in some way; but application to the Duke on his friend's behalf was impossible while their present relation continued.

With the Duke he has again, on the 1st of June, "a very weighty conversation" (*sehr sinnige Überredung*), and gains new insight into the Duke's soul:—"And the wise say, 'Judge no man until thou hast stood in his place.'"¹

About the end of May 1781 the philosopher Garve from Breslau, travelling for health, came to Weimar. He visited the Duchess Amalia, whom he found extremely polite, obliging, and approachable. "In Weimar they are more German [than in Gotha]," he writes; "the language is spoken, the literature is known above all others; each follows more freely his natural bent, even in what is remarkable; there are not so many accepted customs as at other Courts. If there is anything universal it is a certain blending of metaphysics and poetry, rather in the forms of expression of many people than in their thoughts; it is easy to see whence this peculiarity springs. There are even certain words current which one does not often hear elsewhere. And often their language is obscure, because they try to think and feel beyond their depth. Nevertheless they are very good people here."

Goethe seems to have had Garve one evening at the *Gartenhaus* when Herder and Knebel also were present. Goethe writes to Charlotte von Stein, June 1, 1781:—"Herder was very good; if he were oftener like this one would not desire anything more delightful."

Any constant relation of friendship was at present impossible owing to Herder's bitterness of mood; his wife often helped to turn that bitterness in the direction of Goethe—the fortunate, the universally sought after. Garve visited Charlotte von Stein also; twenty years later she wishes that she

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 1, 1781.—TR.

had come to know him better. On June 11 Prince Constantin, accompanied by *Hofrath* Albrecht, set off on his travels, from which Goethe hoped good results; he had had care of the preparations.

On June 25 Goethe went with the Duke to Ilmenau. The conference on the mines now took place, and closed with general unity on June 30. On the 2d of July Goethe went in pursuit of health and knowledge on a three days' journey in the mountains, accompanied by Knebel. Afterwards business detained him in Ilmenau until the 11th of July. He was very much depressed at this time; writes on July 8:—"An evil genius abuses my remoteness from you, paints to me the most unendurable side of my position, and counsels me to save myself by flight; soon, however, I feel that a glance, a word from thee can scare away all these vapours." The darkness of such moments was deepened by apprehension about Charlotte's hurt foot, and her children's coughs.

Back in Weimar on July 12, he writes:—"To-day I am invited to Court, and before going have to put my affairs in order. Thus again beneath the old yoke I traverse the familiar path. But also in good hours the familiar path again to thee." He is much interested at this time in an endeavour to bring Kayser into personal intercourse with Gluck; means to send 200 thalers for the journey to Vienna; yet the letter is only written, is not sent, remains lying in his desk.

At the beginning of August 1781 he feels brighter,¹ and also draws nearer to the Court again, especially to the Duchess Amalia, who lives in Tiefurt, now that Prince Constantin has left it, and who is having the Park improved. Goethe meditates an operetta, *Die Fischerin*, for Tiefurt, but at present only gets the airs collected. He draws closer to the Duchess Luise, too; with her next birthday in view he begins *Elpenor*.² Now, at length, he moves the Duke to apply to Gluck on Kayser's

¹ Goethe had ceased to write in his *Diary*, broke off on January 17, 1781. He, however, begins again on August 1 with this entry:—"I am sorry that I have neglected to write. This half year has been a very noteworthy one to me. From to-day I will continue." Keil, *Goethe's Tagebuch*, p. 239.—TR.

² According to Goethe's *Diary* he began this tragedy on August 11, 1781. According to the *Tag- und Jahreshefte* "the two acts of *Elpenor* were written in 1783." The statements are easily reconcilable. *Elpenor* remains a fragment.—TR.

behalf.¹ He joins in some little hunting parties, and in the Harvest Home festival at Tiefurt on the 11th of August. In this month the Duchess Amalia founded the *Tiefurter Journal*, for private circulation in manuscript, and Goethe was one of those who promised contributions. The Duchess Amalia celebrated her poet's birthday, August 28, 1781, by a representation in *ombres chinoises* of the Birth of Minerva; warm praise of Goethe's greatness as a poet was introduced. The usual round of duties occupied the greater part of his time,—the War Department, and the Department of Mines, the Building Department, the Park, the Theatre, the Drawing Academy, all contributed to his labours. A great deal of restoration had to be done on the *Fürstenhaus*, and the *Paradeplatz* had to be planted. He is very glad to find that he has brought the affairs of the War Department to a good footing, and he believes in his ability to manage even greater things than this.² On August 13 he arranges what sum shall be expended on the education and maintenance of the little Princess.

His letter of the 11th of August 1781 to his mother gives a large and clear view of his position. His mother had been alarmed by reports, not unfounded, of his ill-health, and his letter is to calm her fears. His physical health suffices for the duties laid upon him, at least for the greater part of them. His position, notwithstanding many inconveniences, has a great deal of what is most to be desired for him; "of which the best proof is this, that I can figure to myself no other into which I would at present willingly pass." Then farther on:—"You see how far I am from the hypochondriac disquietude which sets so many men at variance with their place in life; and you see that only the weightiest consideration, or quite extraordinary, unexpected occurrences, could move me to leave my post. And now that the trees that I have planted begin to increase, and there is hope of a time of ingathering when the wheat shall be sundered from the tares, how unjust to myself would it be to let some slight uneasiness move me to depart, and thus lose the shade, the fruit, the harvest for which I have laboured."³ The Duke, on his own birthday, the 3d of September, gave an increase of 200 thalers per

¹ Goethe to Kayser, Weimar, Sept. 10, 1781.—TR.

² Goethe's *Tagebuch*, August 15, 1781.—TR.

³ This important letter has been quoted already, see pp. 267, 315.—TR.

annum to the poet-minister, whose activity in his service had been so restless and so fruitful of result.

The general hope of an heir was again disappointed ; the Duchess, on the 10th of September 1781, bore a dead girl infant. Karl August was more quickly consoled than the Duchess, whose grief was deep and lasting. Goethe's relation to Charlotte was now the most intimate, loving, and pure one. He had for a considerable time felt unable to address her otherwise than with "*Du*," and probably she had by this time granted him the like reciprocal token of her perfect trust, which he esteemed his crowning happiness. In this period, too, Herder and he began to draw near each other again.¹

On September 22, 1781, Goethe started for the Court of Dessau to be present at the birthday festival of the Princess of Dessau ; he took Charlotte's eldest boy, Fritz, with him ; they visited Leipzig Fair before their return. So cheery is his mood on this journey that he makes Anacreontic verses² for the *Tiefurter Journal*. On his return to Weimar (September 30) he finds Charlotte absent in Kochberg, and an invitation to Gotha awaiting him ; he could not refuse to go.³ Gotha had grown dear to him by this time. When returning to Weimar he turned aside from Erfurt to visit Charlotte (October 12), who was still in Kochberg.

The three weeks of absence had been very pleasant and profitable ; yet it was with sincere pleasure that he settled down again (October 15) in the fair Ilm valley. "The thought of thy love within and this sunshine without together made me perfectly happy. . . . When I have endured the first waves of emotion which pour in upon me after such an absence I will write more to thee," are words from his letter of Monday, October 15, 1781, to Charlotte von Stein. Busy as he was he could not refuse to go, towards the end of October, to Jena, in order to perform a "labour of love" (*Liebesdienst*) for the Einsiedel family.⁴ The Cabinet of

¹ Goethe to Knebel, September 21, 1781.—TR.

² *Der Becher*, which see among Goethe's *Vermischte Gedichte* ; *An die Heuschrecke*, now known as *An die Zikade*, see in the section called *Aus fremden Sprachen*.—TR.

³ The philosopher Grimm was at Gotha ; to meet him Goethe was invited. "Acquaintance with this *ami des philosophes* will certainly make an epoch with me, as my state of mind is at present."—TR.

⁴ "*Liebesdienst*" is from a letter to Charlotte, October 29, 1781. The

Natural History, which owed to his sympathy that it had been considerably enlarged of late, and Loder's demonstrations on the bones and muscles, filled with interest any time he had to spare. For, while his researches in mineralogy were pushed on with unabating zeal, he had in addition begun the study of human anatomy and physiology. And now the Duke grows interested in the same subject, and will as soon as possible hear lectures on physiology from Loder. Having disappointed Goethe twice by putting off her return, Charlotte at length arrives on the 5th of November. On the evening of the 7th (the anniversary of his coming to Weimar), Goethe begins to deliver to the teachers and students of the Drawing Academy a series of bi-weekly lectures on the human skeleton, after each of which the hearers were expected to draw the parts treated of. The concluding lecture of the series was delivered on the 16th of January 1782. The desire for personal comfort and the need of more space for his growing collections determined him at length to rent a house in the town. He had the good fortune, in November, to obtain a house on the *Frauenplan*,¹ built seventy-two years before by one Helmershausen; through the garden attached there was easy access to the Steins' house. He could not enter into possession until Easter 1782. The Duchess Amalia, who had not been content to see her son's minister and friend live beneath a shingle-roof, was glad, and promised furniture for the new dwelling. She also informed him that on account of his close relation to the Court the Duke must and would raise him to the nobility. "I spoke my opinion very plainly, and did not attempt to conceal something which I will tell you too," writes Goethe to Charlotte on November 17. Nor had he probably refrained from speaking what he thought of the slighting way in which the Court had so long treated him. Towards the Court he now indeed sought to show himself pleasant and obliging at every point; on December 3, 1781, he arranges with Kraus for a picture on the subject, German Literature (he hoped to amuse the Duchess Amalia on Christmas Eve by expounding this picture himself, got up as a quack

old Privy Councillor, Einsiedel, had become crazed; Goethe brought him back to his family. In a letter to Karl August, dated November 4, 1781, Goethe explains the affair.—TR.

¹ This is now the *Goethe-Platz*.—TR.

doctor), and at this time he was devising a ballet for the Duchess Luise's birthday; but the cold treatment which he received continued to pain him.

He does not follow the Duke direct to Eisenach and Wilhelmsthal in the first week of December, but visits the friendly Gotha Court first, is there on St. Nicholas' Eve, and comes in for his share of the saint's gifts. "The favour accorded to me in Gotha makes a stir," he writes to Charlotte from Eisenach, December 10, 1781; "I am glad for my own sake and for the sake of the good cause. And it is fair that through a Court I should get back what through a Court I have lost. For the passive attitude which has hitherto been mine was not adequate, and the undisguised indifference of our people towards me in my retirement has also had, I can see, the inevitable effect on the public." In Eisenach he separated from everything in order to live only for himself and Charlotte. As for the Duke, he was happy and good, "only I think the game too dear; he is feeding eighty men in the wilderness and the frost, has not got a boar yet, because he will hunt in the open, which is no use; torments and wearies his own people, and entertains a couple of parasite nobles from the neighbourhood who give him no thanks for it. God knows whether he will learn that fireworks at noon are without effect. I cannot bear to be always playing the bogey [of advice and reproof], and the others he neither asks for their counsel, nor even tells what he is going to do." However, the Duke after his duke-fashion is not bad.¹ The misfortune is that he is not happy in his home, and so takes delight in Court life. Goethe's hope of awakening the domestic sense in him had been disappointed; even the household and piety of Lavater had failed. Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein reach a very high pitch of devotion in the years 1781-2; they are at no time more remarkable than in the short absences to which he is compelled. During this little round of travel and visit he felt a sudden pain one day when he eagerly opened one of Charlotte's letters and found that she had gone back to the *Sie* and *Ihnen* of polite distance; having written a page of remonstrance, he turns, while his ink is drying, to the offending letter and strikes every *Ihnen*

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, December 12, 1781; "und doch bin ich nach seiner Herzglichen mit ihm zufrieden."—Tr.

in it out.¹ Not waiting for the great hunt and the ball, he left on December 14, for Gotha, and two days later returned to Weimar and Charlotte.

With numerous duties pressing him, he had besides to compose the Birthday Ballet, *Der Geist der Jugend*, and the Quack Doctor explanation of Kraus' picture.² He played this part on Christmas at the Duchess Amalia's, to the high delight of those present. He was severe on the weak points of the latest German literature, not omitting to censure the inundation of foolishness let loose by the imitators of his own *Götz* and *Werther*. "Everywhere good fortune and expert dealing," so closes the diary of our year 1781. "Quiet and order at home. Anxiety because of the Duke's too expensive extravagances. With the Stein a calm and happy intercourse."

Whatever his feeling towards the Court, he had in the New Year 1782 to give more aid than ever as purveyor of entertainment for the *Redoutes*; for not only the Duke but the two Duchesses asked for a masque;³ then the Birthday *Redoute* (that which immediately followed the Duchess Luise's birthday) had to be provided for,⁴ and our poet's help was in request in many matters other than authorship. There were rehearsals of the Birthday Ballet,⁵ and Goethe, beside a manager's troubles at these rehearsals, had to practise his own parts. Then there were two repetitions of *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern*. But he was repaid for all, when on the 8th of February, the masque *Winter* being again acted, he could appear by the side of Charlotte, almost all whose January had

¹ Goethe to Frau von Stein, December 12, 1781.—TR.

² *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern*. In Goethe's own preface (1816) to this piece, he ascribes it to 1780. Riemer first combated this; and Herr Düntzer in his *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit* settled the matter. See Goethe to Frau von Stein, December 20, 1781:—"Meine Verse zu der Zeichnung sind bald fertig."—TR.

³ The masque which Goethe wrote at the request of the Duchesses was *Die Vier Weltalter*, acted on February 12, 1782. See Goethe's *Tagebuch* for that day.—TR.

⁴ On the 1st of February—the Birthday *Redoute*—was acted the masque *Die weiblichen Tugenden*, from which is preserved the song:—"Wir, die Deinen."—TR.

⁵ *Pantomimisches Ballet untermischt mit Gesang und Gespräch*, acted January 30, 1782. Hempel's edition of Goethe's *Werke* was the first which reprinted this graceful fairy-tale ballet. It had been reprinted in Lewald's *Europa*, Band I. 1843.—TR.

been spent in ill-health. Sometimes he felt bitterly the loss of precious days and hours. Thus he writes to Charlotte von Stein on the 14th of January:—"I am uneasy amid this excessive distraction, this trifling away the time; and yet I see that it is very necessary that I should take my share in these matters. I see that one finds an opportunity of doing good while appearing but to jest."

And while thus sacrificing his private moments to provide public amusement, the most unpleasant duties were thrust upon him. On January 3, 1782, Kalb came to him and told him about the bad condition of the finances. On January 11, we read in the *Diary*:—"Dined with the Duke. Once more a radical explanation."¹ Eight days later (Jan. 19), Goethe speaks "very seriously and urgently" with the Duke about economy, and about "a number of false conceptions" that the ducal mind does not seem able to abandon—"every order has its own circle of limitation." On January 20 he reads Kalb's statement of considerations on the finance difficulty, which is brought still more unpleasantly near by Bertuch's complaints. On the 16th of February he has "a long and satisfactory conversation" with the Duke. Eight days later he consults with Kalb on various matters.² If we add the numerous current duties of office, the lectures at the Drawing Academy, Loder's demonstration of anatomy, the Court life, the visits of Dalberg and of the Gotha Court, and the ordinary social life, we shall find it hard to understand how the ailing poet, whatever the medicine of Charlotte's affection, endured his burthen. And such was the clear harmony of his spirit withal, that, at the beginning of February 1782, he plans his noble poem to the memory of simple *Theatermeister* Mieding,³ whose source of happiness had been a passion for his art, in which he had possessed complete mastery, and who had performed a difficult task, like the statesman, more for delight in it than for gain. Here spoke the lofty-souled burgher whose birth was not distinguished enough for the Court, but who felt and knew that personal merit alone ennobles a man.

¹ Compare p. 279.—TR.

² See Goethe's *Tagebuch* for the preceding quotations.—TR.

³ Mieding died January 27, 1782. Karl August writing to Knebel on February 8, 1782, mentions that Goethe has begun "a garland *à sa façon* to his [Mieding's] memory."—TR.

Shrove Tuesday over, he had some quiet weeks of steady industry. On the 14th of March 1782 he set out by Jena on his necessary round of soldier levying. He planned to complete *Mieding's Tod* on this journey, and to turn again to *Egmont*, about which Charlotte had shown herself very solicitous. He had the pleasure of a visit from the Duke at Dornburg (March 16), and the great delight of a meeting with Frau von Stein at Osmannstedt; both friends showed deep and sincere interest in his poem on Mieding, with its extremely beautiful tribute of praise to Corona Schröter.¹

He got back to Weimar on the 25th of March, and, after a short rest, started on the 28th for Gotha, where he spent pleasant Easter days. The inscriptions in the Park at Gotha set him thinking of the like for Weimar, in the style of the poems in the Greek Anthology. From Gotha to Eisenach, "where the Cares fall like hungry lions upon me. Had I the affairs of our Duchy of Weimar on as good a footing as my own," he continues, writing to Charlotte von Stein on the 2d April, "we might talk of good fortune. . . . The greater part of that which fell within my personal scope of power I have brought to the highest summit of success, or else can see that it will be so."

From Eisenach he rode with Batty, through the Oberland, to inspect the arrangements of his lieutenant there, then through the Thuringian Forest to Meiningen. From Meiningen he writes on the 12th of April to Charlotte:—"It is a wonderful and sublime panorama as I ride over mountain and plain; the manner of beginning of our earth, and the story of its shaping afterwards, and how it affords sustenance to man on the outside of it—all at the same time grow plain to mental and bodily vision; when I come back you will let me lead you after my own fashion to the summit of the rocks and show you all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them." He was delighted to find that his theory agreed with the practice of Batty, who had no theory; so he tells Knebel, writing

¹ In which occurs the well-known line:—"Als eine Blume zeigt sie sich der Welt." The final four lines of Corona's praise are:—

"Es gönnten ihr die Musen jede Gunst,
Und die Natur erschuf in ihr die Kunst,
So häuft sie willig jeden Reiz auf sich,
Und selbst dein Name ziert, KORONA, Dich."—TR.

from Ilmenau on the 17th. Then comes a sad confession of the weary lot of the peasant, whose labour but procures him what is needful for sustaining life; and yet he would have enough and to spare but that in the higher ranks always more is wasted away in a day than in a day can be produced by the toilers below. In Meiningen he had a friendly welcome. The two newly-enthroned Dukes were having earth turned up and old walls thrown down, and other follies they were committing, all of which he pardoned them, remembering his own follies. "They ask me for advice and I have learned not to advise more than I see can be performed."¹

Never had he, he believed, a happier time with Charlotte than the days which followed his return to Weimar on April 18, 1782.² But on the 9th of May he leaves home again, this time on a diplomatic embassy to Meiningen and Coburg. As he rode to Gotha, his first stage, he planned a poem of farewell to his Garden, which he is soon to leave just when it is most beautiful. Still he thought with real gladness of his new abode, which Charlotte would help to arrange and keep in order. From Meiningen, on Sunday, May 12, he writes:—"As ambassador, I have had a formal audience with the two Dukes, liveried servants in the hall, the Court in the ante-chamber, at the folding-doors two pages, and their Graces in the Chamber of Audience." The matter was neither important nor difficult; perhaps it was the confirming of the partnership in the Ilmenau Mines. "To-morrow I go to Coburg to play the same comedy, will also present myself at Hildburghausen Court, and will go towards the end of the week to Rudolstadt now that I am once under weigh, and thus clear off all debts so far as Thuringian Courts are concerned." He composed humorous verses on the haughty progress, with six horses, of a poet be-stared by people.³ However, the fact remains noteworthy that the *Bürgerlicher* before he had received any certificate of nobility was recognised at Courts as an ambassador. On the 18th of May 1782 he got back to Weimar.

The oversight of the education of Charlotte's son, Fritz,

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Meiningen, 12th April 1782.—Tr.

² During this period the Abbé Raynal was at Weimar. See Goethe to Knebel, Weimar, 5th May 1782.—Tr.

³ *Der Dichter im Staatswagen*, Den 15 Mai, 1782. Hempel's edition of Goethe's *Werke*, iii. 49.—Tr.

now became one of Goethe's chief cares; they had a very strong objection to the boy's growing up among the pages of the Court. News of the death of Rath Goethe on the 24th cast a shadow over the last May days of 1782—the days in which the change from the *Gartenhaus* to the new home on the *Frauenplan* was being carried out; it could not but be felt that the death was a release to the old man himself—so dull and weak-witted of late—still more to Frau Aja who had been unable to leave his side. Yet Goethe must have heard the news with sharp pain, though he might not speak of it to others, for he felt deeply how little he had contributed to gladden the life now passed into the great darkness; how by his resolve to stay in Weimar he had brought to naught plans long brooded and dearly cherished of the good father who had loved him well.

The transfer to the new house was completed on June 1, 1782. To be so near Charlotte was a great delight, though he missed the sweet loneliness of the Garden. Two days later he received his certificate of nobility (*Adelsdiplom*). He writes to Charlotte, June 4:—"Here you have the *Diplom*, that you may know at any rate what it looks like. I am so curiously fashioned that I am absolutely without reflections on the subject. How much happier for me it were, my beloved, could I, removed from the elemental strife of politics, by your side give my mind to the sciences and arts for which I was born." But he might not before the time abandon his post of duty, where, too, he had found so much human profit; and how should he have remained in Charlotte's neighbourhood without some definite occupation there?

Even when he wrote the words above quoted he knew that an increase of his burden was at hand. Kalb was dismissed for want of faithfulness in office; he was also excluded from the position of Deputy of the Order of Knights of Jena. On June 11, 1782, the sixth anniversary of Goethe's appointment on the Council, the Duke requests that he will, so far as permitted by his other duties, take part in the sittings and deliberations of the Chamber of Finance. To avoid jealousy and to secure greater freedom, he had declined being named President of the Chamber; but it was plain to every one that he was to take Kalb's place and bring order into the financial affairs which had been so shamefully neglected. And *Regierungsrath*

Voigt, who had come to Weimar in 1777, says simply, so early as July 1782 :—Goethe is undertaking the direction of the *Kammer*; while the Duke himself speaks of him as his *Kammerpräsident*. This promotion, as well as his elevation to the nobility, the crowd held to be skilful chess-moves of the pushing favourite; who yet was longing to give up political life! who had been such an instance of an upright, honourable citizen, faithfully guarding the common welfare of the people, the prince, the court—conscientiously sacrificing to it his dearest wishes!

CHAPTER IV.

FOUR YEARS OF GREAT LABOUR IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS—WIDE
AND FRUITFUL STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE

1782-1786.

Preliminary.—Two full years must be sacrificed, wrote Goethe on July 27, 1782, to Knebel, before the threads be so gathered together that either staying or departing may be with honour. For nothing could be less his thought than to spend his life in labour on things so foreign to his nature. But the two years grew to four; not until all was set in order—a task which so exhausted that he needed a new revivification—did he fly to the land of Art, of Nature at her loveliest.

The deeper he went into the condition of the exchequer and the whole economy of its administration, the plainer did he see how important it was that he had undergone this new burden. Notwithstanding his increase of work, he felt happier than ever. "Now no longer, at least in this department, have I to wish the good and half do it, and hate the bad and suffer it entire," he confides to Knebel in the letter above quoted. "What happens now I must ascribe to myself, and nothing operates obscurely through a third and a fourth, but clear direct to me. That I have heretofore in silence pursued my labours with such fidelity and industry is an infinite aid; I now have clear practical notions of almost all needful matters and minute inter-connections, and so I get easily through."¹ The feeling of duty gave him new energy, though often, when his labours weighed heavy upon him, he could not help uttering bitter lamentation. It was but the escape-valve of that

¹ It is perhaps well to quote the passage following:—"As you may suppose, I talk on these subjects with no one, and accordingly I beg you to make no use of this—not even to benefit me."—TR.

depression which gathers round all painful and protracted endeavour, and the more easily in his case because the tasks in which he disquieted himself were so opposite to his inner nature, and quite other objects drew his passionate spirit after them. Once, when it grew too hard for him, he wrote :—" I am by right created a private person, and cannot understand how destiny could have foisted me into a princely family and the government of a State."¹ Another time he writes :²—" In Weimar, too, I remain dedicated to my old destiny, and suffer where others enjoy, and enjoy where others suffer." Dejection carries him away to the excessive statement :—" During the whole year not one pleasant task has sought me out."³ At times he is "seethed and roasted with business ;"⁴ for he attacked everything that he engaged in with all the earnestness of his nature, and often thought the most various matters so intensely over that his head ached. Often, too, he found the harsh Thüringian climate a cause of suffering, especially in the last two months of the year, and in January ; and not seldom, to add to his burthen, Charlotte was in ill-health, and out of sorts.

But to these complaints, very natural in one who enjoyed and suffered so keenly, we may oppose his frequent statements of his complete happiness, and of the conviction that he can imagine no position more congenial, and more calculated to further him. " I were the most unthankful of men," he writes to Kestner, " not to confess my situation much happier than I deserve. Of course the heat and toilsomeness of life do not spare me, and it may accordingly happen that one at times grows very weary and faint, and even disheartened and sore."⁵ We find him still, amid all his anxiety and nervous distraction, kind and sympathetic as ever. He still gives the children their annual Easter party—the *Haseneiersuchen*. In the year 1783 Matthisson witnessed how "the fine-looking man, in brown gold-fringed riding suit, in the midst of the petulant,

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, 17th September 1782.—Tr.

² Goethe to F. H. Jacobi, 17th November 1782. The long silence with Jacobi was broken by Goethe in a letter dated 2d October 1782. To this Jacobi replied, and the letter here quoted replies to that reply.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, April 24, 1783.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, 31st January 1783.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Kestner, March 15, 1783.—Tr.

quicksilver group of children [among them were Fritz Stein, and children of Herder and Wieland], was like a kind but serious father, who compelled their reverence and love ;” how he stayed with them until after sunset, and finally gave them a pyramid of dainties. And what generosity he shows towards the poor man whom he has provided for in Ilmenau ;¹ how he compassionates the poor bookbinder who has a petition to the Committee of Taxes, and every word from whom is to him weighty as gold !² with what ardent kindness does he interest himself in the poverty-stricken poetess of Nature—Frau Bohl, in Lobeda.³

I. Goethe's Activity in Public Business, 1782-6.—

Yet let us return to his official activity. To make good the deficiency in the finances was his first labour, one accompanied by much unpleasant circumstance. His infinite diligence, his painful attention, his strict economy, and the sense for order inherited from his father, triumphed, and by April 21, 1783, he can write to Knebel :—“ My finance gets on better than I had hoped a year ago. I have fortune and success in my administration ; hold my ground, however, in the firmest manner as to my plan and my principles of action.” Seven months later he observes to Jacobi, after having spoken of the multitude of interests that made life difficult :—“ And I have still my old disposition that brings me through everything.”⁴ On February 16, 1784, he writes to Knebel :—“ I am diligent, and my affairs progress well, and, though we have all sorts of ups and downs in our circumstances, our *Economicum* stands on a sure basis, and that is the main thing. Personally I am happy.” Great was the lightening of his burthen when, in July 1784, Privy Councillor of Legation Schmidt obtained a voice in the Council—a man seriously intent on what was useful and right, resolute to do his utmost in lessening the public expense. A very momentous undertaking was the parcelling-out (*Zerschlagen*) of the public domains which, with careful use of Darmstadt experience (1785), was now at last

¹ Kraft. See p. 274.—TR.

² See Goethe's letter to Charlotte von Stein, November 11, 1785. He had called in the bookbinder to stitch the MS. of a book of *Wilhelm Meister* in his presence.—TR.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Jena, April 25, 1786. —TR.

⁴ Goethe to Jacobi, November 12, 1784.—TR.

accomplished.¹ Goethe sent out officials to each locality, who learned the precise facts on the spot.

One of Goethe's most tiresome duties was that of treating with the Estates of Weimar and of Eisenach. In the beginning of August 1783 it actually falls on him to represent the Duke, and receive the Estates of Weimar, to whom, through the Chamber of Finance, he was now brought much nearer than formerly. In the Right of Assent to Supply which belonged to the Estates, he saw only a cause of embarrassment to any good and powerful government, not remembering what security it would give against a wasteful and unconscientious prince. "Our business progresses tolerably," he writes when, in the June of 1784, the Estates of Eisenach are sitting, "only, unfortunately, of Nothing comes Nothing. I know well what ought to be done instead of all this racing and chasing, and all these Propositions and Resolutions."² To Herder he writes, June 20, 1784:—"In our business just one point interests me, and that is now settled. In all that remains there is no joy to be culled. The poor people must always bear the bag, and whether on the right side or the left is pretty indifferent."

Among those tasks which did not belong to the ordinary course of official duty, that which lay nearest his heart was the restoration of the Ilmenau Mines. Eckard's *Account of the mining formerly carried on in Ilmenau, and Proposals to revive it by a new Company*, was published by the Commission of Mines. Goethe, fond of making important beginnings on days already significant, had it dated from August 28, his birthday. The needful capital was estimated at 200,000 thalers; it was divided into 1000 shares. Immediately after this Eckard vacated his place on the Commission, and *Regierungs-rath* Christian Voigt entered as co-director; his brother, Johann Voigt, already mentioned (p. 269), with whom Goethe was intimate, became Secretary. The energy with which these two brothers got to work relieved and gladdened Goethe. Proposals for taking up the shares were sent out everywhere. On the 15th of February 1784 he writes to Knebel that five hundred shares are already disposed of, and the new shaft, to be called St. John's Shaft, will be opened next Shrove-Tide. On the 24th of February, Shrove Tuesday, from old time

¹ Goethe to Merck, February 13, 1785.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Eisenach, June 9, 1784.—TR.

celebrated among the Ilmenau mining folk with a pageant, the Duke's Commission was solemnly waited on by the miners, who proposed conducting it to witness the festivities. Goethe greeted the procession in the name of the Commission in an excellent speech, his bearing marked by calm and serious dignity. Then they went first to the church, and when service was over, to the mine, where Goethe, having first made over to the new Company the old Martinröder Gallery, with everything that belonged to the earlier Company, took a new pick and struck the first blow. And the work prospered, for they had good labourers, and no untoward accident befell, while the Commission worked zealously in the cause, and cost nothing. Away from home, the Company gained people's trust, while in Weimar itself were circulating malicious and untrue stories of mishap. Goethe visited Ilmenau in October 1784, stayed from the 2d to the 15th. "We found many things to be done there," he tells the Duke; "and as we were intent on getting at the inner truth, we could not unduly hasten our proceedings, which is possible when mere mechanical paper-expedition is desired. I hope this work will prosper and give you great pleasure, so much is done already with but little expenditure, and in a short time. In a few weeks they will be through the wet region, and before Easter will be at the gallery."¹ The account with which he goes on shows how his solicitude extended to the minutest details. In this undertaking, as in others, he trusted in his good fortune.² The *First Report on the Progress of the new Mine at Ilmenau* dates February 24, 1785. In it is told in detail all that has been done in the first year of work at the new Shaft of St. John, and the old Martinröder Shaft. A magazine of corn for the workmen had been formed. In the June and the November of 1785 he was again at Ilmenau, where he finds plenty of work both out of doors and in his room. During the latter stay, 9th of November, he writes:—"That which I have founded prospers, and will improve every year. If I hold out and endure a while longer, it will be able to go of itself."³ And again, "It is the way with occupations, they

¹ Goethe to Karl August, Oct. 18, 1784. Karl August was travelling then on the matter of the *Fürstenbund*. See p. 352.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, October 5, 1784.—TR.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Nov. 9, 1785.

increase as you press deeper into them. They give me pleasure, because I can work on many sides. And if one but bring light anywhere, already is a great deal accomplished."¹ There was no *second* Report indeed next year, yet not the least obstacle had shown itself; everything went its prescribed course; and for the rest, said he, let the gods care.² In June 1786 he finds everything in such good order that he can go away with a mind at ease, though he would have liked to stay a good deal longer on account of business.

The War Department and the Department of Public Roads were also constant claimants on his attention and time. Much more pleasant were his agricultural inspections; here he was gladdened by seeing how well judgment, skill, and industry were rewarded. Only no one may devote himself to cultivating the land who is not of the land; whoever brings imagination to farming will come to grief—a notable instance of which he had in Charlotte's husband.³

He completely withdrew from theatrical managership, which had grown burdensome, nor did he appear on the stage any more. When, on the birth of an Hereditary Prince (Feb. 2, 1783), every Weimar poet made his Pegasus caracole bravely, Goethe contented himself with one simple lay, which was sung at the next *Redoute* (Feb. 15, 1783), at the hour of the birth, as a serenade.⁴ At the great masked cavalcade procession of March 13, which the Duke himself led, Goethe, who without doubt had taken part in the ordering of it, appeared in old German garb; he was mounted on a white horse, and accompanied by boys clad in white and yellow, and bearing torches; he wore a purple cloak over white satin garments, and a small hat with a plume. The year following (1784) he charmed the Duchess at the Birthday *Redoute*, with the beautiful masque *Planetentanz*, hailing her as the happy mother of the Hereditary Prince.

In the autumn of 1783 they treated with Bellomo—a

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Nov. 10, 1785.—TR.

² Goethe to Herder, November 11, 1785.—TR.

³ See Goethe's letter to Knebel, 19th May 1783. More than a year before, on April 12, 1782, Goethe wrote to Charlotte von Stein; "Man muss ganz nah' an der Erde geboren und erzogen sein, um ihr etwas abzugewinnen."—TR.

⁴ See in Goethe's *Gedichte* in the section *An Personen*, the verses beginning, "Vor vierzehn Tagen harften wir."—TR.

Vienna manager—about undertaking the theatre for three years; and in January 1784 Bellomo's company began to play three times a week, until spring. Goethe held back from all co-operation; the Prologues usual at the special representations before the Ducal family he calmly left to Einsiedel. Only once (on March 4, 1785) he was present at a rehearsal of his *Clavigo*, which had been cruelly misused in a representation a month before. When the Duchess Amalia, at Christmas 1785, wished to revive the amateur theatre, he yielded a promise to play Orestes in his own *Iphigenie*; but the Duchess's project fell through.

Goethe took less share in the Park improvements during this period, as the Duke had grown zealous in the matter; the Duke looked after the planting at Belvedere also, and had trees brought from England for it. Goethe sketched the plan on which the Duchess Amalia proceeded in autumn 1782 to improve Tiefurt Park, but he took no part in the execution of the plan. On the other hand he zealously urged on the works rendered necessary by the ice-choke which flooded Jena in the last days of February 1784. He had immediately hastened to the spot with the Duke, who writes to Merck that Goethe was very brave in the danger, and took the best measures. The works thus rendered needful brought him to Jena frequently. He had to decide as to the arranging of the great library which *Hofrath* Büttner made over to the Duke in exchange for a dwelling rent-free, and an annuity. On May 7, 1784, Goethe writes from Jena to Charlotte:—"My business goes on well; I have as much money, power, judgment, persons, and skill thereto as is needful; and so it can hardly fail." Later on he left the work mainly in Castrop's hands. Also the care of arrangements of police—fire organisation, for example, and the fire engines especially, which were admirably good in Weimar—fell to Goethe; and many other matters defying classification, such as the rebuilding (Oct. 1784) of the *Grimmenstein* into a spinning-house for the poor.

Not less did he exert himself on behalf of the University and its arrangements. The choice of a man to fill the vacant Chair of Law occupied him a good while. Even the empty matter of titles gave him trouble. The Professor of Theology, Döderlein, had come to Jena in 1782 with the understanding that he might look forward to the title *Geheimer Kirchenrath*

(Ecclesiastical Privy Councillor). When in 1784 they determined to confer it on him, Herder felt injured, and refused to accept the same title *after* Döderlein; Goethe tried to pacify Herder,¹ who was at perpetual variance with the Supreme Consistory; Herder's place and condition he was indeed unable to improve. But Goethe did not stop at the University, the Schools too he took on his shoulders; only the supplies of money were insufficient, and an increase was not at present to be thought of. At the end of August 1783 he writes to Herder:—"I beg you accordingly at the beginning of my new year to put together your thoughts on our entire School system, and to talk with me about it when I come back. I will gladly do my part towards carrying out what you think practicable."² But where the Supreme Consistory opposed all effort proved unavailing; the only point carried by Herder was the substitution of money rewards for the Honorary Commons (then fallen into disuse) of the students at the Weimar *Gymnasium*. The Duke approved of the general scheme of School Reform laid before him by Goethe and Herder, but the means of paying the new teachers moved for was not. On January 6, 1786, Goethe writes to Herder:—"As I hear that a Rescript has been issued to the Supreme Consistory on the subject School Reform agreeable to your propositions in the matter. . . . I request you to extend your plan to include the Military School, disposing therein as pleases you." But precisely in School Reform Goethe had neither untrammelled power of action nor the needful money; what the Duke was able to spare from private resources did not go far.

II. Goethe and Natural Science, 1782-6.—Meanwhile, those scientific studies, which had in large measure sprung from his official duties, and which still linked on to them, grew constantly wider in range and more fruitful. He strove to discover in all things the single law by which the rich variety and diversity of phenomena proceeds. On November 21, 1782, he can write to Knebel as follows:—"Cosmogony and the latest discoveries in that field, Mineralogy, and in the most recent period my calling to make myself familiar with

¹ See Goethe's admirable letter to Herder's wife, dated May 1784.—Tr.

² This letter was written on August 29, 1783, the day after Goethe's birthday. He is about to start on the second Harz journey (he did so ten days later), from which he returned in the beginning of October 1783.—Tr.

Economics—the whole History of Nature surrounds me like Bacon's great House of Solomon, that Herder and Nicolai dispute about." He gets Voigt to extend Charpentier's mineralogical map to include the whole region from the Harz to the Fichtelgebirge, and from the Riesengebirge to the Rhön; and he already thought of carrying through a mineralogical map of Europe.¹ He is fully convinced that the bone remains found in the upper sand of the earth are of the latest epoch, "which, however, compared with our ordinary reckonings of time, is of vast antiquity;" and that fossils are of great value in classifying the rock-strata.² With passionate zeal he through the following years pursues the indications of the laws of rock-formation (litho-genesis) at Ilmenau, on the Harz, on the Fichtelgebirge, and finally at Karlsbad. At the Harz, in August and September 1784, the most important rock forms are sketched by Kraus, and briefly determined; the days were spent in the open air, hammering; stones and specimens were gathered and brought to Weimar, where they were studied and arranged.³ An essay on granite⁴ as the basis of the known crust of the earth was begun, part of a *Theory of Rock-formation*⁵ written. And the farther he pushed his researches, the more certain did he feel that he was on the right path.⁶ He thinks he has discovered that masses of stone of considerable size sunder into parallelo-

¹ Goethe to Merck, November 1782.—Tr.

² Goethe to Merck, October 27, 1782:—"The time will come when fossils will no more be thrown confusedly together, but will be classified with reference to the ages of the earth." See Herr Kalischer's interesting comments on this passage, Hempel's Goethe, Bd. xxxiii., Seite clx.—Tr.

³ See, beside letters of the time to Herder and Charlotte von Stein, Goethe's *Geognostisches Tagebuch der Harzreise*, 1784, first printed in Hempel's edition of Goethe, Bd. xxxiii. S. 438. This was Goethe's third journey to the Harz.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe writes to Charlotte von Stein, Jan. 18, 1784:—"Early this morning I began dictating at my *Abhandlung über den Granit*." This essay is first printed entire in Hempel's Goethe, Bd. xxxiii., Seite clxii. clxvi. Goethe wrote a good deal about granite in that letter to Merck of Nov. 1782, already quoted.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Ilmenau, 7th June 1785:—"Ich habe wieder einige Capitel am *Wilhelm* diktirt und etwas an meiner *Gebirgslehre* geschrieben."—Tr.

⁶ Goethe's letters, 1783-5, *passim*, but the phrase, "auf dem rechten Wege," occurs in a letter to Charlotte von Stein, Jena, March 8, 1785.—Tr.

pipeds, which split easily along any of their diagonals.¹ Charlotte and Knebel felt warm interest in these studies, while Herder makes fun of such "hammering at deaf stone." But after Goethe's first visit to Karlsbad (1785), he put mineralogy aside, believing a knowledge of chemistry to be indispensable for his further advance.² Into the last-named science he could find no entrance, though he thought seriously of beginning it, and planned about having the needful laboratory;³ something held him back—perhaps remembrance of the gloomy alchemic experiments in the invalid period after his return from Leipzig University.

Osteological studies ran a parallel course to mineralogical. His particular endeavour was to follow up the type of bone-formation in brutes and men and find it identical,—an endeavour in which the bones of extinct species must of course draw his attention. Merck's letters, a visit from the famous anatomist Blumenbach, the Anatomical Theatre at Cassel, where he converses with Forster and Sömmering, and especially Loder in Jena, brought him on his way. And on the 27th of March 1784, when, in company with the last named, he compares the skulls of men and animals, he makes to his great joy the discovery, pregnant with result, that the intermaxillary bone of the upper jaw (*os intermaxillare*) exists in Man as in Animals; thus sweeping away the theory which found precisely in that bone's supposed absence in man the characteristic by which man is defined from all animals, a theory adverse to Goethe's way of conceiving Nature. He saw plainly how the bone, so extraordinarily prominent in animals, was contracted to a very small size in man, through the influence of his physical history and habits. Passionately then did Goethe with Loder investigate the varying formation of the intermaxillary in different animals. When in Eisenach (meeting the Estates) in June 1784, he procures the elephant's skull from Cassel, and afterwards takes it to Weimar with him.⁴

When about to visit Brunswick in August 1784, he plans

¹ See in Hempel's Goethe, Bd. xxxiii. S. 447, the essay *Gestaltung der grossen anorganischen Massen*.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, August 16, 1786.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, Oct. 18, 1784; Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Oct. 26, 1784.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 7, and June 17, 1784.—TR.

to examine carefully the elephant foetus there, and to have a good talk with the physician Zimmermann.¹ Herder and Charlotte took the warmest interest in his important discovery. All that passes through Goethe's mode of conceiving and presenting, wrote the latter, becomes extremely interesting, even hateful bones and the dreary mineral kingdom. Not until October 1784 could he get his essay² worked out; its illustrative references were made to admirable sketches, supplied by one of the pupils of the Drawing Academy³ under Goethe's guidance. It is admirably written. Herder thought it "simple and beautiful." Goethe himself, when sending it to Loder through Knebel, writes to the latter (in November 1784):—"I have refrained from indicating the logical outcome of the discovery—it is a truth to which Herder has already pointed in his *Ideen*, viz. that the distinctness of man from the brute is not to be looked for in any single point of difference. On the contrary, man is most closely related to the brute. Every creature is what it is through the unity of its whole being, and man is man as much by the form and nature of his upper jaw, as by the form and nature of his little toe. And so, too, every creature is a note, a shade, in a great harmony, and the study which apprehends this harmony as a whole and in its vastness is alone fruitful; each isolated thing, otherwise taken, is a meaningless letter." How high Goethe's merit in this remarkable, and by no means easy, discovery is, may be estimated from the fact that the great men of science, Sömmering and Camper, to whom he sent his treatise⁴ (in a careful Latin translation), refused to accept his conclusions.⁵ And at first Merck, too, was sceptical. Not until 1788 was the discovery incorporated into received scientific knowledge by Loder; but it was still long before it won ground. Goethe learned by painful experience that (as he writes to Merck, April 8, 1785) a *savant* by profession renounces his five senses. "They are concerned rarely about the living con-

¹ Goethe to Merck, August 6, 1784.

² *Dem Menschen wie den Thieren ist ein Zwischenknochen der obern Kinnlade zuzuschreiben.* Not published until 1820.—TR.

³ Named Waiz. See Goethe to Merck, Dec. 19, 1784.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Merck, December 19, 1784.—TR.

⁵ See as to Sömmering, Goethe to Merck, Feb. 13, 1785, and April 8, 1785.—TR.

ception of the matter, but about what has been said on it. The admirable essay was not published until thirty years later.

And now osteological inquiry became subordinate to botanical; if he was late in entering this new field, he did so with the greater ardour. His observation of trees and plants was not confined to the familiar places around him—to the garden and park which he had planted, but in his manifold traversing of mountain and forest the collection of specimens was always a main object. He did not exclude the mosses¹ from his interest, but endeavoured to gain clear notions of their differences of species by an ample gathering. Though we find him in June 1782 enjoying Rousseau's "delightful" (*allerliebste*) letters on Botany,² not until January 1785 does he occupy himself after scientific fashion with the world of plants. On the 12th of that month he tells Jacobi that he has a microscope set up in his room; for it is his intention when spring comes to follow up and check the recent discoveries of F. W. Gleichen, called Russworm.³ He grew especially interested in the conception of the seed as the basis of all development.⁴ He has conversations with Büttner at Jena on botanical matters; they dissect cocoa-nuts together, and observe the beginnings of the remarkable tree.⁵ Another Jena botanical friend was the young Master of Arts, August Johann Batsch, who had studied medicine and natural science at the University there, and, besides, had published some poetic attempts. He was living at Weimar in difficulties when Goethe made his acquaintance on the ice. His delicate precision and quiet zeal attracted Goethe, who prompted him to return to Jena—there to devote himself entirely to natural science. And now Goethe found scientific talk with him very pleasant. In Weimar Charlotte is called to sympathise in the "right beautiful revelations"⁶ resulting from examination of seeds

¹ See Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Oct. 31, 1778.—Tr.

² Goethe to Karl August, June 16, 1782.—Tr.

³ F. W. Gleichen, genannt Russworm: *Auserlesene mikroskopische Entdeckungen bei Pflanzen Blumen und Blüthen u.s.w.* Nürnberg, 1771-81.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, April 1, 1785. Goethe to Knebel, April 2, 1785.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Jena, March 8, 1785. (Goethe calls Büttner "the old living encyclopædic Dictionary.")—Tr.

⁶ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, April 1, 1785.—Tr.

through the microscope. On the 2d of April Goethe says:—"Perhaps we will write at the little botanical treatise for Knebel this evening." On the journey of this summer of 1785 into the Fichtelgebirge he takes with him, as a help in collecting flowers and plants, Friedrich Gottlieb Dietrich of Ziegenhain—a lad of seventeen—who had considerable knowledge of botany, and whose fresh, simple personality pleased him.

When at Ilmenau in November 1785 he is so in love with the vegetable kingdom that he makes a vow "this time not to touch a bit of rock."¹ He reads the *Philosophia Botanica* of Linnæus regularly through; until now he had but dipped in it. And he writes that he has "some pretty ideas again." In the January of 1786 he discusses all sorts of botanical matters with the Court-gardener Reichardt in Belvedere,² and in April 1786 at Jena he and Batsch talk about "plants, infusions, etc."³ In May he dictates *Botanica* to Fritz. When he writes as follows in June from Ilmenau, he at any rate means to include the vegetable kingdom:—"How plain the book of Nature is becoming, I cannot express; my long spelling-out has served me; now all at once a rapid progress begins, and my silent joy is unspeakable. Much new knowledge as I gain, yet none unexpected; everything tallies and coheres, because I come with no *à priori* system, and desire nothing but the truth for its own sake. How that ability to read Nature will increase it delights me to think on."⁴

When in July 1786 he sees himself detained in Weimar, contrary to his desire to get to Karlsbad, the plant-world takes hold of him with passion; it "rages" within him.⁵ The delight which fills him speaks in the following avowal in a later part of his letter:—"Everything forces its meaning on me; I no longer *think* a subject over; everything, everything comes to meet me, and the vast kingdom simplifies itself in my soul, that I soon shall be able to read the hardest exercise straight off. If I could only communicate to any one the prospect and

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, November 8, 1785:—"I have some pretty botanical ideas again, and have made a vow, this time not to touch a bit of rock."—Tr.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Jan. 20, 1786.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, April 25, 1786.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 15, 1786.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, July 10, 1786.—Tr.

the joy; but it is not possible. And this is no dream, no fantasy; it is a growing aware of the essential Form, with which Nature but keeps playing ever, as it were, and playing thus brings forth the manifold Life. Were but the short period given to man longer, I believe that I could extend this to all the kingdoms—to the whole great kingdom of Nature."

Thus in occupation with Nature had a whole new life risen upon him; the clear insight which he gained cheered him; "the Consequence of Nature made bounteous amends for the Inconsequence of Men;"¹ the steadfast precision of her being, for all the inaptness, the uncomprehending, the unprofiting, which he had to encounter day after day. That calm observing glance, piercing always to essentials, always seeing things in a vivid real way, by which the characters of men and their complicated action and interaction had been made plain to him, now turned on external Nature and her laws by no light caprice, but by a deep inward compelling.

Compared with the study of the Three Kingdoms, the other parts of natural science engaged him but little; astronomy, however attractive, was less easy to overtake, and meteorology, while he did not remain completely a stranger to it,² seemed yet too unreliable to reward application. Experimental physics only occupied him transitorily, chiefly in connection with the ascent of air-balloons.³ If he gets instructed at Jena in the first four rules in algebra,⁴ it remains a barren bit of learning, for he had no organ for mathematics.

III. Goethe's Literary Activity, 1782-1786.—The study of nature had pushed drawing and painting into the background; besides, we read, "the sketching fever has been driven away by the bitter bark of life's timber."⁵ Still worse fared the practice of engraving, of modelling, and of casting in bronze. For the art towards which his deepest being strove—for poetry—the needful collectedness was wanting.

¹ Goethe to Knebel, April 2, 1785.—TR.

² See for instance, Goethe to Karl August, Oct. 18, 1784, and *Die Italiänische Reise*, Sept 8. Goethe suffered so much from the Thuringian climate, that he had a special personal interest in weather.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, Dec. 23, 1783; Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, May 19, 1784, with the footnote.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, May 21 and May 23, 1786.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Knebel, March 3, 1783 (the close of the letter).—TR.

Yet she stood at his command whenever the impulse came to give to inward emotions a living form. Witness the poem *Ilmenau*,¹ the various lyrics and epigrams scattered through the years, and, above all, though alas ! unfinished, *Die Geheimnisse*.² For *Wilh. im Meister*, with its wealth and breadth of life and thought, he was gathering perpetually fresh materials in the manifold activity of this period. Steadily urged by Charlotte, Goethe succeeded in bringing to completion six books of the novel by November 1785.³ But he could not get the seventh book done ; he stuck fast as he had in *Tasso*, and in *Elpenor* later than *Tasso*. The pressure of business prevented the free current of creative genius ; the impossible was the impossible to him as to other men. But though the growth of many a flower of verse was stifled in the arduous pre-occupation with business and practical affairs, there was yet great gain in this period ; it was a time of transition needful for the development of the *man* Goethe, not to be sundered from the development of the poet ; without the *Weimar Years of Service*, without the mastery of self, and the deep and wide experience which they brought, Goethe would never have been the richly fraught World Poet, the complete reporter and interpreter of German soul and intellect.

An accident led Goethe's attention to the further development of the comic opera. Friend Kayser, after a considerable time of silence, surprised him in the spring of 1784, by

¹ *Ilmenau*, dedicated to Karl August, and dated "3d September 1783."
—TR.

² *Die Geheimnisse* begun August 1784 ; see Goethe to Herder and Herder's wife, August 8, 1784. On March 27 and 28, 1785, we find him doing his two stanzas daily. On April 2, 1785, he tells Knebel that forty-eight stanzas are written.—TR.

³ We have seen that Goethe was dictating at the first book of *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* in February 1777. On January 2, 1778, he writes in his *Diary* :—"Early to-day finished B. i. of *Meister*." Book ii. was finished in August 1782 ; Book iii., Nov. 12, 1782 ; Book iv., Nov. 12, 1783 ; Book v., Oct. 16, 1784 ; Book vi., at Ilmenau, Nov. 11, 1785. See Goethe's letters of the dates mentioned, and *passim*. The present division into books by no means corresponds with this earliest division. For instance, Goethe writes to Charlotte von Stein, June 20, 1785 :—"Hierbei ein Liedchen von Mignon aus dem sechsten Buche." And the last line of his next letter to her is "Ach ! wer die Sehnsucht kennt !" The song sent is thus evidently the song, "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt," now in Book iv. See in Hempel's Goethe, Band xvii., Düntzer's introduction to the *Lehrjahre*.—TR.

announcing that—mainly induced by a longing for the old Italian music—he was accompanying a young merchant in Italy. To think of Kayser treading the Promised Land, which “I, like a prophet who has sinned, only see lying before me in the indistinctness far away,”¹ awakened, of course, a feeling of sadness; but at the same time, the old desire to stir his friend (now to Goethe’s joy emerged from the gloom which was destroying all his power and activity) to the production of some work in which they should be partners. On the 24th of June 1784 Goethe writes from Eisenach to Kayser, “Even though I be at present in unpoetic circumstances, the sleeping genius can yet be awakened.” On the 28th of June he tells Kayser that since the beginning of the year he had seen the Bellomo company [just then in Eisenach] play [in good translations] a dozen of the best Italian comic operas. “Life, movement, seasoned with feeling, all forms of passion, find there their scene. Especially am I charmed with the delicacy and grace by which the composer, like some heavenly being, as it were, hovers above the earthly nature of the poet.” If not earlier, he was at any rate, by some letter received from Kayser between June 24 and June 28, moved to think of an operetta; for referring to such a letter, he writes (beginning the letter last quoted):—“That you love the comic opera, and long for work, are two good things I am glad to hear. I have always liked the *opera buffa* of the Italians, and wished some time or other to bring out in fellowship with you a little work of the kind.”² So far back as 1777, the performances of *Intermezzos*, which a German *Buffo*, Anton Berger, with his wife, used to give in a room, had interested Goethe; he would add a third voice mediate to the former two, and thought over several subjects, one of which he at length began to develop into the operetta, *Scherz, List und Rache*. By August 14, 1784, he can write to Charlotte that it is nearly ready; yet after this—Goethe having seen an admirable performance of Salieri’s *Scuola di Gelosi* in Brunswick—it remained for more than half a year unprogressing. Not until April 1785 was it sent to Kayser, who found a certain Italian quality in its form. Goethe thought it a considerable advance on his earlier operettas. Kayser set about his work with thorough relish.

¹ Goethe to Kayser, June 24, 1784.—TR.

² Burkhardt, *Goethe und Kayser*, S. 21.—TR.

By September 1785 the music of the first act had arrived. On December 4, 1785, Goethe tells Kayser how he has been going through the piece with the singers; it gives him great delight, and they will have it brought out on every German stage. But in truth Knebel's account of the München stage had been by no means encouraging. The moral taste prevailing there seemed to Goethe the most unfavourable for artists, the most favourable for bunglers. But he meant to stand to his friend, and, at the same time, elevate the "miserable German lyric theatre," which "every one, who can sing or play, leaves for the Italian, and with right."¹ And he thinks that even for the München palate, he can prepare something acceptable; he meditates another piece in which the effect desirable shall be cared for; he means to give to a material (*Die ungleichen Hausgenossen*) already thought out, a wider compass. On December 23, 1785, he tells Kayser of his plan, which some persons of taste have approved. The performance (Dec. 1785) of the first two acts of *Scherz, List und Rache* at Court won general applause, Herder being one of those most pleased, whom Goethe held the most reliable judge among all the lovers of music then near.² But the composer himself was the least content with his work; the piece was, he felt, too full of action, too much extended,—was too great a task for three actors;³ he complained also of the difficulty which the language gave him, the poet having intentionally taken peculiar liberties. Goethe sent emendations (Dec. 23, 1785) for single passages in the fourth act; urged, however (Jan. 23, 1786), that no corrections should be made in the first act until the whole piece was completed. He has at length regretfully to acknowledge the justness of Kayser's fear that the piece is not suitable for representation on the stage; and he will not ever again write such a piece with but three persons—though he has another delightful subject, almost richer, almost madder. He has thoughts of recasting *Claudine* and *Erwin und Elmire*.⁴ His thoughts clung in a morbid, excited

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Dec. 30, 1785.—TR.

² Goethe to Kayser, from Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Kayser, Jan. 23, 1786:—"Die andere Bemerkung ist leider eben so richtig, dass das Stück für ein musikalisches Drama zu angezogen, zu angestrengt ist. Zu viel Arbeit für drey Personen."—TR.

⁴ Burkhardt, *Goethe und Kayser*, S. 29-34.—TR.

way to his poor operetta ; he pities the good Kayser who is "wasting his music on this barbarous language."¹ Kayser's third act was performed on the 5th of February 1786. The latter part of the composition receives from Goethe the same generous praise as the earlier. He writes to Kayser on the 5th of May,² that what he (Goethe) has learned in this their first partnership shall be proved by the piece that is coming, from which, too, something new will be learned, and so on, always learning. His mind was troubled as he wrote this letter, for he could not reveal to his friend how soon he was going to Italy. Yet he was impelled, by conscience one might say, to speak of a journey to Italy—"Had I the Italian tongue at my command, as I have the unlucky German, I would invite you straight to a journey beyond the Alps." The attempt at opera had failed, and that single airs or acts might be given was a poor comfort to Kayser, who immediately began to compose the operetta afresh, in order to attain his first ambition. To Goethe the effort, first prompted by affection for his friend, had proved a lively stimulus, and he had gained clear insight into a new form of his art.

Thus, beneath the overwhelming load of many affairs, which, to use his own words, cultivated him while he cultivated them,³ the restless poet continually found time to give to literature and science, "for which he was born."⁴ Nay, precisely through his occupations he had been brought so very near to the natural sciences ; and them for a time he wooed more ardently than poetry, to which in a future of riper accomplishment, of artist insight from a higher vantage, his soul was yet to yield her complete homage. His creative genius was but fallen in a short slumber, to wake with strength renewed, nor had the slumber been unbroken :—"But at the heart of all my plans, designs, and enterprises, I remain mysteriously true to myself, and manage to re-unite the diverging threads of my social, political, moral, and poetic life, in a knot concealed from common ken."⁵

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Gotha, Jan. 26, 1786.—TR.

² He has received the music of the fifth act from Kayser.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, Dec. 30, 1785 :—"Meine Geschäfte gehen ihren Gang, sie bilden mich, indem ich sie bilde."—TR.

⁴ See p. 330.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 21, 1782.—TR.

IV. Goethe's Relations with the Duke and the Court of Weimar, 1782-1786.—But how did he stand with the Duke and the Court during these years? Immediately after his appointment on the Chamber of Finance in the summer of 1782, the life of the Duke and Duchess together grew happier than it had been, while the Duchess Amalia enjoyed life in her Tiefurt very much. In Tiefurt, on the night of July 22, 1782, Goethe's operetta, *Die Fischerin*, was performed, and gave great pleasure. To the Duchess Amalia, who had always been his good friend, he presented a fair copy of his unprinted writings; he had already given one to Charlotte von Stein. Karl August, indeed, has the old faults still, but Goethe seems to find a sort of general consolation in regarding them as "a prince's obliquities" (*fürstliche Queren*), which one must put up with. "The Duchess is as charming as any one can be," he writes on the 27th of August 1782 to Charlotte; "the Duke is a good fellow, and one could love him dearly if he did not make social intercourse curdle with his impertinences, and by his headlong plunging into danger did not compel his friends to become indifferent to his welfare or his misfortune." Vexatious as it is, that the Duke should be so attracted by the playing at soldiers of drill and parade, that he should "have his existence in coursing and hunting,"¹ and should pursue trivial objects with passionate eagerness; yet Goethe is glad that "he takes a willing and reasonable share in affairs, and is now and then anxious about some good thing." True, "the illusion—that the fair germs which ripen in my own being and in my friends, must be sown in this soil, and that those heavenly pearls could be set in the earthly crowns of these princes—is departed." Goethe saw that Karl August and he must move beside each other on different paths. For a time he holds aloof from the Court, and often allows the Duke to travel without him. And when, in December 1782, he follows the Duke to Neuenheiligen, and then is with him in Dessau and Leipzig, he secures his freedom by leaving Neuenheiligen earlier, and by staying in Leipzig later than his companion.

The birth of a hereditary prince (February 3, 1783) was followed by a remarkable change for the better in Karl

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 21, 1782. From the same letter are taken the two quotations that follow.—TR.

August, who, in reply to Merck's congratulations, writes :—
 “Whatever tendencies to goodness lay within me, there was as yet—by force of circumstances—no sure point where they could centre and connect. Now, however, a firm hold-fast is driven by which I can hang my pictures. With Goethe's help, and the help of good fortune, I will so paint them that those who come after shall say : *Ed egli fu pittore.*”

The time which followed was one of gladness for Weimar, marred only by the perplexity and shame which the adventures of Prince Constantin abroad brought on the Court. Much good had been hoped from this journey,—by Goethe among the rest,—but their expectation had been brought to nought by the Prince's amour with a Madame Darsaincourt, whom he, when wearied of her, had sent to Weimar¹ without further ceremony. By Goethe's advice she was placed in the house of the chief forester at Tannroda, and she declared herself *enceinte*, which rendered the deep annoyance of the matter deeper. Soon the wastefulness and debts of the Prince became known, and Goethe, who had the task of meeting difficulties, was exceedingly distressed. We find him at Tannroda on the 4th of May 1783, looking after the accommodation of Mme. Darsaincourt. After the birth of her infant she was sent back to France under the charge of trusty Philipp Seidel. But Prince Constantin was not done yet. When met by *Chatoullier* Ludecus at Wiesbaden, he was found to have an English mistress with him. It was at once decided to send her to Marksuhl, to order the Prince to Wilhelmsthal. To Wilhelmsthal went Goethe and the Duke to await the arrival of the Prince. Thence he writes, on June 16, 1783, that Ludecus has told him things of the Prince than which nothing more pitiful can be imagined. The greater is the pleasure with which he turns to the Duke, who is “in very good paths.” “We have had real good talk on many things,” the letter goes on ; “there is a great dawn of light in him, and he will certainly grow happier himself, and a greater blessing to others.” When Constantin, after some delay, has arrived in Wilhelmsthal, Goethe writes, June 18, 1783 :—“The entanglement of the Prince has several knots still left, which need patience in the untying.” Meanwhile, a

¹ He met her in Paris, took her to London with him, thence sent her to Weimar.—TR.

shelter must be found for the English mistress ; she became unwell, and her deportation had to be put off. So Goethe applied to his old friend Riese in Frankfurt for help in the matter. He returned to Weimar with the Prince on June 20. The Duke took his brother to Ilmenau, then went with him to Würzburg (July 21), and behaved admirably throughout the miserable affair. What high hope he inspired in Goethe at this time may be read in the noble birthday gratulation, *Ilmenau*, composed on the 3d of September 1783 at the Gickelhahn.

But soon after the lively interest which the *Fürstenbund* (Bund or Alliance of German Princes) roused in the Duke became a cause of disquiet to Goethe. He would have Karl August confine himself to being a good father (*Hausvater*) to his own dominions ; but Karl August held it a paternal duty to oppose the encroachment of Austria, and to secure the freedom of the German princes. Active negotiation with Baden, Gotha, Brunswick, and Mainz was being carried on by the Duke and the Prince of Dessau, when the death of the little Princess Luise, on March 24, 1784, plunged the Court in grief. The Duke felt it deeply ; but far more the Duchess, who withdrew into still greater retirement. In the sad days that followed, Goethe did much to comfort her in her sorrow ; many extra cares fell on his shoulders. Meanwhile, Prince Constantin had, through the Duke's influence, obtained a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the Saxon army—an arrangement which Goethe did not altogether approve ; but he knew how to content himself with the part of silent looker-on at these family affairs. In August 1784 he could not refuse to go with the Duke to Brunswick, though he had hardly, as he writes to Merck, worked off the arrears which had gathered in June and July during his absence at Eisenach. At Brunswick the Duke worked for the *Fürstenbund*, and was completely successful ; how admirable was his demeanour amid the polite court ceremonial, so alien and distasteful to his nature, is observed by Goethe with great satisfaction. Goethe refused, however, to go on to Zweibrücken, where Karl August was to pursue the same eagerly-desired object. In order not to betray the purpose of his journey, the Duke had to extend it far ; to the discontent of his subjects he went even to Zürich. Writing from Frankfurt, where Frau Aja

gave him a breakfast, he asked Goethe to come and fetch him home ; but Goethe abode firmly by this answer—that for more than one reason he cannot at present leave Weimar.¹ When the close of 1784 found Karl August still delaying his return—kept back in his coming, notwithstanding the general displeasure, by hunting-parties—Goethe is disappointed and vexed. On the 26th of December 1784 he writes to the Duke :—“ I desire that all you do on this journey, and all that befalls you, may tend to your use and profit. The delight in the chase also I grant you with all my heart, and cherish the hope that you, on the other hand, on your return, will free those who look to you (*die Ihrigen*) from the dread of a threatening evil.” The preserving of wild boars on the Ettersberg had proved an injury to the whole neighbourhood, and had roused the bitterest anger. “ I have seen you renounce many such things,” runs this letter, remarkable equally for its frankness and its delicacy, “ and I hope that you will make us a New Year’s gift of this partiality ; and for the disquietude which I have endured through the colony since its planting, only compensate me with the skull of the general mother of the hateful brood, which I can thus place in my museum with a twofold pleasure.” Not until the evening of January 11, 1785, did the Duke return. Then, notwithstanding all reasons for discontent, Goethe was glad to find awakened within him a love for natural science, and for the quiet, certain path which the student of nature travels.

Unfortunately, for the time the affairs of the *Fürstenbund* dominated over every other interest in the Duke’s mind. That its secrecy might be preserved, Goethe had with his own hand to make copies of the several communications with the Courts ; this service he had performed at an earlier period also. Meanwhile, the general hope had been set on the birth of a second prince—the Hereditary Prince was very weakly—but the son whom the Duchess bore on the 27th of February 1785 died immediately. A month later Goethe fell into great anxiety when the Duke took the side of Prussia against Austria,—nay, had made up his mind to join in the possible war. He asked Goethe’s advice indeed, who knew only too well that temper had already decided the course of things. “ The

¹ See Goethe to Karl August, December 26, 1784 (the beginning of the letter).—TR.

delight in war which works beneath the skin in our princes like a kind of itch," writes Goethe to Knebel, April 1, 1785, "wearies me like a bad dream, in which you must fly, and you try to, but your feet deny you service. To me they appear like dreamers of this fashion, and it is as though I dreamt with them——. Leave them their pleasant delusion. The prudent dealing of the big ones will, let us hope, spare the little ones the action which they would fain engage in at the cost of other men's blood and suffering. On this head I have no longer either mercy and sympathy, nor hope and forbearance." And Goethe's conviction that there was misfortune for the country in this interference with external politics was so earnest, that a coldness with Karl August resulted,—nay, in our poet's ailing condition, and the vexation thus intensified, the thought of leaving Weimar returned.¹ The affectionate words of Knebel, with whom in Jena, at the end of April, he took refuge, brought serenity and courage back.² And his relations with the Duke were soon on a tolerable footing again. In May Goethe writes to Charlotte:—"The Duke, who, as is well known, is a great believer in salvings of conscience, gave me before his departure [for Pymont] a rise of 200 thalers, and sent me 40 louis d'or for the Karlsbad journey." Goethe's salary was thus brought to 1600 thalers.

After a June, July, and August of travel, Goethe, back from Karlsbad, is ill-pleased with the instability of things in Weimar. "Here all goes on after the old fashion," he writes on the 1st of September 1785, to Knebel; "Alas for the fair building which might endure, and be lifted high, and spread wide, and can find no solid ground to rest on." There was great discontent because the Court Table was given up; only three maids of honour and one male outsider dined each day with the Duke and Duchess, in the Duke's private room. The courtiers received board-money. On the 5th of September 1785 Goethe writes to Charlotte von Stein:—"The Duke is happy in his pack of hounds [a present from *Oberkammerherr* von Pöllnitz]. I do not grudge it him. He puts away the courtiers, puts on the dogs. It is always the same—a great hubbub merely to hunt a hare to death. And it gives me almost as much trouble to keep a hare alive!" Some days later—"Now and then I see the Prince [the little Hereditary

¹ See page 321.—TR.

² See Goethe to Knebel, April 30, 1785.—TR.

Prince] and our royal personages—where life is pleasantly spent these days. The new arrangement continues, and dining in the small room is found wretchedly uncomfortable. . . . Thus is it, my Lotte, when people do not know the right time to put off old ways, or to begin new. And there is more to come.”¹ Goethe declines to accompany the Duke on the considerable journey to Berlin. But he does go to Gotha (November 1785), because circumstances may require the presence of a third,² the business on hand being that of the *Fürstenbund*. All through, the *Fürstenbund* was disliked by Goethe, while the Duke, as one of the body of princes, and as a good son of the Fatherland, felt a genuine enthusiasm for it. In the beginning of the new year 1786, Karl August, to Goethe’s annoyance, entered the Prussian service. In the beginning of May 1786 we find the two living once more “after forest fashion” at Ilmenau; but it is added, “pretty restrainedly.”³ However bitter Goethe’s complaints might often be, he always in calmer mood was ready with full recognition of the splendid gifts and warm affectionateness of disposition of the Duke.

V. Goethe and Charlotte von Stein, 1782-1786.

But the life of his life remained ever the tender high union of soul with Charlotte. And yet, just when by becoming a member of the Chamber of Finance, he seemed to have drawn closer the chains which bound him to Weimar, came a disturbance of that union which agitated him dreadfully. Charlotte was very ill and depressed at the time (July 1782); something that Goethe said wounded her, she shut herself from him; her misinterpretation of a note from him made matters worse, she immediately forbade him to visit her for several days; but his reply, “that he has not deserved it, that he feels it, and is silent,” opened her eyes to her injustice.⁴ This discord indeed, soon was gone; but a heritage of pain throbbed long in Goethe, who was then by no means strong to bear it. At Charlotte’s wish he had placed in his garden a stone seat, which he called after her (August 1782). When, in the beginning of October 1782, Goethe receives

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Sept. 8, 1785.—TR.

² Goethe wished, too, to see Tischbein’s painting, *Conradin*.—TR

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, May 5, 1786.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe’s letters to Charlotte von Stein, July 18-24, 1782. TR.

"an excellent letter" from his mother, he writes to his "only one :"—"So long as I have you both, there is nothing lacking to me." From this time on, the most cordial family life developed, and Goethe strove continually to render it more affectionate and intimate. He visits Charlotte twice in Kochberg during the autumn of 1782. At the fortnightly teas by which he released himself from further duties to society, she is the hostess. In the evenings he is with her regularly, and has nothing concealed from her, as he writes to Knebel.¹

On November 7, 1782, he writes :—"Seven years it is to-day since I came; would that to-day also might begin a new epoch of my life and being, whereby I might grow continually more acceptable to thee." But she, always a prey to gloomy foreboding, feared this eighth year. Still their union grew closer. On April 14, 1783, Goethe takes Fritz Stein with him to Ilmenau as Charlotte's "image." In May 1783 he proposes to take the boy to live with him entirely, and Stein assents. After Fritz had unpacked his belongings, he was taken (May 27) by Goethe to Jena; "Fritz is very good, and will be a common source of joy to us," writes Goethe on June 1, after their return. Charlotte writes to her sister-in-law :²—"Goethe has taken Fritz to live with him, and in educating him shows such kindness and clear understanding of the matter, that one may well learn from him. He is one of the few who can comprehend education in Rousseau's deep interpretation of it; and as Fritz by nature has a charming mental symmetry, it is a delight to Goethe himself to deal with him." Goethe accustomed his pupil to the simplest diet, and furthered his education after the most loving and wise fashion. In September 1783 Fritz is brought on the journey to the Harz; on the 6th, before starting, Goethe writes :—"Now adieu, my dear Lotte, and thank you for your dear leave-taking, never to be forgotten. Here are three keys—of the chest, the press, and my writing-table; except a few business matters, all is yours." All his private letters were shown to her; in all her

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 21, 1782: "Alle Woche gebe ich einen grossen Thee, wovon niemand ausgeschlossen ist, und entledge mich dadurch meiner Pflichten gegen die Societät aufs wohlfeilste. . . . Abends bin ich bei der Stein und habe nichts verborgenes vor ihr."—Tr.

² Frau von Schardt. See p. 292.—Tr.

anxieties he shared with warm sympathy. He was indeed often mute and reserved even in her presence; she playfully named him *Il penseroso*; but she felt that it was the oppression and weariness of his load of business. Very sadly passed the days on which they were both unwell; but their evenings, of companionship were the happier, when they lived entirely for each other in the exchange of confidences, or together enjoyed books on natural history and the history of the earth, or listened to Herder reading aloud from his *Ideen*. At the end of the year 1783 Fritz is set to write to Goethe's mother, with whom, in January 1784, Charlotte also opens a correspondence. In February 1784 Fritz, and Fritz's elder brother Ernst, are taken to that opening of the new shaft at Ilmenau, which was so weighty an event to Goethe.

His love for Charlotte now enters on a strange phase of passionate yearning; it is impossible to satisfy his craving for assurance, and tokens that her heart is his. Her disquiet at this increases his fervour. When he goes to Brunswick in August 1784 she begs him, as he has to converse in French at the Court, to write to her in French, hoping that the expression of his yearning would thus be moderated. His enthusiasm of passion finds outlet in *Die Geheimnisse*.¹

Charlotte had now resolved to undertake herself the management of her estate. Goethe will not oppose; he even confesses that the way in which she goes about it makes him love her afresh,² though he cannot help the remark that by burdening herself with the cross of domestic economics she is only sharing an evil without being able to remove it.³ He now makes up his mind to adopt Fritz Stein, and sends to Frau

¹ On August 23, 1784, Goethe sent to Charlotte von Stein the following stanza of *Die Geheimnisse*; it is one of the half-dozen which he omitted from the poem as published in his collected works:—

“Gewiss, ich wäre schon so ferne, ferne,
So weit die Welt nur offen liegt, gegangen,
Bezwängen mich nicht übermächt'ge Sterne,
Die mein Geschick an Deines angehangen,
Dass ich in Dir nun erst mich kennen lerne,
Mein Dichten, Trachten, Hoffen und Verlangen
Allein nach Dir und Deinem Wesen drängt
Mein Leben nur an Deinem Leben hängt.”—Tr.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, June 28 and July 7, 1784.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Karl August, October 28, 1784.—Tr.

Aja two miniatures of his pet, that she may have the boy always before her; hitherto she had possessed only a silhouette likeness of him.

During 1785 Goethe's love grew calm again, without losing depth and force. Illness and anxieties, however, darkened their "heaven."¹ Charlotte had made up her mind to seek recovery in Karlsbad this time, and thither Goethe too purposed to resort, taking the Fichtelgebirge on his way. But soon disgust with his lot takes such a hold of him that he buries himself in his thought, and even love cannot open his heart. "We will ever remain together, love. As to that be without uneasiness," he writes on the 20th of April 1785; but a few days later he hurries in despair to Jena.² In the early weeks of May lingering indisposition kept the lovers apart. At this time, too, Charlotte was grieved about her son Karl, who had contracted debts in Helmstedt, where he was studying, and had suddenly left Helmstedt and gone to Göttingen, in the middle of a Semester, without his parents' leave.

The July spent by the lovers in Karlsbad was composed of happy days. "The dear Stein was in general well when here, and every one wished her well," writes Goethe, shortly before his own departure, to the Duke. Towards the end of August 1785 Fritz Stein travelled to Frankfurt under the care of an Eisenach merchant, to visit Goethe's mother. On October 6, 1785, Goethe writes to Charlotte:—"Fritz is merrier than ever. He has in Frankfurt for the first time learned to know what Freedom is; and my mother is the first who has taught him the philosophy of a joyous life in detail. You will be astonished to see how he has improved in everything." And elsewhere Goethe is right jubilant over the good derived from the journey by Fritz. How paternal his feeling towards the boy was, witness his words to Jacobi:—"Do you know what? I will bring him up for your girl. She will not get a prettier nor better fellow."³ When in the latter part of September the Princess Galitzin, commended by Jacobi, came to Weimar, accompanied by the freethinker Hemsterhuis, and by the strictly orthodox Vicar-General von Fürstenberg from

¹ On January 11, 1785, Goethe writes:—"Every one seeks his heaven outwards; how happy I am that I have mine so near!"—TR.

² Where he found consolation in Knebel's friendship. See p. 354.—TR.

³ Goethe to Jacobi, September 11, 1785.—TR.

Münster, Goethe found it quite possible to be frank and natural with her. Without any invasion of Charlotte's power, the poet was powerfully attracted by this charming and graceful woman, whom Hemsterhuis celebrated as "Diotima." In education she was a follower of Rousseau; in religion she was a Pietist. She was at this time separated from her husband. She had already heard much from Jacobi of Goethe's relation to Frau von Stein, whom she visited in October.¹ In the evening the two women met at Goethe's house. "This noble soul has awakened and strengthened us to manifold good by her presence," writes Goethe to Jacobi (October 21, 1785); "and your friends have brought us sweet joys and hours." Later he wrote to the Princess, begging that a correspondence of friendship might be opened between them. He enclosed a letter from Charlotte; this letter he had himself drafted.² He wished to get a look into the inner life of this lady, who was so strangely composed of enthusiastic faith and fresh intellectual clearness. But she remained silent; she could look for no good to her soul, she thought, in such a connection, and probably she felt, too, that Charlotte had entire possession of Goethe's mind and heart.

Meanwhile, to the behaviour of Charlotte's son Karl, whom she could no longer trust, was added another great anxiety; her second son, Ernst, was laid up with a neglected wound in the knee. At Christmas it grew so bad that Charlotte could not leave him. Goethe felt painfully the constant separation from her; add to which that she was pressed by many cares, that he was frequently gloomy and ill, seldom revealing his inner self—indeed often quite mute. Once he begs Charlotte to be patient, and even though his mood often grow desperate, not to draw mistaken inferences.³ His deep-rooted superstition that every important resolve fails if confided to others, prevented him from telling Charlotte of his intended flight to Italy; and this too gave him pain. Ernst Stein grew better, but Karl's behaviour continued to give his mother great

¹ Frau von Stein was at Kochberg during September and the first ten days of October. It was after her return to Weimar that she received this visit.—TR.

² See Goethe to Frau von Stein, December 4, 1785.—TR.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, February 18, 1786:—"Habe du nur mit mir Geduld und lass dich nicht irren wenn mir's manchmal fatal wird."—TR.

anxiety. At her desire Goethe wrote to Karl in his father's name, urging economy, and demanding an exact account how and why he had incurred the debts. Frequent illness and Goethe's various absences from Weimar kept the lovers apart again for a long time. "Let me ever find thy love the same! there is so much else that will not go on right," he laments to her, writing from Ilmenau, May 5, 1786. He had set his hope on Karlsbad, where he hoped to enjoy some happy weeks in Charlotte's society.

VI. Goethe and Old Friends, 1782-6.—In the little band of friends who made life brighter for him, the first place since the autumn of 1783 had been occupied by Herder. Herder at the time specified was working on the early part of his *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*,¹ which so happily fell in with Goethe's speculations on nature. Herder recognises in Goethe one of the few who have heart and head in the right place, one who is in every step in life a man; while our poet knew how to estimate Herder's acuteness, profundity of soul, large intellectual grasp. Another friend to whom Goethe continued heartily attached was the dejectedly vacillating Knebel. He was away from Weimar for a considerable time. Of him Goethe was glad to make a confidant, and rejoiced in mutual encouragement and comforting. And amid all changes a friendly relation with the kindly, gifted Wieland stood firm. Wieland saw how Goethe suffered beneath the burthen which he had taken on him for the good of the land, and rendered the due tribute of esteem to the upright courtier and minister.

As to friends at a distance—Merck did not indeed come to Weimar during the period now under review, but Goethe had many points of union with him, and rejoiced in his occasional good luck the more heartily as manifold want of success had made Merck constantly more bitter and weary of life. With Schlosser too Goethe remains on good terms; even if he cannot encourage the Duke to bring Schlosser to Weimar, but gets the decision left to Fritsch, who declares against it. Nor did the connection with Kestner break off; though they wrote but seldom they felt how dear they were to each other. When Kestner in 1785 writes to Goethe a detailed account of a great loss of means, Goethe replies:—

¹ *Thoughts on a Philosophy of the History of Mankind.*—TR.

"Be assured of my heartfelt sympathy, for my manifold life in the world has made my old friends still dearer to me. I thank you for your circumstantial letter and for your sureness that I would feel with and for you."¹ A Dr. Riedel, who came to Weimar, introduced by Kestner, and who afterwards married Lotte's youngest sister, pleased Goethe so well as to be recommended by him to the Duke and Duchess as *Landkammerrath*, with the prospect of becoming tutor to the young Prince.²

His relations with the two friends who in old times had been the most ardently clasped to the heart—with Jacobi and Lavater—had been changing in ways the most opposite. In 1782 Jacobi—still so bitterly offended that he doubted whether Goethe had any heart, and would hear nothing of the good which Knebel had to tell of Goethe—had mentioned to Schlosser an old loan not yet repaid by Goethe.³ The Schlossers coming home through Frankfurt had told Frau Aja of this; she told Goethe, and he asked her to settle the matter, at the same time did not omit to write to Jacobi, October 2, 1782. He regrets the delay in repayment of the loan, acknowledges the kindness which had by this loan helped him out of a great perplexity, and yields heartfelt thanks for it and for all the goodness of his friend in time past. He also alludes to the circumstance which had wounded Jacobi:—"When we grow older and the world grows a narrower place, we think often with pain of the days when we jested friends away for pastime, and laughed in thoughtless insolence at the wounds we inflicted—which we could not feel ourselves, and which we took no trouble to heal." The tender-hearted, emotional Jacobi could not, for all his piqued vanity, resist the generosity of this confession—which indeed is anything but a softening down of the fault confessed. The friendship was soon renewed in all its intimacy, and was not disturbed later on by the difference of their views on Spinoza.⁴ Jacobi after the death of his wife, an event which called forth

¹ Goethe to Kestner, Dec. 4, 1785.—In this letter occurs that great word:—"Wenn der Mensch sich selbst bleibt, bleibt ihm viel."—TR.

² See Goethe to Kestner, June 16, and July 21, 1786.—TR.

³ See p. 237.—TR.

⁴ See letters of Goethe to Jacobi in the years 1785-6. See especially that of June 9, 1785. Goethe was reading Spinoza's *Ethics* with Charlotte von Stein in November 1784.—TR.

Goethe's deepest sympathy,¹ came with his sister Charlotte to Weimar to Goethe, and they found each other again completely (September 1784). With deep emotion Jacobi parted from the noble friend whose heart he had misjudged so long.

While the friendship with Jacobi was knit anew, the connection with Lavater was loosed. And precisely through a personal meeting their separation was as it were finally sealed. The agreement, desired by Goethe, to peace and mutual tolerance in religious matters was not established. On the contrary, Lavater declared that whoever hated his *Pontius Pilatus*²—a work which disgusted our poet as a "*Capuzinade*"—must hate himself. In the third part of this work, certainly, Goethe found thoroughly good things, and believed he saw that humanity was by degrees becoming revealed to Lavater. He sent greeting to Lavater by the Duke so late as October 1784. But when the friend once so dear was more and more carried away by zeal for illuminating and converting, when he excited society by his magnetic cures, and made a progress through Germany as a prophet and worker of miracles, Goethe's bitterness deepened to see any one lead astray men's common sense with such vagaries. At the moment when Goethe himself had gained insight into the depths of Nature creative and active in accordance with eternal laws, was this to be his experience—his friend once so human in sympathy, now quite fallen from his old self, imposing his fables on the world as the only salvation? Goethe would gladly have avoided the ecstatic prophet, the distortion of the genuine human image of Lavater, that visited Weimar in July 1786. But he was compelled by the unusual delay in the lying-in of the Duchess to linger away in Weimar the time which he had thought to spend delightfully in Karlsbad by Charlotte's side, and thus to await the arrival of Lavater, who came about seven o'clock in the evening of July 18,—the very day on which a little Princess was born. The prophet came with the Prince of Dessau, who was still a reverential

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, March 3, 1784. Helene Elizabeth Jacobi had, it will be remembered, been a dear friend of Goethe's. See pp. 175 and 179.—TR.

² For Goethe's feeling about this work see his letters to Charlotte von Stein, April 6, 1782, and July 9, 1784, and his letter to Lavater July 29, 1782.—TR.

follower: he stopped with Goethe, who invited the Duke, Herder, Wieland, and Bode to meet him. Goethe was perfectly cold and reserved; not a single word of confidence passed between them.¹ Every one else was charmed with Lavater, especially Wieland and the Duchess Amalia, also Fritz, in whose album he wrote some verses. Lavater could not, as far as Goethe was concerned, have come at a less favourable moment; the poet was longing to get away to Karlsbad, and had, too, to keep concealed the resolve which filled him with restlessness—the resolve to go away to Italy. That Lavater should appear precisely at this moment he looked on as a work of the gods, who desired his complete separation from the prophet who denied the God in Nature in whom he believed. Already, two years earlier, he had said:—"Of unions which do not sound the depth of Nature there can be no solid result;" still to bring about a separation so complete though tacit as was this one, the actual presence of Lavater was necessary. It was a dreary last meeting, where Goethe broke off an intimate connection twelve years old with a stern coldness deeply painful to himself.

How much happier was the meeting with the two Counts Stolberg, who ventured, in May 1784—with indeed the charming accompaniment of their wives—to visit the Weimar Court, though Fritz Stolberg and Klopstock had so insulted the Duke and his friend Goethe eight years before. "It was a very pleasant reminder of old times, and a new confirming of old friendship," writes Goethe to Kestner (June 24, 1784). He was especially attracted by the wife of Fritz Stolberg, the little, "cheery, sympathetic personality," the Countess Agnes. Christian Stolberg pleased him better on this occasion than did Fritz; he would have been glad to live awhile with Christian.² Goethe's correspondence with their sister Auguste (who in the previous year had given her hand to her brother-in-law, the noble Andreas Peter Bernstorff, then three

¹ See Goethe to Frau von Stein, July 21, 1786:—"Kein herzlich vertraulich Wort ist unter uns gewechselt worden, und ich bin Hass und Liebe auf ewig los. Er hat sich in den wenigen Stunden mit seinen Vollkommenheiten und Eigenheiten so vor mir gezeigt, und meine Seele war wie ein Glas rein Wasser. Ich habe auch unter seine Existenz einen grossen Strich gemacht, und weiss nun was mir *per saldo* von ihm übrig bleibe."—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Gotha, June 5, 1784.—TR.

years an ex-Minister) was broken off, and under the changed circumstances he could feel no desire to renew it. All feminine friendships had given room to the one great love for Charlotte von Stein; only his union with his mother, who, although he had been unable to visit her for six years,¹ was his pride and comfort, remained unimpaired.

¹ The following is interesting in this context: Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Eisenach, June 11, 1784—"I am told Frankfurt is but thirty-one hours away, and I am yet unable to entertain the most fleeting thought of going thither. So hast thou drawn my nature to thee that not a nerve is left for my other heart obligations."—TR.

CHAPTER V.

THE YEARNING FOR ITALY.

ON each return of the memorable days of his life—among which he counted the 7th of November—Goethe used to consider in serious retrospect the time just past, used to form resolves for the time to come. When in his new house in November 1782 he had all letters and papers of the last ten years stitched together he grew hot at the sight. “But I will not desist, I will see these ten years lie before me as from a hill the long valley just traversed.”¹ Two years later he reviews the numerous and differing epochs in his way of thinking during his life at Weimar, seeks to make the past right explicable to himself, to obtain a clear notion of the present, and to imagine what he would do if he at that moment came to that place and that service.² With still more intensity he must have brooded over past and future when in November 1785 his tenth year in Weimar had drawn to its close. The feeling that by his excessive labours in the harsh Thuringian climate the early elasticity of spirit had fled, could not but impel him to deliberate seriously whether it were not now time to shake off the load of business, to recruit ere too late, and to yield to the instinct of his artist nature. True, he had to thank the Karlsbad springs for “an altogether new existence,”³ and he hoped much from a new visit in the coming summer; but the narrow Weimar circle, with Weimar official business straining all his energies, had grown terribly oppressive; he was in need of a new life for his refreshing. When he was in Leipzig at the end of 1782 he wrote to Charlotte (Dec. 28): “I will stay here some days longer, and for thy sake as for my

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 21, 1782.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August, Dec. 26, 1784.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, Dec. 30, 1785.—TR.

own ; I could at last bear it [the ennui of Weimar] no more ; there was no use trying. If I do not constantly get new ideas to work I become, as it were, ill." The short flights to Ilmenau, the Harz, Karlsbad, and other places, could not permanently satisfy ; the tension of all his life, and the weariness of some of it, had worn so many furrows in his soul that nothing but a bold excursion on new paths into an unexplored world could save him. And where could he hope to find what he desired if not in Italy ? Into Italy he had already twice looked down from the Gotthard Pass, thither before he had known Weimar he had planned to travel, he saw Italy by the magic mirror of his father's memories of it, Kayser's fresh letters had lately brought it near to him, Tischbein's *Conradin*¹ spoke to him with alluring persuasiveness of the land beyond the Alps, where it was painted. When, so early as April 1785, he thought for a moment of flying from Weimar, the visit to Italy must have been in his mind. Thenceforward the secret hope to find in Italy healing for body and spirit grew constantly stronger. In January 1786 occurs his bitter comparison of the rude German tongue with the melodious Italian.² He was then working at Italian with Fritz Stein.

As he grew surer of the necessity of flight, it behoved him more and more to consider the external arrangements which should make flight possible. He felt sure that the Duke would allow him to be absent a considerable time without forfeiting his salary ; but his salary would not suffice for the expenses of an enjoyable stay of the duration hoped for. He resolved to raise the needful sum by issuing an edition of his collected works ; those writings which were still fragmentary he could get ready in Italy at his leisure. All that he had as yet done by way of preparation for such an issue was some slight alteration of *Werther*, and a transcription of *Iphigenie*. But now not only should everything already printed and the pieces given on the Weimar stage undergo fresh revision ; what was yet incomplete should if possible be brought to a conclusion—*Egmont*, *Elpenor*, *Tasso*, *Faust*. Only *Wilhelm Meister* was excluded from the plan ; to thoroughly remould the part

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Ilmenau, Nov. 10, 1785 ; to Herder, Ilmenau, Nov. 11, 1785.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, Gotha, January 26, 1786. He is talking about his "poor unfinished operetta," *Scherz, List und Rache*.—TR.

already written and to develop the work farther would demand time.

Early in June 1786 Goethe is at work revising; in the middle of the month he takes some of his work to Ilmenau with him. At the mines he sets many things in order, that he may go on his travels free from uneasiness. On June 16 he writes to Charlotte:—" *Der Triumph von Empfindsamkeit* is ready, all but the first act, which I have left to the last. . . . Now I am thinking of *Stella*, and will not rest until it also is to my mind. You shall see and judge all. To go through these things and renew them within makes me half merry, half sad. Only that I must I should not do it." When back in Weimar he took up *Werther* and *Iphigenie*, and very valuable was the aid received from Herder and Wieland. Charlotte, who transcribed his shorter poems, left Weimar for Karlsbad on July 2, 1786. Just after her departure Goethe came to a final arrangement with the Leipzig bookseller, Göschen. For the proposed eight volumes the poet was to have 2000 thalers, to be paid in instalments as each volume appeared. Göschen had the right to issue a special edition on Dutch paper. Goethe meant to complete the first four volumes before leaving Germany; thus he would have 1000 thalers to help him on to Easter 1787. He had arranged with Councillor of Commerce Paulsen of Jena, that in Rome and Venice sums of money should await the Leipzig merchant, Johann Philipp Möller; under this name he meant to travel.

But now ensued that delay in Weimar. The illness of Ernst Stein contributed to the worry of the time. (Karl Stein had found a place as *Kammerjunker* and *Auditor* in Mecklenburg. "Light by nature, he will come through life's difficulties lightly," writes Goethe to Charlotte on July 6, 1786.) At length on July 24 he gets away with Chancery Secretary Vogel, whom he had long employed in transcribing. A week later the Duke followed. Herder also with wife and son came to Karlsbad again. Goethe and Charlotte were together until August 14, when she left, Goethe accompanying her as far as Schneeberg, where he remained a day or two collecting mineralogical specimens. He now revised the latter part of *Werther*. Every evening he read aloud from his works. *Iphigenie*, which he had had written down in the external semblance of verse by Vogel, produced great effect.

He had hoped to leave for Italy on his birthday, August 28, 1786, but he soon saw that a few days more must be given up. On August 23 he writes to Charlotte:—"And then in the free wide world I shall live with thee, and in happy loneliness, without name, without rank, draw nearer to the old earth whence we are taken." Whither he was about to travel he kept secret from her, as in the winter of 1777 the journey to the Harz. His birthday was kept by his friends and acquaintances after the cheeriest fashion; he received several poems in the name of his own unfinished ones. Herder once more commended *Iphigenie* to his attention; instead of "hammering deaf stone" (he thought that Goethe was going on a mineralogical excursion), let him get "his tools to this labour."¹ Immediately after this the Duke left Karlsbad; his humour and cheeriness had made the time very pleasant for the company gathered there, though he had somewhat spoiled the good effect by rough jokes. Goethe was with him as far as Engelhaus: there a troop of maidens greeted him with merry farewell verses of his friend's composing.² Only undecidedly did Goethe on this occasion speak of his purposed travel. But on September 2, 1786, the day before that on which he started, he wrote to the Duke, begging leave of absence for a considerable time, and declaring himself more precisely. "You are happy," he said; "you are going to an appointment [in the Prussian army] that you have desired and chosen. Your affairs at home are in good order and in good train; and I know that you now permit me to think of myself—nay, you have often called on me to do so. In general business [the Treasury and the Council] I can certainly be done without at present; and as for the special tasks with which I am charged, I have so ordered them that they can go on awhile without me; even though I died, indeed, no hitch would occur. Many other fortunate concurrences of these stars I pass over, and beg you only for unconditional leave of absence. The use of the baths two years running has done much for my bodily health, and I hope the best for the elasticity of my spirit also, if, left to itself, it but may for a time enjoy the free world. The first four volumes are at length in

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, September 8, 1786 (the close of the entry).—TR.

² The lines beginning "Ist es denn wahr, was man gesagt?"—TR.

order ; Herder has stood by me with untiring fidelity. For the last four I need leisure and a mind in tune. I have considered the matter too lightly, and only now do I see how much is to be done if we are to have no botching. All this and yet many other concurring circumstances impel me and compel me to wander and lose myself in regions of the earth where I am yet unknown. I travel by myself under a name that is not mine, and from this enterprise that seems so strange I hope for the best result. Only, I beg, let no one know that I am to stay away. All those who work with me and under me, or who in any other way have to do with me, expect me from week to week, and it is well that this should so remain, and that I being absent should influence as one always expected."

That it was the beautiful land of Art which drew him irresistibly he had to conceal from the Duke, in order to avoid betrayal. He writes in his *Diary*:¹—"On this journey I shall, I hope, gain calm satisfaction of soul as to the fine arts, imprint their sacred image durably on the soul, and preserve it there for silent enjoyment in the future." Nay, he hoped now at length to ascertain whether he were designed to be a poet or a worker in plastic art. In order "to be healed of the physico-moral evils which plagued him in Germany, and at last made him useless,"² he would completely put off the Privy-Councillor, the Minister, the master, he would have no servant, would enjoy a careless student life, unfettered by etiquette, would become a simple human being again. But he felt indissolubly united with Weimar, with his gracious Prince and master, with his noble Princess, with Herder, Knebel, Wieland, with Charlotte and her Fritz, in whose society he hoped to spend a beautiful old age in communion of intellect and heart. The relation with Charlotte, often painfully passionate, often troubled by many anxieties, had indeed contributed to the gloom which the happiness of a wife and home would have tended to lighten and disperse ; still his best consolation was his faith in the noble woman who on her part so fully recognised his worth ; and by a family life accordant

¹ This passage is preserved in Riemer's *Mittheilungen*. It is one of those which did not pass into the *Italiänische Reise* as published. See in Hempel's Goethe, Theil xxiv., S. 626, Düntzer's guess that it was written at München.—Tr.

² Goethe to Karl August, January 25, 1788.—Tr.

with his position his circle of labours and studies would have been sadly contracted. The main causes of that oppressed state in which Italy seemed his sole refuge were—the burden of business, so ill accordant with his genius; the narrowness of the intellectual horizon of Weimar; and the rude Thüringian climate. And he hoped indeed that this journey would make Charlotte and himself much happier in their love; he writes from Palermo, May 18, 1787:—"Now that far distance and absence have, as it were, purified away all that stagnation which of late had come upon our intercourse, the fair flame of love, of truth, of remembrance, again blazes up and shines in my heart."

In his last letter to Charlotte before departure he explained himself as we have heard him in his letter to the Duke; to Charlotte he left the use of his garden; his pet Fritz remained in his house, expecting him to come back soon. The only person who knew his plan was his faithful Philipp Seidel, who was to rule in his house during his absence. No birthday congratulation to the Duke on this 3d of September; his celebration of that day consisted in this, that on it, about three o'clock in the morning, without confiding his purpose to any one, he left Karlsbad. He drove alone in a postchaise, his sole luggage a portmanteau and a knapsack, in which were his unfinished writings, maps, guide-book, and a *Linnaeus*. Charlotte's ring was his talisman of travel.

BOOK V.

ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

THE JOURNEY SOUTHWARD—VENICE—ROME.

IPHIGENIE.

SEPTEMBER 1786—FEBRUARY 1787.

SOUTHWARD through Bavaria and the Tyrol he hastened, the goal of his longing ever present to his soul. The country and the people he surveyed as he passed with clear, free glance. He finds his speculations on rock-formation confirmed;¹ as to the classification of plants he sees what a mere beginner he is;² he has too long disused looking at pictures, and his eyes need to train anew.³

In Innsbruck he loads himself with specimens of rock. On the Brenner Pass he takes *Iphigenie* from the packet of his writings, and he completes (September 9) the first portion of that *Diary* of his journey which he means to send to Charlotte von Stein. In Roveredo (September 11) he is glad at hearing the dear Italian tongue. At Torbole at the head of Garda Lake, as the strong south wind drove the waves on the beach, he moulded anew the first soliloquy of his priestess yearning on the Tauric shore for her distant home.⁴ In

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, Mittenwald, September 7, 1786:—"Hier wird uns die Arbeit der Strömungen des alten Meeres fasslich."—TR.

² *Ibid.*, Padua, September 27, 1786.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, München, September 6, 1786.—TR.

⁴ This Goethe tells, *Die Italiänische Reise*, Rome, January 6, 1787. Strehlke calls attention to the lines:—

"Und gegen meine Seufzer bringt die Welle
Nur dumpfe Töne brausend mir herüber."—TR.

Verona (September 14-19) he gave most of his time to the Roman amphitheatre. While at Verona he wrote short letters—to the Duke, to Charlotte, to Herder, and to Voigt. The letter to Voigt was concerned with the affairs of the Ilmenau Mines. In none of these letters did he betray where he was. In Vicenza, the birthplace of Palladio, whose art is there displayed in so many of his most celebrated buildings, Goethe stayed a week (September 19-26). He admired Palladio's deep judgment in art, his noble simplicity, his unaffected earnestness, and contrasted this seriousness with the extravagance of modern style. The beauty of the position of Vicenza impressed him; this city, it will be remembered, is the home of Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister*.

In the Botanic Gardens at Padua a fan-palm gives the clearest notion of the series of the metamorphoses of the plant. He induces the gardener to cut for him a set of leaves, from original simple leaf to flower, and these he carried like a fetish with him, between pasteboards. Amid the multitude of new flowers the conception of the development of all plant-forms from *one* grew more and more vivid.¹

The charm of Venice detained him three weeks (September 28—October 14), during which he gained a clear and full impression. He thought with deep emotion of his father, who would so gladly and lovingly talk of the days he had spent long ago in the wonderful sea-girt city. The popular Italian comedy gave him pleasure, but the tragedy and opera left him cold. The whole tragic stage seemed empty because the acting was not acting—because it sought to produce effect, not through being the artistic imitation of action and passion, but by the very things said and done before the audience. A collection of casts from the antique carried him back to those old glorious days; he feels how deficient he is in knowledge, but he will go forwards, at least he knows the way. A bit of the entablature of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome reminds him of the capital of the Pantheon, seen fifteen years ago in Mannheim;² he thanks God that he is now delivered from the "Gothic pipe-shank columns, sharp little towers, flower-tracery." *Iphigenie*, which he had pushed on with continually, he leaves aside during the last week of his stay in

¹ These details from Goethe's *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil. xxxiii., S. 70-71.—TR.

² See p. 125.—TR.

Venice, for, restless as he is, his time hardly suffices for accomplishing what is most important; in the fourth act, too, he finds a knot that he cannot loosen. Before leaving the City of the Lagoon, on October 14, 1786, he writes—still without indicating the place—to the Duke, to Charlotte, and to Herder; to Charlotte he promises his *Diary*, which, with all collected as yet on his journey, he entrusts to carriers, that it may not arrive in Weimar before his first letters from Rome.

In desolate Ferrara (October 16), where he is filled with uneasy sad memory of the splendid Court that once abode there, of Ariosto discontented there, of Tasso unhappy, he feels a kind of deprivation of joy. As he drives in the early morning of October 17 to Cento, brooding between waking and dreaming the development of his *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, there rises to him the conception of an *Iphigenie in Delphi*. The pure beauty of the catastrophe—the recognition of Iphigenie by Electra—draws tears of joy from the poet. In Cento, the native city of Guercino, he is astonished and delighted by the simple, mild greatness of the many pictures of this old master, and by the easy, neat, and finished quality of his touch. In Bologna (October 18) he rejoices in the St. Agatha of Raphael; the painter has given his saint a healthy, secure maidenhood, without, however, coldness or harshness.¹ But precisely in Bologna, where so many hitherto unfamiliar masters are revealed to him, he feels how sadly lacking he is in knowledge and judgment. To Paderno, hard by, he rides (October 20) for the sake of its celebrated spar, and returns with a heavy load.

Through the Apennines he now travels fast, gathering on his way specimens of limestone and granite. On the road from Lojano to Giredo the thought of writing an *Ulysses auf Phäa* occurs. The restless longing for Rome permits but a three hours' stay in Florence (October 23). Outside Foligno he leaves his *vetturino*, meaning to wander on foot to the church of Santa Maria di Minerva on the hill at Assisi; in juxtaposition with this church as its façade a Roman temple of the time of Augustus is preserved. This, the first perfect monu-

¹ "To her," writes Goethe, *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 19, 1786, "I will in spirit read aloud my *Iphigenie*, and my heroine shall say nothing that this saint might not utter."—TR.

ment of the classic age which he had seen, impressed him deeply with the power of ancient architecture.

All the inconveniences of the journey, the bad inns, the treacherous *vetturini*, dismay him not. "Were it on the wheel of Ixion that they dragged me to Rome I would not complain."¹ As from Spoleto, a town blessed with a huge number of churches and ecclesiastical institutions, he drives in the company of a priest to Terni, he meditates on the uncouth heathenism which has disfigured the kindly Christianity of the apostles. Thus his *Ewiger Jude*² was brought to mind; he had meant in his never written epic to use that word "*venio iterum crucifigi*," spoken, says legend, by Christ to Peter flying from Rome to avoid martyrdom.³ In the wretched inn at Terni on October 27, 1786, he addresses a "prayer to his dear guardian angel," to Charlotte, now not seen for ten weeks. "For the first time I feel how spoiled I am; to have lived by thee, to have been loved by thee, ten years—and now in a world that is strange to me!—I foretold it silently, and only the highest necessity had compelled me to this resolve. Let us have no other thought than to spend the close of life together."⁴

Two days later, on Sunday, October 29, 1786, exactly eight weeks from the day of leaving Karlsbad, Goethe drove through the Porta del Popolo, his heart beating high to think that his dearest wish was now fulfilled—he was entering the Eternal City. The unusually cold weather, and the unpleasant news that his banker in Rome had failed, were unremarkable trifles in this mood of lofty joy.

His chief hope was in Tischbein. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein was born at Haina in Hesse on February 15, 1751. After a short residence in Italy he had settled in

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 25, 1786 (last sentence).—TR.

² See p. 203.—TR.

³ And of that legend he is reminded, because he thinks that were Christ to return to seek the fruits of his labours, he would be in danger of a second crucifixion. *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 27, 1786.—TR.

⁴ This is part of the original entry for October 27, 1786. It did not pass into *Die Italiänische Reise* as published. When Charlotte von Stein was giving back to Goethe the diaries and letters sent to her from Italy, she made copies of some of the passages which were specially important to her. This is one of them. Another, p. 392. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, p. 670. (Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil. xxiv.)—TR.

Zürich, and had gained the affection of Lavater there. Several years before the time of which we now write Goethe had recommended Tischbein to the Duke of Gotha, who, supplying the money necessary, had sent him to Italy. The great picture *Conradin*,¹ sent from Italy to the Duke of Gotha, had won the highest praise, yet the Duke gave him no commission for a fresh picture, but only continued to pay a yearly sum for his maintenance, and promised to take him after a time into regular service. As Goethe could do no more with the Duke of Gotha, the closer union with the painter relaxed. Even to Tischbein he must not betray his intention of coming to Rome, yet he had put his hope after the "long weariness" of the journey in the "good" Tischbein.² Tischbein had just sent to Weimar to Goethe a collection of specimens of the marble used by ancient and modern Roman architects,³ and had also engaged in preparing for Goethe a series of copies of the best masters in chalk, sepia, and water-colour.⁴

A very joyful surprise it was to the painter when the poet of *Götz*, his inspiring genius,⁵ stood before him, and in a mood of such simple unalloyed friendliness, so anxious for deep and cordial intimacy, that Tischbein could hardly realise it! Goethe desired of the painter a little chamber for sleeping and working in, and a plain daily fare, which Tischbein easily managed. Tischbein's lodgings were on the Corso, on the left from the Porta del Popolo, opposite the Rondinini (also Rondanini) Palace, at the corner of the Vicolo della fontanella, which leads to the Pincian Hill, and down to which run the yard and garden of the house. (In 1872 the Common Council of Rome put up a memorial tablet on the house; it is now No. 20.) Beside Tischbein Goethe had for fellow-lodgers two young painters. One, his fellow-townsmen Johann Georg Schütz, born 1755, whose gay and easy disposition earned him the title "*il Barone*," had now spent two years in Rome; the other, Friedrich Bury of Hanau, born 1763, had been in Rome since 1780, was of a very sociable

¹ See pp. 355 and 366.—TR.

² Goethe to Philipp Seidel, Venice, October 14, 1786.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, November 18, 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1786.—TR.

⁵ One of Tischbein's pictures was *Götz von Berlichingen* leading Weislingen into his room.—TR.

and cheery though stormy nature, and completely naturalised in Rome, having come thither so young. Thus was Goethe's inner circle composed. Tischbein lived on the first story; on the second Goethe had a small sitting-room commanding a wide prospect over the Pincian Hill, off this was his bedroom. So full of interest and delight were the first few days, that only by the second post after his arrival did he confide to his mother that he was in Rome.¹

In a week he had gained a general conception of the city. "We go busily hither and thither. I make myself familiar with the plans of ancient and modern Rome, survey the ruins, the buildings, visit this villa or that; the things most worthy of note are treated very slowly: I but gaze attentively and go and come again."² The Pantheon, the Cathedral of St. Peter, and the Apollo Belvedere, especially moved him; of none of them can drawings or casts give a notion;³ but when he saw the Colosseum in the twilight all else seemed small.⁴ In contrast with the haste of the journey and his former passionate yearning, he now felt an unused calm and clearness, "a seriousness without dryness, and a composed frame with joy."⁵ Yet it pained him to think that all he saw was in ruin. He read deep in Vitruvius on architecture, and in Palladio, in whose time many buildings now ruined were still entire. And the gladder, less interrupted plant-life of Italy attracted him. He made some very "pretty observations."⁶ His source of highest pleasure was the intercourse with Tischbein, in whom he saw not merely a gifted and experienced artist, but a good and wise man,⁷ and who adhered to him with deep and earnest friendship. In the drawings and sketches of Tischbein, especially those which depict the first stages of the human culture, Goethe notices the vivid and fruitful mode of treatment; there was a good deal of discussion between them of the plan of producing a work of art in co-operation.⁸

So early as the third day (Nov. 2) after his arrival in Rome

¹ Goethe to his mother, Rome, Nov. 4, 1786. First published in *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlossers Nachlass*, 1877, S. 99.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, Nov. 5, 1786.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1786.—TR.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1786.—TR.

⁶ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 17, 1786.—TR.

⁷ Goethe to Karl August, Dec. 12, 1786.—TR.

⁸ *Die Italiänische Reise*, Nov. 7, 1786.—TR.

Goethe had become acquainted at the Quirinal with the Swiss painter, Heinrich Meyer, and afterwards felt constantly more drawn towards him by the thoroughness of his knowledge and by his honesty of heart. Meyer, born at Zürich in March 1760, and furthered by the instruction of Füssli, had, two years before the time of which we now write, come with his friend Cölla to Rome, where the two studied the best works of art, read diligently in the history of art, and copied successfully from antiques and from paintings, not omitting, however, to attempt original work also.

Not so intimate and genial was Goethe's connection with the antiquary, Aloys Hirt of Baden, of a somewhat dry nature, remarkable rather for his scholarship than for original power. Hirt was now twenty-six; in Vienna seven years ago he had devoted himself to art; he had been in Italy since 1782; he was hard-working and inspired with the best purpose. Goethe did his utmost to help Hirt, who was without means, to employment as a cicerone.¹

Another resident in Rome was the poet and painter, Friedrich Müller, born at Kreuznach, half a year before the birth of Goethe, with whom during the *Sturm und Drang* period he had had intercourse. When in 1778 Müller went to Rome, Goethe undertook to send him every year a sum subscribed by Weimar friends. In November 1780 Goethe writes to Müller, asking what truth there is in the report that he has become a Catholic. "It makes no change in our relations, only if it is a fact I should like to be able to tell those who inquire what the real circumstances are, and if it were not true to be able to contradict with authority." The pictures which Müller afterwards sent to Weimar pleased no one, and Goethe wrote in June 1781, finding fault and counselling in the friendliest way. Then came a breach between them. Müller's high self-esteem made reconciliation impossible; nay, his grudge deepened when he heard of Goethe's helping Tischbein with the Duke of Gotha; and now was he actually to see Tischbein Goethe's most intimate friend, and the poet besides condescending to young painters whom Müller considered far beneath himself in merit.

Another with whom Goethe became acquainted in the earliest period of his life in Rome, was *Hofrath* Johann

¹ Goethe to Wieland, Nov. 17, 1786.—Tr.

Friedrich Reiffenstein, the business man of his friend the Duke of Gotha. Born in Prussian Lithuania, on the 22d of November 1729, Reiffenstein had lived in Rome since 1762. He had known Winckelmann there, and since Winckelmann's death had been the chief cicerone. Since 1780 he had been a *Hofrath*, not only of Gotha but of Russia; he stood in high repute at the Russian Court. In the History of Art he was a staunch follower of Winckelmann; in the Theory of Art, of Sulzer; in the practical rules of Art, of Mengs. He revered Raphael above all other painters, whereas many artists of that time gave Michael Angelo the palm. To this man, of such significance in the art-life of Rome, Goethe drew very close, accommodating himself wisely to his peculiarities. Reiffenstein had a large villa at Frascati, close to the ancient Alba. There Goethe visited him on November 14, 1786, and spent a few delightful days in a neighbourhood full of all that was new and charming.

It was not until after his return from Frascati that he held himself a naturalised citizen of Rome; and only then did he write (Nov. 17, 1786), telling the Duke, Charlotte, Herder, Wieland, and other Weimar friends, where he was. He added a few lines to Fritz Stein, who is to make himself comfortable in Goethe's room. All these letters were enclosed with that addressed to the Duke, who should be the first, after Goethe's mother, to know that his Privy Councillor was in Rome. The Duke was just then in Berlin; thence, on December 2, 1786, he sent the Weimar letters to Charlotte von Stein, who thus did not hear the news until December 4, 1786. Henceforward Goethe wrote to her every Sunday, generally to Herder also, who of all friends understood him best. (By accidental delay, the *Diary* of the journey as far as Venice did not come into Charlotte's hands until the middle of January 1787.)

Goethe only now became acquainted with Karl Philipp Moritz, although Moritz had come to Rome a couple of days earlier than he. The author of the novel *Anton Reiser* (based on the strange story of his own life) had, in his *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*,¹ written a book so successful, that the publisher Campe advanced him money for a visit to Italy, that Moritz might produce a like book on this El Dorado of Nature and Art. He was very powerfully impressed by Goethe, whose

¹ *Travels of a German in England*.—Tr.

junior he was by eight years. On the 20th of November 1786, Moritz writes that a few days ago he had a walk to the Villa Pamfili, in company with Goethe and some artists who live with him, and this walk "has introduced me to a new world of ideas and noble impressions. Intercourse with him [Goethe] brings fulfilment of the fairest visions of my youth, and his advent . . . is to me as to others—an unhopèd-for piece of good fortune. For with all the beauties of Nature and of Art, there is yet nothing higher than the harmonious interchange of thought, by which alone obscure feelings gain expression and conscious existence." There were in Moritz good qualities which attracted Goethe—pleasant social frankness, warm sympathies, clear perception, an earnest endeavour after insight into the reality of things, which last, indeed, often over-refined into useless minuteness. And Moritz's studies in history and antiquities were helpful to Goethe, who used himself to read diligently in the *Livy* which he had ere this bought from one of the booksellers on the Corso, who expose for sale all the classics in tiny volumes at a moderate price.

Feeling his deficiency in technical knowledge, Goethe used generally to view buildings, antiques, and paintings, in the company of architects, sculptors, and painters. (Among the sculptors, he chiefly esteemed Alexander Trippel from Schaffhausen, who, born five years earlier than Goethe, and having spent a considerable time in Copenhagen and Paris, had now been ten years in Rome.) Yet, after all his efforts to enter into the spirit of the works of art, he felt not yet able to cope with them; their splendour dazed him, they kept his powers on the stretch, and yet he could find no entrance into the secret life of them; they afforded him no joy.¹

It was about this time that in the morning hours² of each day he again began work on the re-writing of *Iphigenie*. But in the midst of this task a "sad domestic trouble" ("*böser Hauskreuz*") came upon the little circle of friends. When Goethe, about the 6th of December 1786, with Tischbein and two other artists (probably Bury and Schütz), drove to the Fiumicino mouth of the Tiber, they were accompanied by

¹ Goethe to Knebel, November 17, 1786 :—"Doch ist's Anstrengung statt Genusses, und Trauer statt Freude."—TR.

² See in Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil. xxiv. S. 698, Düntzer's quotation from a letter of Tischbein's, dated December 9, 1786.—TR.

Moritz and another friend on horseback. On their way home, when they were near the Porta Sixtina, Moritz fell from his horse and broke his left arm. Goethe proved himself a true friend; he had the sufferer brought home in an arm-chair, cared for his wants, visited him more than once every day during the month of lying still, watched by his bedside several nights, and arranged that this office should be performed every night by one of the German artists in turn (thus Moritz was hardly ever left without a friend at hand), and also wrote to Campe for him. Notwithstanding all this anxiety, *Iphigenie* was completed by the 12th of December 1786.¹ He would never have ventured on turning his prose into iambics without the guidance of the treatise, *Versuch einer Deutschen Prosodie*, published by Moritz in that year.²

He continued to traverse the city almost to weariness. He thought that his schooling in Rome should close for the present at Christmas 1786. In the beginning of the new year he would go to Naples, accompanied by the "good, the noble (and yet so sagacious) the cultivated" Tischbein; there in the glories of Nature "to wash my soul clean from the Idea of so many dreary ruins, and to assuage the too severe conceptions of Art."³ Then, immediately after Easter 1787, he thought he should turn his steps homewards.

In Rome at that time, accompanied by a certain Abate Tacchi, was stopping the Prince Karl Borromäus von Liechtenstein, a brother of the Countess von Harrach, whom Goethe honoured. The Prince was but twenty-one. He had met Goethe in Karlsbad, and when he heard that the poet was in Rome, he begged Hirt to bring them together. Their meeting took place in the Doria Gallery, but Goethe adhered to his incognito, though he was persuaded into dining a few times with the Prince. Thus it was that he met the Abate Monti (born 1754 in the Duchy of Ferrara), whose new tragedy, *Aristodemo*, was soon coming out. Goethe had to listen to the author reading this aloud. Though he did not conceal his doubt that the excellent piece would be well received in a theatre, he promised to come with his friends to see it and to pay the poet the deserved ap-

¹ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 10, 1787.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

plause.¹ Abate Tacchi would fain have translated *Iphigenie* into Italian.²

All intercourse with persons of rank—Prince Liechtenstein excepted—was refused by Goethe. He wished to live a free human life in Rome, and certainly nothing could be further from his desire than to exhibit himself as a notability. Thus we find him firmly declining to be introduced to the daughter of the English Pretender (who then lived in Rome as Count Albany). Goethe could not, indeed, but rejoice to observe that he was known in Rome beyond all expectation, the Germans especially being taken with him.³ But when they seriously proposed to crown him at the Capitol, he forbade the farce.⁴

Though by the middle of December 1786 he had several times seen what was most significant and what was best in Rome, he yet felt—unlike the greater number of travellers—how little in such matters to have *seen* means.⁵ Beside the mighty buildings, the Apollo of the Belvedere and Raphael's Loggia, must be mentioned the colossal heads of the so-called Smiling Jupiter, the Juno Ludovisi, and the Medusa Rondinini, which had so won his love that he did not rest until he possessed casts of them. The stupendous creation of Michael Angelo on the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel overpowered and possessed the poet, and after it he could not find delight in Raphael's Loggia.⁶ And beside these single and peculiar great works he was met at every step by so much else of significance that he had simply to yield himself up, to let all work upon him while the due growth proceeded within.⁷

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, November 23, 1786.—Tr.

² *Ibid.*, January 4, 1787.—Tr.

³ Besides *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787 (end), see Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—Tr.

⁴ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787, and see Düntzer's quotation from a letter of Tischbein to Lavater, December 9, 1786, in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 698. Goethe can hardly be said to have rejoiced in his notoriety when he writes:—"Wie das Alles zusammenhängt und wie ich ein grosser Thor wäre zu glauben dass das Alles um meinetwillen geschähe, dereinst mündlich."—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—Tr.

⁶ *Die Italiänische Reise*, December 2, 1786. See M. Theophile Cart's remark on this in his *Goethe en Italie*, p. 59.—Tr.

⁷ *Die Italiänische Reise*, this thought three or four times repeated in the entries of the beginning of December 1786.—Tr.

Striving after that all-sidedness from which alone proceeds perfect knowledge, his attention was engaged by many things—by the history of Rome, by the history of ancient Art, by the study of antiquities, of coins, and what not.¹ Even Roman politics and administration could not escape the Weimar statesman.² December, a month which had always been so unfavourable to him in Weimar, sent him to botanical observations again—his first southern December, when grass and herbs sprouted for the second time, meadows and squares grew green again, and the many evergreens refreshed the sight. And through this stimulation of all his powers of thinking and acting, he felt a strong current of life penetrate his whole being; he thinks that he is changed to the very marrow—in truth born again.³

The impossibility of leaving Rome so soon had impressed itself on him, when a “gracious sympathetic letter”⁴ from the Duke of Weimar granted him unlimited leave of absence; besides his friends wrote exhorting him not to hurry. Accordingly he made up his mind not to start for Naples until the first week in Lent; he would get back to Rome before Easter, visit Florence in the summer, and in the autumn of 1787 commence his homeward journey. Sicily, too, he had thought of, but it seemed to him that he could only go thither, after considerable preparation, in the autumn, and must then stay there until the end of the year, a plan which would only bring him home in the spring of 1788. But these plans were deranged by news that the Duke had had a fall from his horse in Berlin.⁵

Meanwhile Tischbein had designed a great painting—*Goethe outside Rome*. The poet was to appear clad in a great white mantle, a large soft hat on his head, reclining on an overturned Egyptian obelisk, before him a broken Greek *relievo*, and behind that the capital of a Roman pillar. In his glance, wandering over the Campagna, one should read the

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, December 29, 1786, January 4, 1787.—TR.

² See, for instance, Goethe to Karl August, January 10, 1787.—TR.

³ The following references will here be found interesting—*Die Italiänische Reise*, December 2, 3, 13, 20, 1786; Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha, February 6, 1787, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, December 21, 1787.—TR.

⁴ “Einen gütigen mitfühlenden Brief,” *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—TR.

⁵ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—TR.

thought of the perishable nature of all earthly splendour; and in the distance were to be seen the tombs that border the Appian Way, and other Roman ruins against the background of the Alban Mount.¹ When Goethe first speaks of this design (*Die Italiänische Reise*, December 29, 1786) Tischbein



FIG. 27. Tischbein's painting, *Goethe outside Rome*. From the Frankfurt *Gedenklätter an Goethe*.

had already stretched the canvas, and on the 18th of February 1787 Goethe notes how Tischbein has procured a small bronze model which he covers with the mantle, and how he is working diligently that the picture may be brought to a

¹ See the contemporary description of this design quoted by Düntzer, from Wieland's *Merkur*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 707-8.—TR.

certain point before they leave for Naples. On June 27, 1787, Goethe notes that his portrait is going on well; it was not finished until a later time. Karl von Rothschild bought it in Italy and brought it to Frankfurt. The *relievo* represents Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia. We give an engraving of the picture as it finally stands. There are copies of Tischbein's first design in existence; the *relievo* is different, and on the obelisk you see hieroglyphic writing. Tischbein had also begun a picture, *Hector and Paris*, for the Duke of Gotha, probably at Goethe's prompting.¹

In the meantime the *Custode* of the ancient, sadly declined Arcadian Academy of Rome² had been setting in motion every agency which could help to persuade the great German poet to join the society. The influence of the Prince von Liechtenstein was brought into service. To escape the Capitoline laurel, about which they continued to plague him, the poet yielded himself to be an Arcadian shepherd. On January 4, 1787, he appeared in the Academy's Hall of Session, was summoned forth by the name "Megalia,"³ and the fields of Melpomene were assigned to him. On the same day he begged Charlotte to call a council of those who loved him (Herder and Knebel), to decide whether he should return to Weimar at once, a course to which he himself inclined. "The strongest influence to keep me in Italy is Tischbein; never, even though it were my fate to visit this beautiful land again, can I learn so much in so short a time as I can at present in the society of this man, cultivated, experienced, fine in feeling, just in judgment, and devoted to me soul and body. I say not how the scales, as it were, fall from my eyes. He who dwells in the night takes the dawn for day, and a gloomy day for brightness; what is it then when the sun appears!"⁴

¹ Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha, February 6, 1787. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 730.—TR.

² English readers will find a delightful account of this Academy in Vernon Lee's *Italy in the Eighteenth Century*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein, January 4, 1787:—"And I received the name Megalia *per causa della grandezza*, or *grandiosità delle mie opere*, as the gentlemen were pleased to express themselves." (Note how in the *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt* Goethe mis-dates by a whole year this reception.)—TR.

⁴ "Wer in der Nacht steckt hält die Dämmerung schon für Tag und einen grauen Tag für helle; was ist's aber wenn die Sonne aufgeht." *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—TR.

Then I hitherto have altogether withheld myself from society, which thus by slow degrees gains a hold upon me, and which, too, I probably was not unwilling to observe with hurried glances."

He did not guess that Diplomacy had already been making itself busy about him. It was supposed that Goethe being the minister of the Duke of Weimar must know of Prussia's moves relative to the election of Dalberg as *Coadjutor* of the Elector of Mainz. Accordingly, endeavours were made to steal his letters. The Austrian Cardinal von Herzan had instructed his German secretary to do this; and the secretary pressed himself into Goethe's acquaintance, but did not, however, win very far in his confidence. He actually did steal from Goethe, we do not know how, one of his mother's letters.¹

Another of the numerous acquaintance of Goethe in Rome was the Prince Christian August von Waldeck; in Karlsbad they had known one another already. The Prince was a general in the Austrian service. Five years older than Goethe, he was now visiting Rome for the fifth time. He possessed a great collection of coins, to complete which he was making large purchases. A beautiful Bohemian lady accompanied him; her old husband was one of the party.² The Prince was extraordinarily friendly to Goethe, to whom his manifold knowledge of art and wide acquaintance were of great service. When visiting the Prince one evening, Goethe was asked what literary work at present occupied him? He mentioned *Iphigenie*, and gave the Prince a detailed account of its contents, but did not find much interest awakened.³

On January 10, 1787, Goethe writes to the Duke of Weimar:—"I wait painfully until I hear that you are again at home and that no bad results are to be feared, and I entreat you, recall me if you think I am in the least wanted. As surely as I could remain here with profit for years, so surely have I already plucked the topmost blossoms of the Great and Beautiful, and can go in the strength of it all my life. And the results have, I feel, been blessed to my spirit also, which

¹ The innocent letter turned up in 1868 in Sebastian Brunner's *Die theologische Dienerschaft am Hofe Joseph II.* Keil has it, p. 254.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August, January 10, 1787. (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 716-8.) *Die Italiänische Reise*, March 1, 1787.—TR.

³ This Goethe tells only in the entry, March 1, 1787.—TR.

grows gladder, more open, more ready to give and receive sympathy. . . . The most important subject on which I at present exercise eye and intellect is the styles of the various ancient peoples, and the epochs of each style, as to which Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst* is a trustworthy guide. With the help of friendly artist eyes and my own talent for combination, I seek as far as possible to discover and supplement many a thing which Winckelmann himself would give us if this year he could prepare a new edition."¹ In studying Winckelmann after this fashion he received especially valuable aid from Meyer; this man's worth grew constantly more clear to Goethe. A little farther on the letter which we have been quoting refers thus to Meyer:—"I have been repeatedly thinking about our Drawing Academy, and I have found a man of the kind we shall need after Kraus's departure if we are to get to more solid work. As to the influence which I had on the Academy, I used always to feel that I did not understand it; now I know the why and wherefore."

A Swiss had copied out *Iphigenie* in clean manuscript for him. This play Goethe now read aloud to the circle of more intimate artist friends, but, owing to its repose, it had not the fine effect on them which he had hoped.² As he read aloud he underlined verses which did not yet flow well; some of these he altered, others he left to receive touches from Herder's pen. He directed Seidel (January 13) to submit the manuscript of *Iphigenie* to Herder before it passed on to the printer.

About this time it was that Goethe made one of his most resultful acquaintanceships, that of Angelika Kauffmann. Born at Bregenz on the 30th of October 1741, she was already a distinguished painter in Rome in 1763. In 1769 she went to London and stayed there until 1780, when she returned to Rome. To escape her state of single loneliness she married the painter Antonio Zucchi, a Venetian advanced in years. Angelika (thus she was generally spoken of) was indeed an angelic soul, full of tender womanhood, sympathetic, pure, ardent; and Goethe felt a deep and exquisite

¹ Compare *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 13, 1787.—Tr.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 10, 1787. The young artists had expected "etwas Berlichingisches," Goethe tells us.—Tr.

attraction in her. She worked in her art rapidly and restlessly; her pictures were remarkable for lightness of touch, grace, brightness. One day when Goethe and Reiffenstein were at her house, she expressed the wish to hear *Iphigenie* read aloud; on this occasion Goethe was only able to give an abstract, but the ardour of his manner affected deeply even Angelika's husband.¹

With the thorough earnestness of his nature, which everywhere desired to press to the essence of things, he now strove to appropriate to himself in all its aspects that Rome which had grown so familiar. He laboured diligently to discover the rules after which the ancient sculptors have developed from the human figure the perfectly concluded circle of divine form, to discover their technique in the treatment of the body; he supposed that they had proceeded by the same laws as did Nature,² nay, he believed himself to be now on the track of Nature, only he found something in her which he could not express. The skeleton was to him no longer a cluster of bones cunningly grouped together: he contemplated it together with the clothing of flesh and ligament which gave it motion and life.³ In the evenings he studied perspective.

And now with the warm spring weather waked anew the delight in sketching the fair landscape. A fortnight was spent in going "through the depths and heights of the villas," outlining on small sheets striking, characteristically Roman, views; to the outlines he afterwards strove to give light and shade. "It is very strange that one may see and know clearly what is good and what is better; and let him try to make it his own—it disappears as it were under his hands, and we seize not that which is right, but that which we have been used to hold. . . . Meanwhile, however, I feel myself greatly improved by the fortnight of passionate endeavour."⁴

The theatres—seven opened with the beginning year—profited him little; he visited them hardly at all, only in

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 22, 1787.—TR.

² Compare the letter of September 6, 1787, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 20, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1787. See also Goethe to Knebel, February 19, 1787.—TR.

*Aristodemo*¹ and some comedies did he find any pleasure. The Grand Opera seemed a "monster without the vigour and sap of life;" even the *opera buffa* lacked finish and completeness, but a new intermezzo by Anfossi was "happily composed," and was played with great applause.² He asks Kayser how it stands with the composing of *Scherz, List, und Rache*, and when the piece can be published, and he mentions that he thinks of writing a new opera.³

The friendship with Angelika grew closer. When he read aloud *Iphigenie* she received it with "incredible depth of feeling," and she promised him a drawing from it.⁴ From her he parted with regret; though he longed to leave Rome, the endeavours of the latter part of his stay to see as much as possible of the exhaustless scattered fragmentary city having been very wearying. The mad doings of the Carnival, especially noisy in the streets about his lodging, had only a historical interest for him; he could not find anything in them to sympathise with; his approaching departure weighed upon him; and amid all the tumult of the festival it was evident that real light-heartedness was absent, and under that bad government the Romans had not money enough to give vent to the little bit of pleasure they might feel.⁵

He hoped that when next he saw Rome he should have new strength and hope, and thus should gain a deeper and clearer impression of the Eternal City, and take away with him to his home the perfect idea of antique art, to serve for the joy and profit of himself and his friends in future years.

¹ *Aristodemo* was after all acted amid great applause. *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 15, 1787.—TR.

² Goethe to Kayser, February 6, 1787; Goethe to Karl August, February 10, 1787.—TR.

³ See the letter which Burkhardt (p. 37) dates November 25, 1786, *Goethe und Kayser*, 64-65.—TR.

⁴ *Die Italiänische Reise*, February 15, 1787.—TR.

⁵ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1787.—TR.

CHAPTER II.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

FEBRUARY-JUNE 1787.

ON the morning of February 22, 1787, a carriage drove out of Rome, bearing Goethe southwards. Tischbein, who had been a few times to Naples already, was his companion. The four days spent on the road were, notwithstanding the bad inns, rich in manifold enjoyment. They reached Naples on February 25. At sight of the wonderful scenery Goethe was, "after his fashion, perfectly quiet, only making, when it became too mad, great, great eyes." "I pardoned all who lose their senses in Naples, and thought with emotion of my father, who had retained an indelible impression especially of the objects which I to-day saw for the first time. And as it said that one to whom a phantom has appeared never again is glad, so might it be said of my father that he could never be altogether unhappy, because he was constantly thinking himself back to Naples."¹

The easy, joyous life of Naples was very welcome to one so exhausted as Goethe had been by his toils in Rome, but his "German turn of mind, and desire rather to learn and to act than to enjoy,"² did not permit him to lapse into the divine indolence of the place. Through Tischbein he learned to know the painter Lodovico Venuti, a great favourite with the King. Tischbein, too, it was who conducted Goethe to Philipp Hackert, a celebrated landscape painter. Hackert, a native of Prenzlau, was now in his fiftieth year. He had come to Rome in 1768, and in 1785 left Rome for

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, February 27, 1787. Compare September 28, 29, November 1, 1786, for mention of Goethe's father.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, March 22, 1787.—TR.

Naples, at the invitation of the King, into whose service he was taken. Another with whom Goethe became acquainted was Gaetano Filangieri, the author of *La scienza della legislazione*, a work long known and valued by Goethe. Filangieri was now two and fifty; he had been appointed First Counsellor of Finance by the King. At Filangieri's house Goethe met Filangieri's sister, the Princess Belmonte, a type of charming Neapolitan frivolity united with unaffected goodness of heart.

He visited Pozzuoli on the 1st of March 1787, in the company of the Prince of Waldeck. Vesuvius was three times ascended (March 2, March 6, and March 20). The churches and most of the art treasures of Naples were seen, and Pompeii, and the island of Ischia, so full of interest to the mineralogist.¹

The Prince of Waldeck pressed Goethe in vain to go with him to Albania and Dalmatia. The poet could not withstand the longing for Sicily, where the ruins of Greek temples testified to the beauty and greatness of ancient Greek architecture. The doubt whether he ought to go or stay troubled with disquiet a good deal of his stay in Naples. It was also a grief to him that in his journey to Sicily he could not have the companionship of Tischbein, who was forming the friendships and connections which should at a future time procure him an appointment in Naples, which had grown very dear to him.

Tischbein recommended to Goethe as a companion the landscape painter, Christof Heinrich Kniep, a native of Hildesheim, half a year older than the poet, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer. The gifted and industrious artist, working for insufficient prices, was in needy circumstances. On an excursion by Salerno to Paestum, the ancient Posidonia, Goethe was struck by Kniep's great talent for correctly and rapidly sketching buildings and landscapes, and learned to value his kindly, sociable nature. The severe style of the Doric ruins, the "blunt, coniform, closely congregated masses of the pillars," at first shocked the artistic sense of the poet, habituated to a more ornate architecture. Yet he soon reflected, called to mind the history of art, thought of the time whose spirit was

¹ On the visit to Ischia see Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. pp. 571, 813.—Tr.

Posidonia = Gela 3000?

consonant with this art, and in "less than an hour" felt reconciled with it; nay, he blessed his Genius for having brought before his eyes the very ruins themselves, as no picture can give a notion of them.¹ The glimpse of Pompeii enjoyed in Tischbein's society, and the museum at Portici,² helped to complete the picture of the antique, perished world. Full of brightness and of solid gain were three days (March 14-16) spent with Hackert in his pleasant rooms in the old castle at Caserta. There Goethe drew, under the supervision of Hackert. This painter was remarkable for his correct eye, delicate treatment, for naturalness and a vivid sense for the line of landscape. He granted that Goethe had talent, but that he could produce nothing because he lacked definiteness in touch, clearness, certainty in treatment. "Stay with me eighteen months," said the painter, "and you shall produce something that will give pleasure to yourself and to others."

The old English ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, was the possessor of a splendid art-collection. Goethe visited him and saw his beautiful mistress, Emma Harte, who, then but twenty-five, had already known strange fortunes. The ease with which this lady assumed all the positions and gestures that many artists toil after in vain, astonished Goethe, though he felt that the "beautiful entertainer" was without soul.³

What he had long ventured to hope—that in this beautiful Italy his observations on plant life would receive confirmation—did really happen. On March 25, 1787, as he walked by the sea in a calm and pleasurable frame, "a good illumination" came to him. "I beg you to tell Herder that I shall soon have the type-plant, only I fear that no one will recognise the rest of the vegetable kingdom in it. My famous doctrine of the cotyledons is so sublimed that it will be almost impossible to go farther."⁴ And he gained clear elucidation of the rock and lava formations of Vesuvius. All disposition to creative, poetic activity was absent during his stay in Naples. When, at noon on the 29th of March 1787, he went with

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, March 23, 1787.—Tr.

² *Ibid.*, March 11 and March 18, 1787.—Tr.

³ So he notes *Ibid.*, May 27, 1787.—Tr.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 25. Part of a letter to Charlotte von Stein.—Tr.

Kniep on board the corvette that was to convey them to Palermo, he took with him the two acts of *Tasso*¹ written in Weimar.

The *Diary* which Goethe kept for Charlotte von Stein gives the most vivid picture of this journey to Sicily. As a landscape-painter he gained altogether new thoughts from the "great simple line" of the sea-boundary. When he felt sea-sickness approaching, he went to his cabin, and lying there, shut off from the external world, let the mind have full sway, thinking the new plan of *Tasso* "over and over, through and through, in sleep and in half waking." The sight of Palermo, with "the most beautiful of all the promontories in the world,"² overpowered him. He felt constrained to read the *Odyssey*,³ which in Sicily for the first time became to him "a living word."⁴ In the Public Gardens of Palermo he brooded over the conception of a drama, *Nausikaa*; he wrote down the plan, and even began its execution, but in the presence of the rare southern plant life "the old whim" came upon him, might not he discover the type-plant amid the throng? And as the garden of this world revealed itself, the garden of Alcinous vanished.⁵ On April 12, Goethe derived much pleasure and profit from a visit to the collection of medals of Prince Torremuzza.

Never in his life, he writes to Fritz Stein on April 17, had he spent so many consecutive days so bright and happy as the sixteen spent in Palermo. On the same day he wrote to Charlotte:—"What joy does my little bit of knowledge of the things of nature bring me every day, and how much more ought I to know that my joy might be full. That which I prepare for you prospers in my hands. Already have I shed tears of joy to think that I shall give you joy. . . . My heart is with you."

¹ See pp. 309, 316, 319, 346.—TR.

² So Goethe calls Monte Pellegrino; *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 3, 1787.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 7, 1787:—"Die schwärzlichen Wellen am nördlichen Horizonte, ihr Anstreben an die Buchtkrümmungen, selbst der eigene Geruch des dünstenden Meeres, das Alles rief mir die Insel der seligen Phäaken in die Sinne so wie ins Gedächtniss. Ich eilte sogleich einen Homer zu kaufen . . ."—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Herder, *Die Italiänische Reise*, May 17, 1787.—TR.

⁵ *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 16 and 17, 1787.—TR.

On the 18th of April 1787 our travellers left Palermo,¹ to traverse by no very direct route the fruitful land, and take ship finally from Messina. On the way Goethe observed the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, and was pleased with the excellent cattle. But the chief interest of the journey was, of course, the architecture of the ruined Greek temples at Segeste and Girgenti (Selinus they did not visit), the antiquities, statues, and coins in Catania, and the Greek theatre at Taormina. By the advice of the celebrated naturalist, Gioeni, they only ascended Mount Ætna as far as the Monti Grossi. Messina, which not long before (February 1783) had suffered by an earthquake, was reached by our travellers on May 8, 1787. On May 14, after a tedious and dangerous voyage,² Goethe arrived in Naples again, "right happy to have the great, beautiful, incomparable idea of Sicily, so clear, so perfect, so unmixed with baser matter."³ The numerous sketches which Kniep had made during the journey were divided; some of them the painter was to finish at a fixed price for Goethe.

In Naples he heard, through a letter from Seidel, that in Weimar many people thought that Goethe would not return, and accordingly uttered their minds upon him freely. He is, they said, wasting the good salary on this journey while others are sweating under his work. Tischbein and Hackert were not in Naples at the time of Goethe's return; they had gone to Rome for a short stay.

On May 15 Goethe and Kniep visited Paestum a second time. Of the temple ruins there he writes (May 17):—"It is the last, and I might almost say noblest, Idea which I now can bear northwards in its perfectness. And, in my opinion, the central temple is superior to anything at present to be seen in Sicily." In Kniep's company he revisited Pozzuoli (May 19), in order to discover, if possible, an explanation of the present condition of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter

¹ A memorandum of the chief places touched on is not amiss here. They are—Alcamo, Segesta, Castel Vetrano, Sciacca, Girgenti, Caltanissetta, Castro Giovanni, Catania, Taormina, Messina.—TR.

² In Mr. Hutton's Essay on Goethe there is admirable comment on Goethe's behaviour in the danger. It is perhaps a pity that Prof. Düntzer passes over the incident, and over another almost as interesting—the adventure at Malsesina on September 13, 1786.—TR.

³ Goethe to Herder, *Die Italiänische Reise*, May 17, 1787.—TR.

Serapis: he formed a remarkable theory.¹ Portici also was visited a second time. The theatre, which hitherto during his Italian journey had given him so little pleasure, now did amuse him, yet he sees that he is too old for these jests.²

He derived great pleasure from a letter of the Duke's which now came, announcing the election of Dalberg as *Coadjutor* of the Elector of Mainz, and acknowledging in the most flattering way Goethe's diligence in office during the past ten years. The Duke announced his intention of appointing Schmidt³ Vice-President of the Board of Finance, leaving Goethe the direction still. Goethe thought Schmidt very fit for the post, but thought it not well that one member of the Privy Council should be subordinate to another in his capacity as member of the Board of Finance. Would the Duke relieve Goethe of his burden of financial cares, and appoint Schmidt President of the Board formally or informally. "My single desire was, to know you master of your own. All that you do towards ordering things after your own pleasure cannot be other than pleasurable to me. Make this change when you think fit, and as you think fit! By the beginning of September I shall, I hope, be in Frankfurt. If I can then remain awhile with my mother, bringing the last four volumes of my *Works* into order, perfecting the observations made on my journey, perhaps labouring on *Wilhelm* and some other ideas, I shall find myself lightened of a great burden; for these tasks must, after all, be left behind me some time. . . . My relations with business have their origin in my personal relations with you; and now, after so many years, let a new relation with you proceed from these relations of business which have subsisted hitherto. I am ready for each and every use that you wish to make of me. Question me concerning the symphony that you have a mind to play; I will gladly at any time speak my opinion. . . . Already I see what service the journey has done me, how it has enlightened me and glad-

¹ Of this visit Goethe makes no mention in *Die Italiänische Reise*. He tells of it in the essay, *Architektonisch-naturhistorisches Problem*, in the portion of his writings called *Naturwissenschaftliche Einzelheiten* (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiv. 223). His theory is not the true one.—Tr.

² Goethe to Karl August, May 27, 1787; from this letter is also derived the main substance and the quotation of the next paragraph.—Tr.

³ See p. 334.—Tr.

dened my existence. As you have borne with me to the present, care for me further and benefit me more than I can myself, than I dare to wish and desire. Give me back to myself, to my country—give me back to yourself, that I may begin a new life, and with you! I have seen a great and beautiful portion of the earth, and the result is, that I can only bear life with you and in your land (*in dem Ihrigen*). If I can live there less overwhelmed with details—for which I am not born—I can live to your joy and the joy of many men!”

Goethe's departure from Naples was delayed by the arrival of the Prussian ambassador, the Marchese Lucchesini. There was a great deal of pleasure in acquaintance with this accomplished man of the world,¹ who told the poet the last political news, and enlightened him as to the world's affairs. Many other interesting persons were met by Goethe at this time but, attractive as they were, he felt that in Naples he was growing continually more inactive, and was swerving from the path that led to his real goal.² At length he tore himself with an effort from the bewitching city, though he would have been only too glad to remain and observe close at hand the lava stream that at length began to pour down towards the sea from the summit of Vesuvius. He overcame, also, the endeavour of Venuti to delay him, who had indeed a special reason in so doing, as he at length explained. Shortly before Goethe's departure he had another friendly letter from the Duke, urging him not to over-hasten in his return. And from that time forward he had made up his mind to remain in Rome until his birthday. He parted with much sadness from the worthy Kniep. At the custom-house of the Chiaja, on June 3, 1787, as Goethe waited for the *vetturino*, he with surprise saw Kniep emerge from the coffee-stall bearing a cup of coffee, which he offered to Goethe, meaning by the act a symbol of what was due from him to Goethe for all his “love and goodness, and beneficial influence on my whole life.”

¹ Goethe says of Lucchesini, *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 1 :—“He appears to me one of those men who have a good moral stomach, thus retaining always a power of sympathetic enjoyment at the table of the world; a contrast to one of our sort, who at times, like ruminant animals, fills himself to excess, and then can take in nothing more until he has finished a process of repeated chewing and digesting.—Tr.”

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 1, 1787.—Tr.

They were never to see each other again, but Kniep, until the end, thought with love and reverence of the poet who had lifted up his life so. He never left Naples, became a Professor of the Academy there, and there died seven years before Goethe.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND RESIDENCE IN ROME.

JUNE 1787-JUNE 1788.

GOETHE tells us that what had above all rendered him obstinate in resisting the allurements of Naples was the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in Rome, and in that the splendid tapestries after Raphael's cartoons, which it was customary to hang in the Vatican. On Wednesday, the 6th of June 1787, the day preceding that on which the feast was celebrated, he reached Rome, having spent four days on the way. Now having purified and strengthened his spirit in the radiance of Naples and Sicily, he could command a greater calm to develop his knowledge of art and his "small talents" for plastic art. Hackert and Tischbein were still in Rome. Tischbein's picture of Goethe was progressing well. Goethe spent a few days of the earlier half of June in Tivoli with Hackert, who gave him lessons in landscape-painting.

On June 20, 1787, Goethe writes :—"Now I have been again looking at excellent works of art here, and my spirit clarifies and settles. Yet I should need at least a year more alone in Rome in order to profit by the stay after my own fashion." After this he spent three glorious days at Albano, Castel-Gandolfo, and Frascati, where there is an ever-joyous, pure atmosphere. "There is a Nature to study!" On June 27 he tells how he has been with Hackert in the Colonna Gallery, where hang works of Poussin, Claude, and Salvator Rosa. Hackert was copying some of these, and studying others very thoroughly; his remarks did not change Goethe's conceptions, only widened and determined them. "If one now could look on Nature, and again find and read what they

[the great painters] have found, and more or less imitated, it could not but enlarge and purify the spirit, and give the highest perceptive notion of Nature and Art. And I will not rest until nothing is any longer Word and Tradition but living Notion.”¹

The Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul fell on the last days of June 1787; Goethe was filled with admiration by the vast illumination of the Dome of St. Peter's, together with the fireworks from the Castle of St. Angelo. Immediately after the Feast Hackert went to Albano. With Hackert Tischbein meant to go to Naples, to remain some time there. Goethe therefore rented for the summer Tischbein's great room, in which was the almost finished portrait. Henceforward those who exercised the most powerful influence over him were Heinrich Meyer and Angelika Kauffmann. Every Sunday Goethe visited a picture-gallery with Angelika, and dined at her house. Each confided to the other his and her whole position and mood. Angelika was not happy, as her husband, notwithstanding their good means, wished her to go on painting for sale, while she desired purely to follow her artist bent. She was mild towards Goethe's breaches of etiquette, he had a “General Pardon.”²

Moritz, Bury, and Schütz remained close companions. Moritz's knowledge of history and antiquities was very useful to Goethe. Since “all artists old and young helped him to polish up and to enlarge his little talent,”³ he made rapid progress in drawing. And in spite of the heat the comic opera was visited with eager interest. Cimarosa's new intermezzo *L'imprésario in angustie* is noted under the 31st July as “thoroughly excellent and likely to give us pleasure many nights.” One evening, in order to give pleasure to Angelika, who had an unconquerable dislike to visiting the theatre, Goethe improvised in his large chamber a grand concert by the members of the comic opera. This concert drew general attention on “the quiet lodgings opposite the Rondanini Palace.”⁴ At the house of the lover of art, Count John von

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 27, 1787.—TR.

² Goethe to Angelika, February 1788. Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. S. 934-5.—TR.

³ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 27, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, the *Bericht* for July 1787.—TR.

Friess, a Viennese advanced in years, who had shown himself extremely friendly to Goethe, our poet met in July the Austrian Court poet, Abate Giambattista Casti. Casti, born at Prato in 1721, was the author of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, a favourite opera with Goethe. Casti recited a tale, *Der Erzbischof von Prag*, as yet unprinted, not very respectable, but composed in beautiful *ottave rime*. The recitation was excellent, light and charming and intellectual.¹ In the evening, Goethe attended the course of lessons in perspective, which young Verschaffelt from Mannheim gave to a numerous assembly.² Notwithstanding the great heat which made it necessary to stay within doors during the greater part of every day, Goethe worked hard during July and August at *Egmont*, not a little stimulated to think that just then in Brussels were being enacted scenes the counterpart of those of *Egmont's* time.³ He wrote the play, as he says himself, with great freedom of spirit and conscientiousness,⁴ in the certain prospect that the stage would immediately adopt it.

Meanwhile Goethe had become convinced that in the short allotted time he could not perfect the artistic training which he had hoped from Rome. Accordingly, on the 11th of August, having shortly before received a friendly letter from the Duke which put him at ease as to his future position, Goethe wrote begging permission to stay in Italy until the Easter of 1788. "My spirit is capable of advancing far in the knowledge of art, and on all sides I am exhorted to cultivate my small talent for drawing, and thus these months would suffice to make my insight and my dexterity (*Fertigkeit*) perfect. Now I am studying architecture and perspective, the composition and colouring of landscape. I should like to devote September and October to drawing in the open air; November and December to perfecting this at home, making it ready and finishing it; the early months of the coming year to the human figure, face, etc. . . . By Easter I shall have brought it so far as to be able thenceforward to go on by myself—for there are certain things which must be learned and adopted from others. . . . Yet another epoch I have in mind to close at Easter; my first, or rather my second, literary epoch. *Egmont* is done,

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 17, 1787.

² *Ibid.*, *Bericht* for August 1787.

³ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, the entry immediately above the date Nov. 24, 1787.—TR.

and I hope with the New Year to have completed *Tasso*, with Easter *Faust*, an achievement only possible in this seclusion. . . . This working up of my older pieces is a wonderful benefit to me. It is a recapitulation of my life and of my art, and while I am compelled to go back and mould myself and my present mode of thinking, my modern manner after my former one, to develop anew what I had only sketched, I learn to know myself aright and my limitations and amplitudes. . . . If it is permitted here to add as a conclusion a wish which I have for that time [after his return to Weimar], it would be this :—To traverse your collective dominions immediately after my return, as a stranger, that I may criticise your provinces with altogether fresh eyes and as one habituated to gazing on land and the world. I should, as is my fashion, make a new image and gain a complete notion, and qualify myself anew, as it were, for every kind of service to which your goodness and confidence destine me. If Heaven second my wishes, I will thenceforth for some time devote myself exclusively to administration as now to the arts. I have been long groping and experimenting, it is time to lay hold and to act efficiently." The Duke was forced to smile when, in reading this letter, he came on the sudden flash of longing to re-enter the Government again. Goethe might without further ceremony take permission as accorded.

The interest above mentioned in the comic opera had not remained without result. On August 14, 1787, Goethe communicates to Kayser the plan of a new comic opera; the material he found in the famous incident of the Diamond Necklace, which, says Goethe, seems to have actually occurred for the purpose of being made into an *opera buffa*. Kayser shall see by the mechanism of this opera that Goethe has learned something in Italy, and that he now understands better how to subordinate the poetry to the music. In an earlier part of the letter Goethe speaks of sending *Egmont* in manuscript to Kayser. "Would you then compose, say, the symphony, the *entr'actes*, the songs, and some passages of the fifth act which require music; thus your setting could appear with this addition, the public would grow used to seeing your name side by side with mine, and it would perhaps pave the way for our opera." One may note how intent Goethe was on helping his friend.

Nor were his botanical theories forgotten at this period. He was deeply interested by a gilliflower, out of the primary blossom of which four other blossoms had grown. He made an exact sketch of the flower, seeing in it a triumph for his theory, and in doing this he gained more and more insight into the fundamental idea of metamorphosis.¹ On the 17th of May 1787 Goethe had written from Naples to Herder:—"Further, I must confide to you that I am very near the mystery of plant generation and organisation, and that it is the simplest thing imaginable."

On the 23d of August 1787 Goethe writes:—"Now at last the Alpha and Omega of all that we know, the human form,² has seized me and I have seized it and I say, 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me, even though I become lame in the strife.' The sketching will not suffice here, and accordingly I have made up my mind to modelling, and that seems to get on." Goethe's intimacy with the sculptor Trippel was now of importance in this connection. Trippel was commissioned by the Prince of Waldeck to produce a marble bust of Goethe (a picture of which we give as frontispiece), and during the preliminary modelling Goethe enjoyed the most instructive intercourse. Goethe believed now that he had discovered the principle of the ancient sculptors;³ he sketched a little alabaster head in order to test this, and people could not believe that the sketch was his.⁴ The perfect works of art, of which there are too few, now began to seem to him "the highest of Nature's works, produced by human beings according to true and natural laws; all that is arbitrary, all that is the creation of fancy, perishes; here is Necessity, here is God."⁵

On September 5, 1787, *Egmont* was at length perfected. On the 14th of September Goethe writes:—"Erwin und Elmire is already half rewritten, I have tried to give the piece more interest and life, and have thrown out altogether the very

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 1787, "*Störende Naturbetrachtungen*;" also Goethe to Knebel, August 18, 1787, October 3, 1787.—TR.

² Compare "I am now thoroughly engaged in the study of the human form, which is the *non plus ultra* of all human knowing and doing," *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, January 10, 1788.—TR.

³ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, September 6, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1787.—TR.

⁵ *Ibid.*, September 6.—TR.

flat dialogue." On October 4 Goethe received—beside the continuation of that "most precious Evangel,"¹ Herder's *Ideen*—the first four volumes of his own *Works*. Neither the paper nor the type pleased him, and there were many printer's errors and omissions.²

A very joyous letter is that which Goethe wrote to Kayser (September 11, 1787) on receiving word that the composer meant to come to Rome soon in order to bring out his opera in person. "Drive straight to my quarters when you arrive, I will put you up for a while. . . . You are giving me a great pleasure, and you shall grow healthy and merry in this country, as I have grown. You shall in no foreign land find yourself so at home as here in Rome living with me." A few months later Goethe gives a right cheery account of the domestic establishment of which we have heard him thus invite Kayser to become one: "Our old woman cooks, our old man crawls about, the hindering maid-servant does far more gabbling than work, a man-servant, who is an ex-Jesuit, mends our clothes and waits table, and the kitten brings in many larks' heads which are often eaten."³ At this time, too, the son of the landlord lived in the house. Bury and Schütz remained good comrades, for whom Goethe faithfully cared; indeed, he writes to the Duke, January 25, 1788—"My existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmiade*;" he was like Wilhelm Meister, burthened with the fortunes of strangers.

On September 25, 1787, Goethe and a few artists went to Reiffenstein's villa at Frascati, where "all day and on into the night went on painting, drawing in Indian ink, glueing, trade and art in fact *ex professo*."⁴ In the evenings they would go to see the villas in the moonlight, and note the most striking motives. As the Duchess Amalia meant to come to Italy next year, Goethe talked with Reiffenstein of the arrangements necessary. The Duchess had proposed at first to come in the present year; from this Goethe had dissuaded her. He alleged valid reasons for delay, but he had, besides,

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, Goethe to Herder, Castel Gandolfo, October 12, 1787.—TR.

² Goethe to Göschel enclosed in a letter to Seidel of date October 28, 1787, then forwarded by Seidel. See on this matter letters of Göschel and Bertuch lately published in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii.—TR.

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein, February 16, 1788.—TR.

⁴ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, Frascati, September 28, 1787.—TR.

a personal motive. The presence of a circle of friends would have narrowed Rome to him, and done away with the peculiar benefit of a life among strangers and strange surroundings.¹

On October 7, 1787, Goethe betook himself to the *Villeggiatura* at Castel Gandolfo, where he stayed at the hospitable, thronged house of the Englishman Jenkins, a dealer in art objects. Goethe found that Angelika also was at Castel Gandolfo. Her beneficial influence remained ever the same. As to his landscape-painting, what Angelika said was so flattering that he might not repeat it. He had given up his thought of going to Naples to study under Hackert, especially as Angelika did him so much good in every way.² A Milan maiden came with two Roman ladies—a mother and daughter well known to Goethe—to spend a week at the gay and bustling spot. Goethe was attracted by the naturalness, the simple and unpretending ways, of the Milan girl, as opposed to the dignified bearing of the Roman ladies, demanding homage. So he drew very near her, gave her lessons in English; but the love thus budding was suddenly checked by the intelligence that she was already betrothed. He felt a good deal of pain, yet soon mastered it. Though he liked making the acquaintance of so many people in such an easy way at Castel Gandolfo, the life of disquiet there soon palled. On October 21, 1787, he came back to Rome. Here he reviewed the sketches he had been making in the country, and began a completely new development of *Claudine*. He writes on October 27:—"I have again entered this magic circle [Rome], and immediately I feel as though again bewitched—content, silently working away, forgetting all that is external to me; and the forms of friends come in peaceful and friendly visitings."

An altogether new life begins with Kayser's arrival in Rome, at the close of October 1787. A piano was procured immediately; trying and tuning, and placing this piano, and arranging about Kayser's lodging, took some time, and Goethe had himself to prepare for change. Tischbein having an-

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, October 5, 1787; also the *Bericht* for October 1787, final page or two; and Goethe to Karl August, November 17, 1787.—Tr.

² See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 864-5.

nounced his return to be close at hand, either at the time of Kayser's settlement or soon after it, Goethe engaged the second story again. Kayser's interpretation of his own opera delighted Goethe; moreover, he was glad to observe the thoroughness and earnestness of the young composer, his kindly and natural ways in intercourse. Writing on November 17, 1787, Goethe tells the Duke:—"Through him [Kayser] I for the first time enjoy the Italian music, because of course nothing in the world is enjoyed aright without genuine inward knowledge."

In the same letter Goethe mentions how, a few days before, he has sent to Weimar, to the Duchess Amalia, an Italian, who would be a kind of Maître Jacques to the Duchess, would look after the mechanism of her journey to Italy, and would be a source of information always at hand. This Italian was the son of Goethe's landlord. Further on in the same letter, Goethe speaks of politics, in which he feels lively interest. "To me it seems a grave matter for friend and foe that France is so far from her old power. If, on the one hand, the plans of the Prussian-English-Orange Alliance are more easily carried out; on the other, Catherine and Joseph have an unfettered game, and can, mayhap in a moment, establish an enormous preponderance southwards and eastwards, while the States of the north and west, and here I include France, are at variance with each other. Writing from these regions, I can say that in silence and among individuals Russia and the Kaiser are feared, and it is believed that the Kaiser can, under no conditions, favour those vast expectations and designs of Catherine on Constantinople, unless the possession of Italy be guaranteed to some descendant of his house. This is certain, that the States of the Church and the two Sicilies could, like Holland, be seized without drawing a sword. Let a couple of ships of the line be stationed in the Gulf of Naples, and two of the gates of Rome be beaten in, and the thing is done. From various symptoms, I believe that the Papal and Neapolitan Courts are on the scent of some such design, though the general public dreams nothing of it. The people are discontented, especially the ecclesiastics; the monks are inclined to the Kaiser. Only yesterday said an old monk of seventy, 'If I could but see it in my old days, the Kaiser coming and

hunting us all from our convents ; even religion would be a gainer.' ”

Yet what at this time is most noteworthy is the extraordinary fascination which the human form exercised over Goethe. Writing a little later (January 25, 1788) to the Duke, he describes how first he drew the head and its parts, and thus began for the first time to understand the antiques. So passed November and December 1787, and in January 1788 he passed to the human body. His old studies of osteology and anatomy were very useful, and in the third week of January he finished with the human hand.

To the Sunday regularly spent with Angelika was now added one evening every week, on which he saw her. She remained always the same true friend to whom he could completely unbosom himself ; she almost filled the place of Charlotte. In the beginning of December 1787 Herder's translation of the Skaldic *Zaubergespräch Angantýrs und Hervors* was prepared for representation by Kayser. Drawing continued to be diligently practised. In the evenings he studied perspective. In the second week of December, feeling rather wearied and unable to do any work, Goethe went on a short walking tour in the loveliest weather, through the volcanic range that extends from Frascati to Nemi. At this time the younger Camper¹ was in Rome ; he promulgated his father's views on the culture of man and the Greek ideal in art. Goethe writes on January 10, 1788 :—“ The younger Camper is a *Strudelkopf*, who knows much, apprehends easily, and skims over things.”

On December 21, 1787, Goethe replies to Herder :—“ My drawing, and art study is an aid to the poetic faculty, not a hindrance ; for one should and must write only a little, draw a great deal. I would that I could only communicate to you the notion of plastic art which I have now ; subordinated as it is, it is delightful, because it is true and ever points onwards.” On December 25, 1787, he writes :—“ The splendour of the great works of art dazes me no more ;² I walk now in light (*Anschauung*), in genuine discriminating

¹ Gilles Adrian Camper, son of Peter Camper, the great Dutch anatomist. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, p. 900, footnote. (*Strudelkopf* = a hot-headed, hasty fellow.)—TR.

² See p. 379.—TR.

knowledge. How much in this matter I owe to a silent, solitary, diligent Swiss named Meyer, I cannot say. He first it was who opened my eyes as to detail as to the properties of individual forms, who initiated me into the actual *Making*." (Meyer had been one of the party in which Goethe went to see the statues of the Capitol and the Vatican by torchlight. Goethe has inserted in the *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt* a paper of Meyer's in which it is pointed out how many statues are only by this means to be seen in the proper illumination.¹) Farther on in the letter of December 25, Goethe says:—"Meyer has a heavenly clearness of conception, and an angelic goodness of heart. . . . In his companionship, in the course of time, I hope to come to a degree of excellence in drawing which I myself dare hardly think of." But Bury too had helped him not a little. The letter which we have been quoting says farther on:—"Yes, I must say, I have had a great deal of spoiling in matters of morality this year. Altogether cut off from society, I have for a time stood alone. Now a narrow circle of friends has again formed around me, all of them good, all *on the right path*; and this is now the token, that they can endure to be with me, they like me, find happiness in my presence the more they, both in thought and action, are on the right path. For I have no mercy for, no patience with, any who dawdle or stray on their path, and yet desire to pass for messengers or travellers. . . . Two men there are who thank me for the change wrought in mind and life—ay, three [Moritz, Bury, and Kniep]²—and will continue to thank me until they die."

Goethe's only source of disquiet at this time (the close of December 1787) was in the objections raised by his Weimar friends to many things in *Egmont*. He was consoled to find that Angelika had a much tenderer and finer feeling than Charlotte and Herder for that which he had desired to bring out in his portrayal of the hero. About the 8th of December 1787, Goethe had written to Seidel:—"The high opinion of my brain, which they profess in Weimar, I hope to combat as Sophocles refuted a like complaint: he wrote his *Ædipus at*

¹ See on this party Düntzer in his edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 889-890.—Tr.

² Compare *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788 (the close), and Düntzer's note.—Tr.

Colonus, and—though I will not exactly compare my *Egmont* with that masterpiece—the play will be enough to convince the public that I am still in my senses.”

Having finished his study of the human head, he began in January 1788, as before mentioned, to draw the other parts of the human form; on January 24 he finished by drawing the hand. Probably to this month falls the beginning of a connection which he formed with a beauty who was perhaps in the first instance his model. In this he but conformed to the pretty general custom of artists living in Rome. When Herder was in Rome, Goethe said playfully to Herder's wife that her husband would not be happy there until he fell in love.¹ Had not Goethe himself enjoyed there the most splendid life, while this happiness in love lasted?² The poetry of the Roman “triumvirs of love,”³ Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, and of Horace and Ovid, had probably long ere this been read by Goethe, who would seek by them to make old Rome live to him again. In the *Römische Elegien* this Roman love of Goethe's is a sort of glorified background. We know nothing of the personality of his mistress; she is said to have been of no exceptional beauty,⁴ she must however have had no small power of captivating, as she afterwards became the wife of a wealthy English settler in Rome, and ruled him skilfully.

In the very beginning of this blossoming of sensual love came a letter from the Duke (by courier on January 24) which expressed the desire that Goethe would await the arrival of the Duchess Amalia, and be her guide in the land now so familiar to him. The Duchess's visit to Italy had

¹ Compare—

“Eine Welt zwar bist Du, o Rom! doch ohne die Liebe
Wäre die Welt nicht die Welt, wäre denn Rom auch nicht Rom.”
Römische Elegien, I.—Tr.

² *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788.—Tr.

³ The last lines of No. V. of the *Römische Elegien* are:—

“Amor schüret die Lamp' indess und denket der Zeiten
Da er den nämlichen Dienst seinen *Triumvirn* gethan.”

Joseph Scaliger called Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius *triumviri amoris*. See also *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, the account of the Arcadian Academy.—Tr.

⁴ By Wilhelm von Humboldt. For a brief abstract of what is known of this matter, see *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte Erläutert von Heinrich Düntzer*, iii. 46.—Tr.

ere this been fixed to take place in the summer of 1788. Goethe was much disquieted by this proposal, and the more because he could not openly object to it. He replied at length the next day, January 25, 1788. If he is to stay later than Easter, when he will have attained all that is at present his object in Rome, he will subordinate the rest of his existence to the duty of serving the Duchess. "It will at first seem strange, and yet as concerns the future will be salutary to be compelled again to live among all kinds of men." Earlier in the letter he writes:—"Hitherto I have resisted all who would fain draw me into society, because my first care was for the main interests of my own being, because society does not give but takes, and because I daily feel greater dislike to doing things by halves. But now I will equip myself, hire a servant, get better quarters; in fine, make such personal arrangements that I can publicly appear as your minister, and nothing lacking the fitting dignity. First I will visit Cardinal Herzan and the Senator [of Rome], then go to the Cardinal Secretary of State [Buoncompagni] and Cardinal Bernis. With this¹ the sluices are lifted and the rest follows of itself. I will devote the month of April [1788] altogether to this expansion (*Ausbreitung*), for I must inure myself again to it, and treat the life of intercourse with many men, no less than the retired life, as a study and an exercise. . . . As to my outlay, let the following serve for an account. I have been all along drawing the sum for which I have to thank your kindness and thoughtfulness, and, after deduction of what my living from day to day costs, have spent it on travel, in which also I have used up 1000 thalers that the first four volumes of my works brought in. Living as I have done, I should have come off at a cheaper rate, but that my existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmiade*. . . . My Easter quarter and the produce of the fifth volume had been meant to pay for my return journey, and I should have resumed my old house-keeping at Weimar without the smallest hitch." He goes on to say that he will continue to pay away his salary and the money brought by his works, and will only ask the Duchess Amalia for what is needed above this, "that I may remain unembarrassed (*rein*) and without anxiety." Farther on he says:—"I repeat it again, should you find me necessary on

¹ Reading *Somit* not *So weit*.—TR.

your return to Weimar, I am ready to come at any hint. Very many things make going home attractive to me. Living apart from intercourse with you, apart from intercourse with tried friends, is a matter to consider. In a foreign land the heart, I perceive, fast grows cold and hard, because there is so seldom any loving and trusting. I have gained so much in knowledge of art and of nature, that a further study would be much lightened by the neighbourhood of our Academy Jena."

"Next week," writes Goethe, in the letter from which we have been quoting, "the chief statues and paintings of Rome shall be viewed with eyes washed clear." In the *Korrespondenz* for February 1788, we find him, besides, pushing on with *Claudine*, and considering the contents of the three final volumes of his works. On the 5th of February the Carnival of 1788 terminated. The displeased feeling which the festival aroused in Goethe in 1787 was now replaced by the interest of the student and artist. He noted the several incidents, and asked Georg Schütz to make coloured sketches of the masks. He hoped to publish a description of the Carnival with illustrations.¹ On one of the days of tumult Goethe saw Angelika's carriage on the Corso, and went up to it to greet his friend. He was surprised to find her accompanied by the sweet young Milan maiden of Castel-Gandolfo memory. Since we last saw her she has had trouble—her betrothed has proved faithless, and she has been very ill in consequence. Goethe had shown a tender interest in her welfare during her illness, and she now thanked him for it. He went away full of silent content, and of gratitude to Angelika for her delicate and generous goodness to the maiden. On February 9, 1788, he sent off the last act of *Claudine*, and thus was done with the fifth volume of his works. He now let the three others alone for a while. At this time he wrote to Angelika:—"It seems as if in the *Studio de' Tedeschi incontro al Rondanini* we

¹ *Das Römische Karneval*, with illustrations, appeared in 1789. Goethe printed it, without the illustrations and the passages having reference to them, in the 1792 edition of his works. In 1829 Goethe, when preparing his *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, placed the essay on the Carnival after the *Bericht* for January 1788, and before the *Korrespondenz* for February. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 475 and 924, and Strehlke's Introduction to *Das Römische Karneval*, Hempel's *Goethe*, xvi. 291-6.—Tr.

are going from one extreme to the other. Last week we drew men as God made them, and this week we want to clothe them from head to foot in steel and iron." Moreover, when writing to the Duke on January 25, he had announced his intention of beginning some sketches of landscape, and of drawing and colouring some perspective views (*veduti*). On February 16 he writes to Fritz Stein:—"You wrote lately about the grave of a Miss Gore in Rome. One evening a few days ago, when I had gloomy thoughts, I sketched mine at the Pyramid of Cestius."¹ On March 1 he writes that he has been indulging in all sorts of speculation as to colours, and we learn elsewhere² that Angelika gave valuable aid. Thus, as he asserted blue to be no colour, she painted a little landscape without any blue.

During the later part of February 1788 the plans of *Faust* and *Tasso* were thought over and perfected. Nay, in the noble environment of the Borghese Garden, a new scene of *Faust* was written—the madly humorous *Hexenküche* scene. As his return to Germany was in prospect—Herder and Charlotte were urging earnestly for it—he went once more over all in Rome that was of most significance, and saw much that was new to him besides. He made several acquaintances of distinction. One was the Senator of Rome, who, having come back from Germany lately, had called to see Goethe. In the second week of March 1788, after careful study of the bones and muscles, Goethe modelled a foot with success. On most Sundays the music of the Sixtine Chapel was enjoyed.

On March 15, 1788, in the midst of the stir of Passion Week in Rome, Goethe received a letter from the Duke which relieved him of the duty of awaiting the Duchess Amalia and conducting her Italian journey. The Duke had perceived how unwelcome the office of *Reisemarschall* was to his friend. Goethe writes, March 17, 1788:—"To your cordial, friendly letter I at once cheerily reply 'I come!'" After speaking of the plan of his return-journey he goes on:—"Since with these objects in view I cannot be in Weimar before the middle of June, I would add one request—that you will grant me, while present, the leave from duty which you have already granted

¹ August Goethe was buried near the Pyramid of Cestius in 1830.—TR.

² In the *Confession des Verfassers*, appended to Goethe's *Geschichte der Farbenlehre*.—TR.

me had I decided to stay away. My desire—with this strange, unsubduable spirit of mine, that even in perfect freedom and in the moment of enjoying the earnestly desired good fortune, has brought me many a grief—my desire is, at your side, among your subjects, in your land,¹ to *find myself again*, to cast up the account of my travel, and to clasp in the last three volumes of my *Works* the mass of many memories of life and meditations on art. I can say, to be sure: ‘In this eighteen months’ solitude I *have* found myself’; but in what sense? As an artist! All that I am over and above the artist you will criticise and be of use to. By your continuous (*fortdauerndes*) active life you, as I can see by every one of your letters, have been always widening and rendering finer the prince’s knowledge of the uses that can be made of men; I submit myself gladly to this judgment. Receive me as a guest, let me by your side fill out the whole measure of my existence and enjoy life, and thus my force will be like a new-opened, concentrated, purified water-spring, easy to guide from its source here or there as you desire.” The Duke wished that Goethe, in order to remain in steady connection with the Chamber of Finance, should be authorised to attend its meetings from time to time as his business permitted, and that he should then occupy the chair placed at such meetings for the Duke. As to this Goethe writes further on in the same letter:—“The relation in which you wish me to stand towards the Chamber of Finance is, I repeat, so honourable, that in accepting it I shall feel shame at my own unworthiness, as in refusing it I should feel myself arrogant.”

Karl August found fault with some things in *Egmont*. Goethe writes, March 28, 1788:—“Remarks such as those in your last letter are indeed not very consoling for the author, for the man, however, they are very weighty; and he who has not divided these two lives in himself knows how to treasure and use such memories.” At the close of this letter he mentions that *Lila* and *Jery und Bätely* are ready. The little poems had been written down afresh in a collection, and so all that remained to be done during the coming winter was *Faust*, as he hoped to complete *Tasso* during the summer of 1788.²

¹ “Mich an ihrer Seite, mit den Ihrigen, in dem Ihrigen, wiederzufinden.”—Tr.

² On February 16 Goethe writes to the Duke that “the hill *Tasso* and the mountain *Faust*” are nearly all that he has not done with.—Tr.

Although he feels a very special longing to be at work on *Faust*, he cannot repress the sigh, "May I but succeed in performing half what I wish and hope." On April 11, 1788, Karl August appointed *Geheimerath* Schmidt to be President of the Chamber of Finance, summoned Voigt to be a member of the Chamber, and formally proclaimed that Goethe should take in the Chamber the position of honour already spoken of.

The last days in Rome, like all last days, were very sad.¹ He writes on April 10, 1788:—"I am still in Rome—in the body, not in the spirit. Once I had made up my mind to departure I felt no more interest, and I should have been glad to get away a fortnight ago. In truth, I only remain for the sake of Kayser and of Bury. The former has still some studies to finish, which he can make only in Rome, has still some *musicalia* to collect; the other has to perfect a sketch for a painting of my designing, and in this needed my counsel." On April 11 he writes again:—"The days pass, and I can do nothing more. I can indeed scarcely bear to go look at anything. My trusty Meyer stands to me still, and I enjoy to the last his instructive society." Modelling and botanical speculation occupied him until the end. In the garden of Angelika's house he sowed a pine-seedling of his own rearing; it grew and flourished many years, and travellers told Goethe of it, until, after Angelika's death, the new possessors of the house destroyed it. Some little date-palms, likewise raised by Goethe from seeds, were more fortunate. They were planted by "a Roman friend" in the garden of the Villa Malta, on the Pincian Hill, a garden bordering on Angelika's, frequently visited by Goethe, probably indeed already selected as the residence of the Duchess Amalia. King Ludwig of Bavaria saw these palms when they had grown to a man's height. One of them is still living.²

Very bitter was parting from one who had grown into his life as Angelika. Bury, too, he left behind with great pain; Moritz, who owed a great deal to Goethe, was to visit him in Weimar when returning to Berlin. In his visits of farewell, the young Milan maiden was not forgotten. He had been hearing of her growth in intimacy with Angelika, and other

¹ Goethe, after his return to Weimar, told Herder's wife that during the last fortnight in Rome he had cried like a child.—TR.

² See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 953-4.—TR.

good things, and indeed she occupied no unimportant place in his thoughts. The parting was very affectionate. We do not know whether the connection with the Roman mistress was dissolved now or earlier in the spring.

When, on the last night in Rome, he passed with a few friends under the full moon through the massive lights and deep shadows to visit Capitol and Colosseum for the last time, he felt strange, deep emotion. Again, as so often before, the northern barbarian owed a measureless debt to the Eternal City. Yet Goethe did not then think that he was to see Rome no more. On April 22, 1788, in the most sorrowful agitation, he set out northwards with Kayser by his side.

The poetic companion of his journey was *Tasso*. In the public gardens of Florence he wrote passages which afterwards would recall that peculiar agitation. Florence was thoroughly explored on this visit. On May 6, 1788, Goethe tells the Duke that almost all the art treasures of the city have been visited. From Milan, on May 23, he writes:—"The parting from Rome has cost me more than is right and fitting for my years; however, I have not been able to master my spirit, and on the journey have left myself complete freedom, and accordingly I have, every hour, at least seven changes of mood." Earlier in the letter he writes:—"Yesterday I was at the cathedral, to erect which a whole mountain of marble has been forced into the most tasteless forms. The poor stones are still daily tortured, for the madness is yet far from its period—poverty of thought, indeed, rather than madness." The passion for mineralogy awoke again. On May 24 Goethe tells Knebel that he is going to buy a hammer and break pieces from the rock on his homeward journey, in order to drive away "the bitterness of death" [the pain of moving farther and farther from Rome]. At Constanz, in the beginning of June, he was dreadfully disappointed to read in Schubart's *Vaterlandschronik* that Herder had gone to Italy with Canon Dalberg. Immediately after this announcement, our poet read the following discerning praise:—"Goethe also, one of the most brilliant stars in Germany's crown, has made a vast impression in Italy. He entered the best circles, adorned with German force and the dignity of German genius, and everywhere his great knowledge, his deep perception of the

beautiful, and his noble bearing were admired." It was not true that Herder had gone to Italy.

Ere leaving Rome, Goethe had given up the thought of visiting his mother and his brother-in-law Schlosser on his return ; his longing for Weimar was intense. By Augsburg, Nürnberg, Gotha, and Erfurt, he travelled ; and at length, at ten o'clock, June 18, 1788, as he had bidden farewell to Rome beneath a full moon, beneath a full moon entered the little capital on the Ilm, that was now grown so dear.

[NOTE.—Goethe's Last Night in Rome.—Near the close of Goethe's *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, he writes :—"Three nights before my departure the full moon shone in the clearest of skies," and then goes on to speak of the magic charm of the great city and its influence on their minds. Then in a new paragraph he begins :—"After days spent distractedly, some painfully, I made the round of the city with a few friends once through a perfect solitude." Herr Prof. Düntzer believes that this was on *the* last night, though not so stated with exactness. I think that most who examine the passage must agree with him.—TR.]

BOOK VI.

HOUSE AND HOME.

CHAPTER I.

FROM GOETHE'S RETURN FROM ITALY TO THE BIRTH OF HIS SON. *THE RÖMISCHE ELEGIEN—TASSO.*

JUNE 1788—DECEMBER 1789.

AFTER an absence of nearly two years (September 1786—June 1788), Goethe returned to Charlotte von Stein with the old, true love, of firm purpose to live a life of close union of heart and soul with her and her Fritz. We have seen how, throughout his sojourn in Italy, he had frequently had the boy in his thoughts. Yet intellectually and spiritually he was a new man. He was now an Artist, penetrated with the sensuous apprehension of life, fresh, clear, objective in treatment; he had attained a new stand-point, a higher insight. And Charlotte had not advanced, and the only change was, that she had grown older-looking in the interval. In Goethe's eyes she sought in vain the old, passionate yearning; she was disconcerted and dismayed by their new, strong, beaming gaze. She felt that he needed consolation and advice from her no longer; and it wounded her that even by her side he could not suppress the longing for the south, that in rude, gloomy Thüringen, in the petty capital of a German Duchy, he missed Italy and Rome. She grew cold and reserved, she nourished bitterness, she reproached him for want of sympathy—whom her frigidity was repelling! She jealously observed his demeanour and his actions, to find by them her suspicions of his falseness justified. She was physically ailing, and she brooded on gloomy dreams. Add to all this that

Goethe, in the first days at Weimar, drawn hither and thither by the most diverse claims, especially on the part of the Court, could give her but little of his time; while the cordiality of his friends made Charlotte's coldness the more striking. Twelve days after Goethe's return, she writes to her sister-in-law (who had gone on June 24 to Karlsbad), that she (Charlotte) had been with the Duchess, Herder, and Herder's wife, at Goethe's house, where they had been shown engravings from Claude Lorraine, and gems:—"We had not been long with him when Knebel too came in, and thus our old group was again assembled; hardly, I believe, with the old spirit."

Goethe was now free from the thralldom of business; he did not even attend the Council. In the Commission of Mines alone he took a lively interest. It was, unfortunately, just then necessary to put up an hydraulic engine in order to drain the mine of water that had broken out in the previous year. To the Duke Goethe was the old bosom-friend, with whom to take continual counsel, to whom to entrust many commissions which implied special confidence. Thus on Goethe was laid the task of reform in the University of Jena, and he soon after engaged in it, aided by C. G. Voigt, who had proved himself an invaluable man of business.

On the 6th of July 1788 the English family Gore, who already in 1787 had visited the Court of Weimar, came for the second time. Charles Gore had succeeded his father in a large mercantile house, and now, having retired from business, went travelling with his daughters.¹ He and his daughters Elise and Emilie were remarkable for fine culture and a feeling for art. But Goethe now found their views in Ethics and on Art so limited that, in a certain sense, he found talking with them impossible.² The Duke felt a passionate attraction to Emilie; Elise had a warm heart for Goethe. Meanwhile Charlotte's coldness and rancour were making Goethe extremely unhappy. The more she held aloof the more irresistibly did he feel how wide a gulf was fixed between them through the difference in age and the change in his views. He felt himself bound to her by gratitude, and by

¹ Goethe has prefixed to the Life of Philipp Hackert a notice of the life of Charles Gore; see Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxii. 20-25.—TR.

² Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, August 12, 1788.—TR.

his promise to live in union with her and her Fritz, but her trust, through which alone the relation was possible, had given place to its opposite. It was a dreadful overthrow of hope.

At this juncture it happened that the poet, driven to despair by Charlotte's coldness, met and fell in love with a maiden of humble rank. Christiane Sophie Vulpius, then just turned two and twenty, was the daughter of the *Amtsarchivar* Johann Friedrich Vulpius, dead since March 1786. Some years

before his death Vulpius had had to give up his post. The girl was a winsome little blonde with beautiful blue eyes, a pretty nose, pouting lips, a round full face, and long fair hair. The story runs, that she met Goethe in the Park and handed him a petition from her brother. This brother, Christian August Vulpius, two years older than Christiane, after studying law, history, and diplomacy at Jena, had begun trying to support himself and two



FIG. 28. Christiane Vulpius. From a photograph of an Indian ink drawing.¹

sisters by authorship; he had printed some tales, besides poems. When Goethe, who gave him some aid, was away in Italy, Vulpius had been compelled to accept the post of secretary to the Circle Ambassador von Soden in Nürnberg, a man who had also made his appearance as a poet. As von Soden, ostensibly because he could get a more suitable secretary, dismissed Vulpius, the young fellow sought help from his former patron, of whose return from Italy he

¹ Prof. Düntzer cannot tell the exact date of this drawing. It belongs to Christiane's later years, and gives no notion of the young girl who met Goethe in the Park.—TR.

heard. It is said that Goethe, at an earlier time, had seen Christiane in Bertuch's flower-manufactory, where she was remarkable among the other women and girls employed by her youthful freshness, but drew Goethe's attention especially by her smart reply to his companion, the Darmstadt prince, who asked her what flowers bloomed under her hand. Goethe probably established Christiane in his *Gartenhaus*. All we know is that on Sunday, July 13, 1788, not four weeks from the day of his return, he concluded his marriage of conscience with her.¹

Goethe was completely captivated by her personal charms, her amiability, her Thüringian *naïveté*, and by her evident happiness in having won the love of the great man whom she had looked on as so far above her. Probably the memory of his Roman amour also played through his joyous intoxication. Yet anticipation of the storm which the discovery, at length, of his secret would call forth, and the thought of that promise to Charlotte, now broken by his marriage, were certainly sources of great disquietude; while the endeavour to betray his fortune in no wise by his personal bearing was a dissimulation very opposite to his nature. He had written a friendly letter to Christiane's brother, promising to use influence on his behalf. This promise was fulfilled, only Goethe kept Vulpius from coming to Weimar.²

Externally the relation to Charlotte still subsisted in so far that Goethe occasionally visited her, and they paid each other little attentions; but Fritz Stein, though with Goethe a good deal, was no longer an inmate of his house. On July 20, 1788, Charlotte, when sending something, begs for a visit. Goethe replies that he will try to get away from Court betimes in the afternoon, and will besides call for a moment in the morning early. "Gladly will I hear all you have to say to me, only I must beg you not to judge too rigidly my distracted—I will not say shattered being. You will understand when I say that my inner self is not as my external

¹ We know this from the last words of Goethe's letter to Schiller, July 13, 1796:—"Heute erlebe ich auch eine eigne Epoche; mein Ehestand ist eben 8 Jahre und die französische Revolution 7 Jahre alt." This passage Goethe omitted when preparing his correspondence with Schiller for publication in 1824. See p. 482.—Tr.

² See on Vulpius Goethe's letters to Jacobi, September 9, October 3, and October 31, 1788.—Tr.

semblance."¹ Before she left for Kochberg on July 22, Charlotte sent Goethe a breakfast, and commended Fritz to his care. "Fritz shall be dear to me," Goethe replies. "I am always glad of his presence, and to be any use to him. . . . May you be happy and very strong in quiet Kochberg." He says not a word which implies desire to visit Charlotte in Kochberg; he only lays stress on the dreariness of life in Weimar. "I will live on as I can, though it is indeed a special exercise. Kayser is going away again with the Duchess [Amalia] . . . and thus I am cut off from all hope as to the beautiful art of sound. The gloomy sky swallows up all colours. Herder also is going now, and—a thousand times, farewell!" Charlotte herself tells her sister-in-law that she had delayed her setting out for Kochberg solely for the sake of Goethe and of the Gores, but both had dismissed her as if she were a stranger, and only tediousness had been exchanged between them.

On August 6, 1788, Herder started for Italy. Thus Goethe lost for a long time his best consolation and support, for Knebel was at that time extremely depressed and, moreover, had not the deep insight of Herder. With Herder Goethe had talked over the discoveries in physiognomy which he had made when considering the creation of ideal characters in plastic art,² and had found his clear sympathetic comprehension delightful. Goethe stood by Herder's wife as a true friend during her husband's absence.

Since the previous year Weimar had had a noteworthy new resident in Charlotte von Kalb. This lady, now five and twenty, had hoped to procure in Weimar a divorce from her husband in order that she might become Schiller's wife; but there had been difficulties in the way of procuring the divorce, and Schiller's heart had found a dearer bondage. Her unhappy lot had frightened her back on herself; her emotions were violent; there was in her character a passionate precipitateness, an enthusiastic excitability, and all repelled rather than interested Goethe, which she probably perceived.

At this time Goethe was disappointed in the Duke. The

¹ "Dir darf ich wohl sagen, dass mein Inneres ist nicht wie mein Aeusseres."—Tr.

² See Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788; see also Goethe's letter to Herder, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, August 23, 1787.—Tr.

military service in Prussia, which withdrew the Duke so frequently from Weimar, was a worse thing, as Goethe now came to see it, than it had appeared when viewed from the distance of Italy. Then the Duke's regardless self-abandonment to the passion for the beautiful English woman displeased Goethe, and the Duchess was bitterly mortified when Karl August persuaded the Gore family to prolong their stay in Weimar. When after this the Duke hurt his foot, Goethe had to spend the greater part of every day with him and the Duchess.¹ The Duchess showed remarkable good sense in these circumstances, and she was more friendly to Goethe than ever. Notwithstanding the hurt foot, the Duke would go to his regiment at Aschersleben, but soon had to return, and Goethe must again give up most of his time to the invalid.

The poet's mood was very variable ; now he felt happy in his love, now he was almost in despair.² Once he told Herder's wife that not affection but despair had driven him to come see her ; he had just left the Duke. On his birthday he said bitterly to her that if on that day a year ago he had received Herder's *God*,³ he this year believed in God no longer. At this time he was putting together his eighth volume—that containing the shorter poems ; he began to work at *Tasso* without getting very far,⁴ began also his essay *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and made extracts from the letters and diary of his travel to give to Wieland, with whom he was on very good terms, for the *Merkur*. The most important of these was the treatise *Einfache Nachahmung der Natur, Manier*,

¹ See Goethe to Herder, September 4, 1788.—Tr.

² For instance, Goethe writes to Herder, September 4, 1788 :—"The weather is still very gloomy, and slays my spirit : when the barometer is low, and the landscape has no colours, how can one live."

September 22 :—"Oh my brother, what evil spirit urged thee to call me back from Italy ! I could have been the entertainer, and we should have laughed at them all. May all be for the best to thee ; only for God's sake none of that easy good-nature which, pelican-like, tears her own breast to nourish bastards ! I live very strangely. Very much to myself, and await the time and the hour."—Tr.

³ See Goethe's letter to Herder, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, Rome, August 28, 1787. The full name of Herder's book is *Gott. Einige Gespräche über Spinoza's System*.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, October 11, 1788 :—"Tasso advances but slowly."—Tr.

Stil,¹ in which he expresses with clearness and decision the fundamental principles of his theory of art.

On September 5, 1788, accompanied by Herder's wife, by Fritz Stein and by Charlotte's sister-in-law, Frau von Schardt, Goethe drove to Kochberg. The day was lovely. At Kochberg they were welcomed by Lotte von Lengefeld from Rudolstadt, and by Charlotte. The former, now one-and-twenty, had been known to Goethe since 1783. Charlotte treated Goethe with coldness, and this rendered him very gloomy, but also the thought of the change in himself since he had last seen Kochberg threw a dark shadow over his soul. He could not now write "*Ebenderselbe*" on Charlotte's desk.² He showed various drawings that he had brought, and read aloud from the extracts which he had been preparing for the *Merkur*. On September 7, they drove over to Rudolstadt to visit *Oberhofmeisterin* von Lengefeld, Lotte's mother. There they found Schiller, who loved Lotte. Schiller had long been looking forward to acquaintance with Goethe, and had already greeted him through Charlotte von Stein. They had friendly talk together, both indoors and on a stroll beside the Saale, yet there was none of that intimate converse which reveals soul to soul. Goethe told with passionate love about Italy, in language "flowing, full of soul, alive." Schiller thought that they would never draw very near one another, as Goethe was so much farther on than he was, and besides their natures even in the beginning were essentially diverse. That evening, driving back to Kochberg in the moonlight, Goethe repeated aloud his poem *Die Geheimnisse* (which he had again taken up in order to prepare it for the eighth volume of his works), and he spoke of the plan of his *Tasso*. As they drove from Kochberg to Weimar on September 8, Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands* being the occasion, Goethe talked of the veritable ideals of the ancient sculptors in their gods and heroes; he had found the clue to these ideals, and in ten years, if he could live in Rome with an income of ten or twelve thousand thalers, he would demonstrate them.

The visit to Kochberg had cooled Goethe still more; but how happy he was in Christiane's arms. He loved the girl with such warm affection that ten years later, when on a jour-

¹ On the simple Imitation of Nature, on Manner, on Style.—TR.

² See p. 314.—TR.

ney, he writes to her regretting that he has with him nothing of hers, not even a slipper! A pleasant week was procured to him by a visit to Gotha with Prince August of Sachsen-Gotha,



FIG. 29. Charlotte von Lengefeld and Friedrich Schiller. From contemporary portraits in the book *Schiller und Lotte*.

during which he succeeded in perfecting *Künstlers Apotheose*¹ for his eighth volume. And now Goethe heard with bitter-

¹ A pendant to *Künstlers Erdewallen*. See p. 197.—TR.

ness that his friend Kayser had left the Duchess Amalia, his direct, honest, and rather stiff temper having brought him into collision with some of her train. Thus Goethe might as well not have given up Kayser to the Duchess, had indeed better not, as the abrupt breach made further connection with Weimar Court impossible for the musician. At times Goethe feels so unhappy in Weimar that he only "waits the time and the hour" to leave.¹ By frequent short flights he sought to be rid of the inner unrest; he feared the coming storm. Towards the end of September 1788, anxiety about the mines drew him to Ilmenau; it was only with great labour that the water could be subdued. After his return he went hard to work on *Tasso*.² In the *Literaturzeitung* a paper on *Egmont* had appeared, which seemed to Goethe to treat the poetic side inadequately³ (he did not know that this paper was by Schiller). Thus the two plays,⁴ that he had laboured on with such conscientiousness and such clear artist insight, had met but small present favour; yet there was no diminution of his ardour to perfect *Tasso*, in which we read so much of Goethe's own heart's history. The pain of the alienation from Charlotte, who had once suggested the drama to him, fed the poetic flame.

In October 1788, business taking him to Jena, he spent some time there during the ingathering of the grapes in the company of the Hereditary Prince. That the Duke, through carelessness, had again a fall near Dresden, and thereupon went with the Gores to Dessau, displeased Goethe. On the other hand, a letter revealing Merck's almost mad despair moved the deepest pity in Goethe, who wrote to Merck,⁵ begging the fullest confidence; he had already been enlisting the Duke's help on his friend's behalf. But Goethe himself, just after receiving the letter from Merck, was so out of tune that he could perfect nothing; so, for occupation's sake, he arranged his sketches in books.⁶ Christiane's love alone brought him

¹ Goethe to Herder, September 22, 1788. See p. 420.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, October 1, 1788 :—"Nun bin ich eifrig an *Tasso*, er geht von statten." October 11 :—" *Tasso* rückt nur sehr langsam."—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, October 1, 1788.—TR.

⁴ *Iphigenie* and *Egmont*.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Merck, Jena, November 10, 1788.—TR.

⁶ Goethe to Knebel, October 25, 1788.—TR.

happiness; let the poem *Morgenklagen* witness.¹ Charlotte von Stein now returned from Kochberg;² she remained cold and reserved, accusing him of faithlessness in her heart. With the Duke, who was at length back in Weimar, Goethe spent a great deal of time, but they could not lighten each other's troubles.

The first of the Friday Assemblies fell on November 7. There Goethe, in order to avert suspicion of his secret love, put on extreme mirthfulness, and was very amiable towards the younger ladies, and thus drew on himself the anger of Charlotte's little sister-in-law, who was hostile to him already; her account is that he hardly spoke a word with any woman of discretion, but kissed every young girl's hand in turn, said pretty things to each, and danced a great deal. At heart he was very far from being what he seemed. On November 9 he went with Fritz Stein to Jena, where he stayed until November 22. He attended Loder's lectures on the muscles, learned and thought a great deal, and in order to silence the uneasiness within went to concerts and parties.³ On November 30 he went with the Duke to Gotha Court for a few days. There he spoke to Karl August and the Gotha Minister, von Frankenberg, of appointing Schiller as Professor Extraordinary of History at Jena, a project of which Voigt and Charlotte von Stein were the eager supporters. The Duke and Frankenberg agreed, and Goethe was charged to communicate the matter to the Privy Council of Weimar.

A great joy it was when, on December 4, the day of our poet's return from Gotha, the "excellent"⁴ Moritz arrived in Weimar to stay there eight weeks in Goethe's house. Moritz not only brought fresh life to a multitude of Roman memories, but entered with sympathy into all thoughts in pleasant, interesting converse. Goethe introduced his friend to the Duke, who was delighted with him and took lessons in English from him. Moritz was soon "the Prophet"⁵ of the chief Weimar ladies, of Charlotte von Stein above all, notwithstanding the deifying reverence with which he regarded Goethe. At length Moritz's

¹ "O du loses leidig liebes Mädchen." Sent to Jacobi October 31, 1788.—TR.

² About October 20.—TR.

³ See Goethe's letter to Fritz Stein, November 18, 1788. Fritz had gone back soon to Weimar.—TR.

⁴ "*Grundguter*," Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788.—TR.

⁵ This is from one of Caroline Herder's letters, December 25, 1788.—TR.

communication of his treatise, *Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen*, produced division. Charlotte with others, especially Knebel, declared against it; Schiller adopted an intermediate view.

On December 9 Goethe formally reports to the Privy Council on the matter of Schiller's professorship. The University will profit by this appointment, and the Duke favours it, observes Goethe's *Promemoria*. Schiller's "bearing is grave and courteous, and it may be credited that he will have good influence on young people." On December 11, 1788, the Duke sent forth to the three Courts, Gotha, Coburg, and Meiningen, partners with Weimar in Jena University, recommending the appointment of Schiller. On December 12 Goethe received the visit of Schiller, who had wished to meet him alone in order to derive from the interview some intellectual and spiritual profit. "In the evenings the Duke is almost always there," wrote Schiller to his betrothed, Charlotte von Lengefeld, "and in the forenoon he is besieged with business." Goethe was friendly to Schiller, and urged him not to be deterred from accepting the professorship by the fear that he was too ignorant for it; his appointment would be a gain to himself and to the University. But the alliance which Schiller hoped for was not yet to be formed; Goethe wished to be Schiller's benefactor, not his friend, and indeed felt how far apart they stood.

At this time Goethe finished his description of the Roman Carnival,¹ and laboured at *Tasso* with such zeal that he hoped to complete it ere Moritz should leave; but about the middle of January 1789 it came to a standstill. He found himself unable to celebrate the birthday of the Duchess by any poem. Meanwhile, to his other responsibilities was added that of arranging for the building of a new Castle for Weimar; his fellow-commissioners were Voigt and Wedel.

On February 1, 1789, the Duke started for Berlin with Moritz; he did not return until three weeks had passed. Meanwhile Goethe found more joy than ever in his hidden love. On February 19 Charlotte von Stein was present at a performance of Gotter's farce, *Der Schwarze Mann*, and, strange enough, the leading incidents reminded her so strongly of Goethe's faithlessness, which had robbed her life

¹ See p. 409.—TR.

of charm, that she was overcome with agitation, and almost became ill. She could not receive Goethe when he called to see her after the performance. When he had her explanation on the following morning, he wrote:—"It has grieved me very much that the tasteless, miserable piece has pained you so by its reminder of a dreary reality. I will expect you this evening. Let us as friends unite our joy and sorrow, that the few days of life may be happy. . . . Farewell, and love me." But how could the interview to which he looks forward here have done anything towards reconciliation! The secret, which he could not man himself to tell her, was soon after discovered. In the first instance, it is said, through Fritz Stein, who found Christiane, a stranger to him, in the *Gartenhaus*. Herder's wife knew of it from Charlotte on March 8, 1789. Charlotte's love was now transformed to the most active bitterness; she could not find words cruel enough to speak of Goethe's mistress. She did not know (how should she?) what an enduring union had been formed. But Charlotte's loss was a dreadful one. Her ideal of an austere virtuous man, lifted above the common sensual needs of human nature, was gone; gone her hope of a happy, intellectual life by the side of her supreme friend, her Fritz's second father. All the women of rank of Weimar pitied Charlotte and condemned Goethe, all except one.

The Duchess Luise judged with a larger humanity the eminent man whose noble and moral nature she had had so much occasion to prize through many years. She felt how great his suffering after his return from Italy had been, how the prolongation of the relation with Charlotte would have galled him more and more. As for Goethe, the more violent the ardour of hatred of the poor girl to whom he had vowed his faith, the more lovingly did he clasp her to himself. Wonderfully lighter he felt, too, now that his secret was out, and the storm broken that had oppressed his spirit in the coming; let it rage! The perfect rapture of his love found utterance in the *Römische Elegien*, where the background is the happiness that had been his in the Eternal City, where the model is the poetry of the Roman "Triumvirs of Love,"¹ where the inspiration is the warm throbbing of his own ecstatic heart.

¹ See p. 407.—TR.

The Duke heard the earlier Elegies read aloud before his departure on April 1, 1789, for Aschersleben. He had ere this, probably at Goethe's instance, appointed Fritz Stein, who was not yet sixteen, to be *Hofjunker* and *Kammerassessor*. With gladness Goethe heard that during the last few weeks Merck had rallied his spirit, and in the kindly Frankfurt circle, with Goethe's mother and Goethe's friends, again felt some happiness. During the Duke's absence more *Elegien* were written; *Tasso* progressed; a successful endeavour was made in encaustic painting (an art learned at Rome); Kraus was prompted to work at a landscape after a special method; the building of the Castle and the affairs of the University were attended to. Goethe thought at this time of going in the autumn of 1789 to join the Duchess Amalia in Italy, returning in the summer of 1790.

On April 13, 1789, the quiet was disturbed by the premature confinement of the Duchess, whose infant died a few minutes after birth. The Duke, who returned immediately, showed himself very good and kind, but nevertheless the Duchess's sorrow was very great. Herder being at this time invited to Göttingen University, Goethe urged that he must be kept for Jena at all cost.

Shortly after, Goethe put the finishing touch to his unpopularity. *Capellmeister* Reichardt of Berlin, the composer to *Claudine*, had announced a month before that he was about to visit the poet. Now he came,¹ and Goethe, though prepossessed against him, was so pleased with him as to receive him into his house; and this disgusted all Weimar. With Reichardt's music to *Claudine*, soon to be performed in Berlin, Goethe was delighted. The Weimar ladies were invited to hear the separate acts rehearsed, but they would only praise parts of the composition, because they hated Reichardt. When about this time Goethe received a letter of reproach from Charlotte, he replied in a tone of the greatest moderation, without approaching the main subject of her displeasure, for he was not going to give up Christiane. When Charlotte set out for the Rhine watering-places on May 5, 1789, she left behind a letter, whose sharp accusation wounded him so much that he could not summon resolution to reply.

¹ April 23, 1789. See Düntzer, *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, for an account of Goethe's relations with Reichardt.—Tr.

During the time immediately following Goethe devoted himself to the Duchess, with faithful sympathy endeavouring to assuage her pain. He worked on at *Tasso*, a poem in which the Duchess felt much interest, and was as usual diligent in many occupations. Christiane's love made him very happy. His only annoyance was the delay of the architect, Arends of Berlin, who had been summoned to undertake the rebuilding of the Castle. "In the evenings I play the host of your Promenades," writes Goethe merrily to the Duke, "and endeavour, now with tea, now with sour milk, to win the favour of the women while the men are fettered by mighty Destiny to the gaming-table."¹ The women were still bitterly hostile. Goethe interested himself in every possible way in the Hereditary Prince. They went together to Belvedere on May 20, 1789, to stay some time, Goethe hoping to finish *Tasso* there. Thither, on May 31, came Herder's wife and Charlotte von Kalb, and enjoyed the few hours spent with the poet very much. He read aloud from *Tasso*, now, at length, nearly finished. Charlotte von Kalb was deeply moved. "Pan has waked again," she said.

On June 1 Goethe could no longer put off answering that last letter from Charlotte. "How much I love you, how well I know my duty towards you and towards Fritz, I have proved by returning from Italy. If the Duke had his will, I should be there still. Herder was going thither, and as I did not foresee that I might be useful to the Hereditary Prince, I had hardly anything to regard but you and Fritz. What I have left behind in Italy, I may not repeat; you have received my confidences on that head with sufficient unfriendliness. Unfortunately, when I came back you were in a strange mood, and I confess plainly that the way in which you and others received me pained me very much. I saw Herder and the Duchess depart; I saw in the carriage an empty place that I was urged to take. I remained for the sake of my friends, as for their sake I had returned; and at that very moment I must hear it obstinately repeated that I might as well have stayed away, that I had no human sympathy, and so on. And all this, before there could be any question of a relation which seems to wound you so much. And what kind of relation is it? Who is made poorer by it? Who claims the feelings

¹ Goethe to Karl August, May 12, 1789.—TR.

which I give to the poor thing ?¹ [Observe that he does not venture on Christiane's name.] Who claims the hours that I spend with her ? Ask Fritz, ask the Herders, ask every one who is intimate with me whether I am less willing to hear confidences, less willing to confide, less active for my friends than before ? Whether, on the contrary, I do not now for the first time belong to them and to society aright ! And it must be through a miracle, if I should have lost only the best and deepest relation of all—to thee. How vividly I have felt that it still exists, when on one occasion I found you willing to talk with me on interesting subjects. But, I confess frankly, the way in which you have hitherto treated me I cannot endure. When I was disposed to talk, you have closed my mouth ; when I was communicative, you blamed me for indifference ; when I was active for friends, you blamed me for coldness and neglectfulness. . . . Unhappily, for a considerable time you have despised my advice about coffee, and have adopted a regimen which is very bad for your health. As if it were not hard enough, morally, to conquer certain impressions, you strengthen the hypochondriac, torturing power of dreary imaginings by a physical agency, the harmfulness of which you have been aware of for some time, and which, out of love for me, you had avoided for a while, and with good result to your health. May the baths, the journey, do you a great deal of good. I do not altogether give up the hope that you will come to know me again. Farewell. Fritz is happy, and often visits me.”

Meanwhile Charlotte had met Goethe's mother in Frankfurt. She was greatly pleased with Frau Aja, and tells Fritz :—“ I could love her right well and live with her. . . . She loves you well ; write to her constantly, for to hear about her son is her whole life. The ring with his head [which Fritz had sent] has delighted her extremely ; she had it on her finger.” When Charlotte arrived at Wiesbaden and found no letter from Goethe awaiting her, she felt great pain. After long, almost despairing waiting, she went on to Ems, and there she received his letter of June 1. Over it she wrote O !!!

On June 7, 1789, Goethe returned to Weimar. On the 8th he wrote a second letter to Charlotte, of whose visit to

¹ *Das arme Geschöpf*—not in contempt but in pity ; she is so much slandered by the fine Weimar ladies.—Tr.

Frankfurt he had heard from his mother. He acknowledges how grieved he is, in the dreary outward circumstance of Weimar, through which she, no less than he, suffers, to have added to her trouble. "Help me," he appeals to her, "that the relation to which you are adverse may not degenerate, but may remain as it is." But of what avail were all friendly words beside this distinct declaration that he could not give up Christiane. It was like mockery when he appealed to her to look at the matter "from a natural point of view." The breach was not to be healed.

Meanwhile Goethe had been treating with Arends about the Castle; and found it delightful to have an artist near him again. He now strove to bring from Rome another artist, the draughtsman and engraver Lips. All that he could offer, indeed, was the money to pay for the journey. Lips need not, wrote Goethe, fear that he will starve on Art in Germany. When Lips declared that he would come, trusting to this assurance, Goethe replied that he could not give any pledge on the subject, and then had precise information as to the current Leipzig prices of engravings forwarded to Lips, who might make his calculations by them. Notwithstanding the heavy rain at the close of June 1789, Goethe found the time very happy in his quiet, domestic life. As he might expect to be a father at the close of the year, he gave up his plan of going to Italy in the autumn. He also desired a larger and better house, standing in more open space, for the reason above indicated; besides, being near Charlotte von Stein was now as unpleasant as it had once been delightful. His wish was fixed on the little *Jägerhaus* near the *Frauenthor*, where, it will be remembered, he had lived for a short time in 1776.¹ This house belonged to the Duke, but was probably tenanted at this time. Voigt seems to have arranged matters so that Goethe was able to take possession late in the autumn of 1789.

During the close of June and the early part of July 1789, Goethe was engaged in revising the two last acts of *Tasso*. He also brooded on *Faust*, which he now resolved to publish as a fragment,² even leaving the interstices between scenes unfilled. On July 5, 1789, altogether unexpectedly, he brought *Tasso* to a conclusion at Belvedere, where a few

¹ See p. 256.

² Goethe to Karl August, July 5, 1789.—TR.

weeks ago he had been working on it so diligently. On July 6, Charlotte von Stein returned to Weimar; she declined all intercourse with Goethe.

On July 9, 1789, Herder came back from his Italian journey. His ill-humour could not withstand the ardent friendliness of Goethe's welcome. Goethe delighted to talk with Herder about Italy, and especially to exchange thoughts on the antiques and the discovery of their ideals.¹ The improvement of Herder's position in Weimar, as to which Charlotte also showed such friendly zeal, lay on Goethe's heart. The two last acts of *Tasso* were submitted to Herder, and the *Römische Elegien* were read to him. Herder praised the *Elegien*.

On July 22, Goethe went by the Duke's invitation to Wilhelmsthal Castle; he was accompanied by the Hereditary Prince, the Prince's tutor, and Herder's boy August. At Wilhelmsthal he spent two days modelling in wax the profile of a bearded, curly-haired Jupiter. And now he put the final touches to the last two acts of *Tasso*, which Herder had praised.² From the watering-place Ruhla, whither Goethe followed the Duke, he writes to Herder on August 10, 1789:—"I am very glad that *Tasso* has pleased you. . . . Now we are free from all desire to undertake any consequent composition like that. The fragmentary nature of erotic trifles pleases me better. Some more of these have been done." Earlier in the letter Goethe tells Herder that the Duke is becoming very fond of August, which is important for the boy's future. Of his own domestic longings let the following witness:—"Here we are in the land of the famed mountain nymphs, and yet I can assure you that I long earnestly for home to find again my friends and a certain little *eroticum*, whose existence your wife will probably have confided to you." Goethe returned to Weimar about a week later.

In Weimar his first efforts were directed to the final settlement in the matter of Herder, who was appointed Vice-President of the Consistory; to procuring support for young Facius as an engraver; and to the matter of bringing Meyer from Rome to Weimar. Goethe writes to Meyer, August 21, 1789:—"If you wish to stay in Rome two years more, I can promise you a hundred scudi [per annum]. . . . When the

¹ See p. 419.—TR.

² Goethe to Herder, August 2, 1789.—TR.

two years are over, come to us. I will see to the cost of the journey, and that you find a situation here adapted to your tastes and views (*Gemüthsart*). If I can promise you no great pension, you shall have what you need." Already in the spring of 1789 Goethe had advised Christiane's brother to go to Leipzig, and had written to Göschen on his behalf, sending him a letter through Göschen. "From Vulpius's letters," says Goethe, "I must suppose that his spirit has suffered through his distressful lot."¹ Writing to Göschen on June 22, 1789, Goethe recurs to Vulpius; perhaps the publisher could employ the young man in some of the numerous branches of the book-trade; and Goethe is prepared to contribute to his support. When, in August 1789, Vulpius had arrived in Leipzig, Goethe wrote to his old friend, J. G. Breitkopf:—"Confiding in the friendly relations of former times, I take the liberty to commend to your attention a young man who will hand you this letter. He wishes to stay in Leipzig, that he may find there better fortunes than have been his heretofore. I hope that he will not be burdensome to you. Be so kind as to allow him to see you often, and to open his mind to you. Provide him, if possible, some acquaintances and connections, that he may earn something by literary work." Vulpius now began to print away stoutly.

The events of the autumn in France roused no sympathy in Goethe, who in this differed entirely from Gleim, Klopstock, and so many who saw in them the dawn of liberty. It was still in Goethe's mind to treat the story of the Diamond Necklace as a *comic* opera under the title *Il Conte*, and of this project he had spoken to Reichardt. Meanwhile Reichardt had brought out *Claudine* at the Court of Berlin, and on the Crown Prince's birthday at the National Theatre, and its reception had been very good. Beside studies in natural science, putting *Faust* in order occupied the time; this he found a harder task than the composition of *Elegies*, which had not yet ceased. On September 15, 1789, Goethe went to Jena with the famous Freiberg mineralogist, Werner. Werner explained his new theory of volcanoes, and Goethe thought it very acute and well considered. On September 29, 1789, at the wish of the Duke, Goethe went with the Duchess and Fräulein Waldner to Aschersleben, where he could see Karl August in his military

¹ Goethe to Göschen, April 23, 1789. — TR.

splendour. The Rosstrappe was ascended during this visit. Hardly had Goethe returned to Weimar ere he started, on October 10, 1789, for Leipzig, where Vulpius was. The news of the October riots at Versailles¹ filled Goethe with horror; in them he saw what the unchained passion of a nation long oppressed may lead to. After a couple of days in Leipzig Goethe returned to Weimar, where he found a letter from Kayser awaiting him. Kayser, having been ill for a good while, had, on recovery, begun to compose *Scherz List und Rache* for the third time. Goethe writes that he wishes Kayser to finish the music as speedily as possible; then in Goethe's seventh volume, to appear at Easter, the announcement of Kayser's music may accompany the text of the operetta. Goethe has spoken to Breitkopf about publishing Kayser's proposed composition, *Römische Nebenstunden*.²

Goethe's official activity was now engaged by the Ilmenau mines, which had been making them uneasy of late, and by the breaking out of the Saale at Jena. Writing to the Duke on November 5, 1789, Goethe announces that *Faust* is ready so far as it will be made ready on this occasion.³ In the same letter he says that he is working diligently at Greek, and has good hopes. This is remarkable, if we consider how busy and anxious he then was. The change of house was at hand, and anxiety about Christiane's confinement had already begun to oppress his thoughts. In November 1789, in the middle of the bustle of changing, arrived Lips, whom he had longed so much to see. "We are now gently working ourselves together,"⁴ writes Goethe to the Duke, November 20, 1789. "Meanwhile, I have been spurred on to write down my thoughts on Botany. It looks as though a book which I see announced to appear at Easter may anticipate me. Then I will, at least, come in at the same time."

On November 28, 1789, the Duke returned to Weimar;

¹ On October 5, 1789, the Menads of Paris, led by shiftless Usher Maillard, "amid wild October weather, a wild, unwinged stork-flight, through the astonished country wend their way" to Versailles. On October 6, the Royal Family was brought into Paris.—TR.

² *Roman Hours of Idleness*. Goethe to Kayser, October 18, 1789, Burkhardt, *Goethe und Kayser*, S. 73-5.—TR.

³ "Faust ist fragmentirt, das heisst in seiner Art für diessmal abgethan."—TR.

⁴ "Wir arbeiten uns nun sachte zusammen ein."—TR.

three days later Goethe went with him to visit Dalberg in Erfurt. On December 4 the Duke, Dalberg, and Goethe went to Jena, when the presentation of the professors took place. One of the professors since Easter 1789 had been Schiller, of whose betrothal to Lotte von Lengefeld Goethe knew. Dalberg endeavoured to make Goethe and the Duke decide on paying a salary to Schiller. On December 5 Goethe dined at Court. Dalberg was present and Schiller's Lotte. Christiane was at this time very ill, Goethe very anxious and depressed. But Christiane's condition improved after a couple of weeks, and Goethe could go to Jena on December 21, 1789, to talk with Batsch of the botanical essay already mentioned : the essay was now begun ere leaving Jena. (Batsch had been appointed Professor Extraordinary in Jena, and through Goethe's influence was allowed a small salary, with the use of a part of the Prince's Garden for scientific purposes.) Goethe had meant to give a great tea-party on the evening of December 25 in his spacious new house, but on that day (Charlotte von Stein's birthday) Christiane brought forth a son. The Duke was the god-father. The birth of this son was a great joy to Goethe, who had a deep sense of the responsibility. On December 27 Julius August Walther Goethe was baptized in his father's house by Herder. On December 28 Goethe was visited by Schiller's betrothed and by Wilhelm von Humboldt ; he showed them beautiful impressions of gems. Of the six last days of the year there was but one, December 28, on which he did not dine at Court ; three times Herder was also present. His friends at Court were glad in his gladness, and he did not permit any extraneous considerations to mar his joy in his own fireside, his own Christiane, his own son August.

CHAPTER II.

VENICE—SILESIA—THE DUCAL THEATRE—OPTICS—

THE NEW HOUSE.

JANUARY 1790—JUNE 1792.

IN the two years that follow Goethe entered on a new official activity and a new scientific field. The third year brought him a house of his own as a gift from his prince, whom he had had to follow into the tumult of the war; an excursion on which the dangers threatening Western Germany were brought near him with painful vividness.

After all, the conflict with society had tried Goethe very much; he was again in need of the bracing and refreshing influence of travel. But, in the beginning of 1790 the question war or peace? was in the balance. Accordingly, the Duke hastened to Berlin, accompanied by Voigt, whose admirable business powers have been already spoken of. Goethe was left in charge of many affairs, which fully occupied the two first months of the year. Every preparation was made so that the building of the Castle might begin immediately upon the return of the Duke. In telling the Duke of this Goethe praises the skill and good sense of the architect Arends. Then the Ilmenau mines were a source of trouble; a second machine for keeping down the water was necessary. Baldauf, the mining expert from Schneeberg, was expected. The transcription of *Faust* and the essay *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* were placed in the printer's hands. Of the latter, Auguste de St. Hilaire says that it is one of those few books which not only render their authors immortal but are immortal themselves. On February 5 Goethe wrote the first *Elegie* of the year 1790.¹

¹ Goethe to Karl August, February 6, 1790.—TR.

Soon after he went to Ilmenau, where, with the help of Baldauf, who had at length arrived, he "hopes to conquer the subterranean Neptune."¹ Besides, the levying of taxes and many other things fell on Goethe's shoulders.²

The Duchess Amalia, who had lingered a good while in Naples, now caused her *Oberhofmeister*, Einsiedel, to write to Goethe pressing him to come to meet her in Italy. This invitation reached Goethe at the close of February 1790. The beautiful weather seemed also to invite to travel. He wrote immediately (February 28) to Berlin, begging of the Duke the needful six weeks' leave of absence. "Without expense I should thus secure a great bit of pleasure, for I must once more see something foreign. And I will certainly be useful to your mother. . . . Send me also a word to say how you are, and when the reviews take place this year, if there is not war. I should like to spend '90 as much as possible in the open air." On March 1 Goethe writes that they must not, however, be late for the crowning of the Emperor in Frankfurt; these are pleasant things to look forward to.

Certain that the Duke would give permission, Goethe began at once to prepare. He started about the close of the first week of March 1790, travelling with his servant Götze in the little Bohemian chaise in which the Duke had made so many journeys.³ In his passionate longing for travel he had at first forgotten that he would leave wife and child alone. The parting from them made him "quite soft;"⁴ and he felt sorrow, too, in bidding farewell to Herder's boy August.

In Jena he was detained several days by "a complicated mischief," as he tells Herder. Writing again to this steadfast friend on March 12, 1790, he says:—"As towards the end one begins to grow tender and anxious, it then first struck me that after my departure my maiden and my little one are left altogether alone, should anything befall them, in which she

¹ Reading *Neptun* instead of the incomprehensible *Stegbau* of the reprints of Goethe's letter. In German writing characters the two words are like each other.—TR.

² See the letters to Karl August in this period.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1790.—TR.

⁴ "Ganz mürbe." Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790].—TR.

could not help herself. I have told her, in such an extreme case, to turn to you. Pardon!" The "abomination of discordances," which Goethe could only "cloak over,"¹ having detained him so long in Jena, he used the more speed in his journey afterwards. On the Wednesday before Easter, March 31, 1790, he arrived in Venice, where he was to await the Duchess.

The old enthusiasm for Italy had altogether passed away. He felt very intensely now how much unseemliness and wrong there was in Italian life; and no doubt the thought of home and Christiane had much to do with the uneasiness and bitterness of his mood. He began to write *Epigrams* in the manner of Martial. Thus on April 3, 1790, he writes to the Duke:—"My *Elegies* have attained their highest sum, and the little book would be closed. On the other hand, I am bringing a *Libellus Epigrammatum* back with me." The delay in the arrival of the Duchess was annoying. Still, though so much in this "Stone and Water-nest"² displeased him, he was able to find much to amuse and instruct during his stay. Indeed, the delay led to a fruitful discovery.

On May 4, 1790, Goethe writes to Herder's wife:—"During the past month I have *seen, read, thought, written* [the *Epigramme* had grown to a hundred] more than in a year at other times, when the neighbourhood of friends and of my good treasure makes me quite comfortable and happy. . . . By a strangely happy chance—that Götze, for a jest took up an animal's skull at the Jewish cemetery, and jokingly presented it to me as a Jew's skull—I have made a great step forwards in the explanation of animal development. Now again I stand before another door until fortune hands me the key." The skull which Götze picked up had split in so happy a way as to make plain to Goethe's eyes the truth of his prevision that the skull is a metamorphosed vertebra. The letter continues:—"Nor have I neglected to contemplate the sea-monsters, and on them too have made some beautiful observations." He also writes:—"The old Zucchi [Angelika Kauffmann's husband] is very friendly. He gives me lectures on the Directory,³ and explains to me the strange constitution of this state, while I

¹ "Greuel der Missverhältnissen," Goethe to Herder, Jena, March 12, 1790: "Bemänteln," Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790].—TR.

² Goethe to Herder, April 15, 1790.—TR. ³ "Adresskalender."—TR.

run through the Venetian history. I have almost looked myself sick at pictures, and really must pause for a week." On April 15 he had written to Herder that he was studying the history of Venetian painting with great delight. Moreover, from the artists employed at the academy for the restoration of paintings, Goethe learned much as to the methods employed by the old masters in priming and laying on tints. The arrival in Venice on May 5, 1790, of Heinrich Meyer, who was but a short time recovered from a dangerous illness, was a great joy to Goethe. And next day came the Duchess, accompanied by his dear friend Bury. A busy time of sight-seeing followed, first in Venice, then in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua. In the city last named Bury stayed, while Meyer went thence to Switzerland for the benefit of his health.¹ In Augsburg Goethe received from the Duke an invitation to the Prussian camp in Silesia.² For the King of Prussia, seeing that the negotiations with Austria were paralysed, meant to try whether his personal presence in Silesia with an army ready for battle would hurry matters; and the Duke of Weimar was charged with the inspection of the Magdeburg cavalry regiments.

On June 20, 1790, Goethe returned with the Duchess Amalia to Weimar, glad at heart to be with his dear ones again. The Duke repeated his invitation, but his happiness in his home, the need that he should wait to see the Duchess Amalia comfortably settled, the building of the Castle and other business, detained Goethe a considerable time. The last volume of his works, with *Faust* and the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, now lay printed before him. He writes to the Duke on July 1, 1790:—"The little botanical work gives me joy, for on every walk I find new vouchers for it. And I will now write together what I have thought as to the formation of animals." (On July 9 he tells Knebel how he will work on the approaching journey at the second part of the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and at the essay on the development of animals.) Earlier in the letter to the Duke he says:—"I am copying at my *Epigramme*. Many of them, indeed, are completely local, and can only be enjoyed in Venice." From Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, just published, shone a clear light for Goethe. Of the earlier works

¹ Goethe to Herder, Mantua, May 28, 1790.—TR.

² This was received about June 10 or 11, 1790.—TR.

of this great philosopher, who pressed on his path with such steady, logical sequence, Goethe had but a general knowledge. But the great central thought of this book—that Nature and Art are two altogether distinct worlds, whose creatures have a perfect right to existence in themselves, and further, the rejection of final causes, made a very direct appeal to Goethe, and excited vivid interest. As formerly from Spinoza, so now from Kant he read forth only such things as were correspondent with his mode of thinking, as illuminated it and confirmed it.

Accompanied by his servant Götze, he again set out on July 26, 1790, in the Duke's little chaise, five weeks after his return to Weimar. In Dresden, last seen three and twenty years ago,¹ he arrived on July 28, and was delighted and refreshed by the paintings, the antiques, and the casts; and, besides, he made many interesting acquaintances in his two days' stay. Thence he travelled to the camp at Grebischen before Breslau. The Duke, whom he now met after seven months' parting, was "strong and stout."² With the camp as a central point, Goethe traversed the beautiful country on all sides, and gained many new views and conceptions. When the King of Prussia arrived on August 11, the Duke of Weimar took up his quarters in the city of Breslau, and Goethe went with him as guest. Goethe kept eye and ear open in every direction, hoping for increase of knowledge and wisdom. Among the persons whom he met, the one who pleased him most was the excellent business man *Oberberggrath* von Schuckmann. Already probably he planned to gain Schuckmann for Weimar. Alone, he made an excursion through the county of Glatz; on a week's journey with the Duke, he visited the mines of Tarnowitz; thence they went on to Cracow, the ancient place of crowning of the Polish kings, now decaying more and more; then the salt-mines of Wieliczka and the place of pilgrimage, Czenstochowa, were visited. On this journey Goethe widened his knowledge of mining. He was comforted to find that in Tarnowitz they had to combat a flow of water still greater than that in the Ilmenau mine. Several *Epigramme* were composed or sketched during this period; the comic opera *Il Conte* was continued, and the treatise on animal development begun. On September 11,

¹ In 1767. See pp. 71, 72.—TR.

² "Stark und dick," Goethe to Herder: Before Breslau, August 10, 1790.—TR.

1790, having returned to "noisy, muddy, evil-smelling Breslau," Goethe writes to Herder :—"Everywhere there is roguery and vagabondism, and I shall certainly pass no really happy hour until I have supped with you and slept by my girl's side. If you continue to love me, if a few good folk continue friendly, if my girl is true, if my child lives, and my big stove gives good warmth, I have nothing essential left to desire. The Duke is very good to me, and is happy in his element." Still Goethe enjoyed the week of delay in Dresden on his homeward journey. He had a great deal of intercourse with Schiller's friend Körner, to whom he spoke with earnestness and depth on the teleological part of Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, on Nature, and on Art. Some of the *Römische Elegien* were repeated to Körner. On October 6, 1790, the Duke, with whom Goethe travelled, was met at Jena by the Duchess and the Court with festal rejoicing.

On October 9, 1790, the roof of the new Castle of Weimar was put on. Immediately on Goethe's return, he fell to dictating at the essay begun in Breslau. When towards the end of October it came to a standstill, he went with Lips to Jena for a couple of weeks, in order to hear Loder lecture on the muscles. During this stay he visited Schiller. "The conversation soon came upon Kant," writes Schiller. "It is interesting how he clothes everything in his own way and manner, and renders back surprisingly what he has read; but I would not like to dispute with him on things which interest me very much. He completely lacks that hearty fashion of confessing to any opinion; to him the whole of philosophy is subjective, and that puts an end to both conviction and dispute. And I cannot altogether approve of his philosophy; it derives too much from the world of the senses, where I derive from the soul. In general his mode of conceiving is too sensuous, and *handles* (*betastet*) too much for me. But his spirit works and seeks in all directions, and strives to build for itself a whole, and to me that makes him a great man."

When Goethe was back in Weimar the *Römische Elegien* and the *Epigramme* occupied him for a time; he thought of printing the former, but Herder counselled against it.¹ By Goethe's influence the Duke was moved to invite Schuckmann

¹ Goethe to Knebel, January 1, 1791.—TR.

to a seat in the Privy Council of Weimar.¹ The close of the year 1790 found the lower rooms of Goethe's new house still not perfectly ready. It was about this time that an important event in the scientific history of his mind occurred. A considerable while before he had borrowed some prisms from Büttner in order to perform the experiments of Newton. Now Loder sent entreating that these prisms should be given to the returning messenger, as Büttner was quite unhappy at not having received them after several requests. Goethe had never unpacked them, and now had brought down the box in which they lay undisturbed, when it occurred to him to take one look through a prism. But what was his amazement when the white wall on which the rays were directed from the prism instead of showing several colours remained white, colour showing only where something dark edged the white, showing brightest of all on the window frames. Immediately he conceived that he had here discovered the Newtonian theory of light to be false, and that in order to colour a boundary was necessary. He could not think of sending back the prisms; he sent begging for a prolongation of the loan. It escaped him, that Newton distinctly says that colour is only manifest when one looks from a certain distance on a white surface of small extension.

Goethe's vivid feeling of the importance to painters of the distribution of light and shade, the importance, too, of the dark medium, contributed to hurry him into the belief that Newton's explanation of the origin of colours is erroneous. A great deal of delight, but also a great deal of pain, during half a lifetime was to proceed from the study of optics that now began. So much did he take to heart the methodic exposition of his theory, that many a time he was ready to set this performance of his above all the other things in which he had been successful.

Busy as he was in official and scientific activity, there was no lack of the cheery social life to which Christiane had the art to incline him. Evidence of this we have in the humorous reply to Reichardt, who had asked him for a great opera. Goethe asks Reichardt to send half a dozen or half a hundred airs for either English dances or quadrilles, only let them be

¹ Goethe to Schuckmann, November 25, 1790.—Tr.

characteristic; as for the figures they would make them out. "Around me now," remarks Goethe, "there is neither music nor song that is not fiddling for the dance. . . . If it goes tolerably with me in the dance and in life probably a tune will soon be heard again."¹ There were social evening gatherings at the Duchess Amalia's² in which Goethe gladly took part. At these assemblies there was reading aloud from the works of Shakespeare, Lessing, Wieland, and of Goethe himself. The Duchess Amalia, who possessed the earlier books of *Wilhelm Meister*, now persuaded Goethe to begin working on the novel;³ but only too soon he gave it up again. Goethe was on the friendliest terms with the Duchess Luise. She was very bitter when she thought of the humiliation of the French monarchy beneath a disorderly democracy, almost more bitter with those Germans who applauded the event. Goethe and Charlotte von Stein, like her, execrated the mad, unrestrained delirium about freedom.

In the beginning of 1791 the Duke engaged in the task of founding a Court Theatre, the management of which he offered in vain to the actor Beck of Mannheim, who was then giving successful representations in Weimar. Already in 1790, in Berlin, the Duke and Reichardt had had much discussion on the elevation of the German Theatre, and both of them were very hopeful, but Goethe thought it hardly possible to effect any good, such was the bad taste prevalent. "Of originality, invention, character, of the unity and perfect finish of a work of art, the Germans have not the least notion," wrote Goethe to Reichardt at that time.⁴ And again: "The ruder class of spectators you captivate by variety and extravagance, the more cultivated by a kind of propriety. Knights, Robbers, Benefactors, Grateful Benefited Persons, an honest, direct *Tiers-État*, an infamous Aristocracy, and so on, and pervading all a well-sustained mediocrity of thought and language, out of which one by chance but ventures a few steps downwards into dulness or upwards into absurdity—here you have the ingredients and the tone of our novels and plays during the last ten years." But now when the Duke offered Goethe the

¹ Goethe to Reichardt, October 25, 1790.—TR.

² On Mondays.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, January 1, 1791.—TR.

⁴ Enclosed in a letter to Karl August, February 28, 1790.—TR.

control of the theatre, he would not refuse it ; for, after all, he could at least raise the theatre from the condition to which it had sunk under Bellomo's management, and he might hope to find in his work a new stimulus to dramatic poetry. The details of administration were to be under the care of Franz Kirms, a man just turned thirty, a *Landkammerrath*, and *Assessor* of the Marshal of the Household. Negotiations for the formation of a company, and the necessary preparations in Weimar, were immediately begun, and all haste was used. For they hoped to open in May 1791, then a month later to go to the near watering-place Lauchstedt, then in Erfurt to give the company further practice in playing together, and at last in the autumn of 1791 to attempt higher tasks. Goethe himself began to work up his *Conte* into a comedy, hazardous though the material seemed.

He was also busy with the affairs of Ilmenau at this time. The machine which Baldauf built had proved inadequate to subdue the water in the mine ; Baldauf declared that two more were needed, and the money for these could not be procured until a meeting of shareholders had granted it. On February 24, 1791, the anniversary of the opening of the mine in 1784,¹ Goethe concluded the *Fourth Report on the Progress of the new Mine at Ilmenau*.

Nor had his optical inquiries been forgotten. When, in the beginning of March 1791, he went to Jena with the Duke, he expounded his new theory to Professor Voigt, who in vain strove to show him its wrongness. On this occasion Goethe visited Schiller, then recovering from a severe illness. Goethe, as we have seen, had known and liked Schiller's wife for some time. The loss which the University would sustain in Schiller's death weighed on Goethe.

On April 5, 1791, Bellomo concluded his representations ;² a month later those of the Ducal Theatre were to begin. That this might be in some measure worthy what a vast amount of labour was needful ! The famous manager Schröder came to Weimar on April 20, 1791. From him Goethe gained information on many points. Shortly after this, at the close of April, poor Moritz, very ill, came to

¹ See pp. 335, 336.—TR.

² Begun in January 1784 ; see pp. 337, 338.—TR.

Weimar. With this friend Goethe spent a few delightful days, talking of almost every matter of art or science uppermost in his thoughts, and profiting in many ways by Moritz's remarks.¹

On May 7, 1791, the Ducal Theatre of Weimar was opened with Iffland's play *Die Jäger*, and a prologue by Goethe. It was at first necessary to adhere to well-known pieces. On May 30, 1791, Goethe can write to Reichardt:—"On the whole, our theatre gives me pleasure; it is already far better than the former one, and now the task is to get them to play in unison, to attend to certain mechanical advantages, and to bring them by degrees from that lazy manner in which German actors comfortably drawl. I will write a few pieces myself, approaching in some measure the taste of the present moment, and will try whether by degrees people can be trained to enjoy a play in verse and richer in art." Unfortunately the resources of the theatre were so limited that even the chief actors had to undertake several parts, had sometimes to appear as supernumeraries, and to sing in the choruses in operas. The very servants, the tailor of the theatre and the machinist had to appear. Pupils from the *Gymnasium* served in the chorus; and the supernumeraries were chiefly these and other young persons.

On May 17, 1791, Goethe tells the Duke that he has written out the theory of blue colour, and will insert it in some journal. And to his lively joy an objection of Herder's strikes the spark which lights up for him the simple principle of the tints of the prism, of the rainbow, of magnifying glasses, etc. He tells Jacobi on June 1, that in a quarter of a year he hopes to have completed a new theory of light, shade, and colour. At this time Knebel with his sister came to Weimar. Goethe received both with friendliness. Knebel was, however, most unpleasantly infected with the French ideas about freedom, and aired them even at Court with complete regardlessness.

On June 6, 1791, Goethe attended the meeting of shareholders in Ilmenau, which, happily, granted the sums to pay for the new machines. The Ducal company now betook themselves to Lauchstedt, where all went well. On June 12,

¹ Goethe to Reichardt, May 30, 1791.—TR.

1791, Goethe on behalf of the Duke offered Schuckmann the place in the Council which Goethe's resignation left vacant. But Schuckmann would not leave the Prussian service, a great disappointment to Goethe and the Duke. At this time, beside the building of the Castle and fresh improvements in Weimar Park, the entertainment of the Duchess Amalia occupied Goethe. He now sketched the plan of an evening assembly of cultivated people to take place during the winter on the first Friday of every month at her house.¹ Amid all the various claims on his attention the study of optics was continued with the happiest result; wonderful experiments were thought out and performed, the rainbow brought to great perfection.² He had a good deal of trouble about mechanical matters of fabrication; for instance, about the cardboard pages on which for convenience' sake he wished to publish the numerous tables needful to establish his theories.³

In the quiet happiness of Goethe's life at this time came a great shock. Merck, by whose friendship through more than twenty years he had been benefited and sustained, tortured by bodily suffering and by the illusion that the military chest of which he had the control exhibited a deficit, had put an end to his life with a bullet.⁴

In the second week of July 1791 Goethe left Weimar, and travelled by Erfurt to Gotha, where the appliances for the study of physics were of great service to him. From Gotha he visited Eisenach, and also the Court at Wilhelmsthal. On this excursion he finished the third act of his comedy *Il Conte*. After his return he brought his treatise on the formation of colours rapidly to a conclusion, so that on his birthday, August 28, 1791, he was able to announce that the first part of his *Beiträge zur Optik*⁵ would soon appear. It was printed at Weimar in September 1791, first having been submitted to Herder. It only ran to four sheets. During September Goethe was besides engaged in finishing his comedy (to be called *Der Grosskophtha*, not *Il Conte* as at

¹ The plan is reprinted in the appendix to the volume *Goethe's Briefe an Christian Gottlob Voigt*.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1791.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, July 8, 1791.—TR.

⁴ June 27, 1791.—TR.

⁵ *Contributions to Optics*.—TR.

first designed), and in planning how to give his theatre an impetus. The theatre was to reopen at Weimar on October 1, 1791. Goethe wrote a prologue. The manuscript of *Der Grosskophta*, after having been read with pleasure by Herder, was forwarded to Berlin for printing. Immediately after this a domestic misfortune befell which pained Goethe deeply. Christiane bore a dead boy on October 14, 1791. Goethe threw himself lamenting on the ground, and tossed to and fro in unspeakable grief.

The first of the Duchess Amalia's Friday evening assemblies took place on November 4, 1791, the Duke being one of those present. Goethe, as President, opened it with a very luminous exposition of his new observations in optics, connecting these with the essay that he had lately published. The necessary diagrams he had sketched beforehand on a black surface. He argued against Newton's theory, and showed how blind adoration can strike deep roots even in good minds. Goethe was followed by Herder, Voigt, the Court physician Hufeland, and the Jena professors Batsch and Lenz, each of whom delivered a short essay on some subject. Besides those here named, we know two others who were present—the old Büttner, and the Councillor of Consistory Böttiger. The latter had now been a month at work as Director of the Weimar *Gymnasium*. He had been appointed through the agency of Herder. Just turned thirty, gifted and erudite, he was a great gain to the intellectual life of Weimar, though one needed a little time to grow accustomed to his excitable, vivacious nature, and voice of the deepest bass.¹

Now at length Heinrich Meyer, completely restored to health, came to Weimar; and this was to Goethe a beginning of new life. For Meyer possessed a knowledge of Art and of the history of Art so fine and deep, that Goethe could think of no one to put by his side.² People in Weimar might laugh at the broad Swiss accent of Meyer, but they could not help liking him. He took up his abode in Goethe's upper story, and became like a member of the family. It was perhaps in the beginning of this residence that Meyer painted in water-

¹ From a letter of Böttiger's is derived our knowledge of that first Friday evening assembly. See it quoted in Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

² *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*, December 25, 1787.—TR.

colour Christiane with her August in her arms in an attitude admirably modelled on that of the *Madonna della sedia*. This painting was a great favourite with Goethe, and was always kept carefully under a curtain.¹

At this time Goethe was completely possessed with confidence in the fruitfulness of his theory of colour, yet he saw that he could not hope to subdue this province of Nature singlehanded. On November 17, 1791, he writes to Reichardt:—"I have already entered into close union with a painter [Meyer] and with a mathematician [Professor Voigt of Jena?], and hope to form near and genuine intimacies in the other departments also." Earlier in the letter he proposes that Reichardt shall be his associate as to acoustics.

He now ventured to prepare Shakespeare's *King John* for the stage. Christiane Amalie Louise Neumann, then but twelve years old, he trained in the part of Arthur. This girl had appeared in Bellomo's company in her ninth year, and with great applause. The Duchess Amalia had committed her to the instruction of Corona Schröter, and after the death of her father had become her protector. With what passionate artist delight and partiality Goethe strove to cultivate this "beautiful talent,"² is known to readers of *Euphrosyne*,³ the elegy that glorifies her memory. Her Arthur was played with wonderful truth and perfect art. Goethe worked hard to bring the other actors into accord with it; as his effort, indeed, always was to secure a harmonious whole.⁴ After this he ventured on a performance of his own comedy, *Der Grosskophtha*, in which Fräulein Neumann played the effective part of the Niece with great success. The comedy was represented first on December 17, 1791; then on December 26, 1791; then on March 10, 1792, and again at Lauchstedt on July 15, 1792. Reichardt was present at the last of these performances. Goethe writes to Reichardt on July 29, 1792:—"I am glad

¹ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, i. 358, expressly states that from this picture only can one gain a notion of the freshness and charm of Christiane's appearance in those early days.—TR.

² "Wünsch' ich dein schönes Talent glücklich vollendet zu sehn," is a line in *Euphrosyne*.—TR.

³ *Euphrosyne* conceived on the Swiss journey of 1797; written 1798.—TR.

⁴ *King John* was first played in public in Weimar on November 29 1791.—TR.

that you have not lost your old partiality for the *Cophtha*, and that the representation in Lauchstädt has not altogether displeased you. I will repeat it at least once every year as a sign. For more than *one* reason the other German theatres will keep aloof from it." The epilogue for the last performance of the year 1791 was composed by Goethe for Fräulein Neumann, who spoke it on December 31, 1791, in the midst of many children.

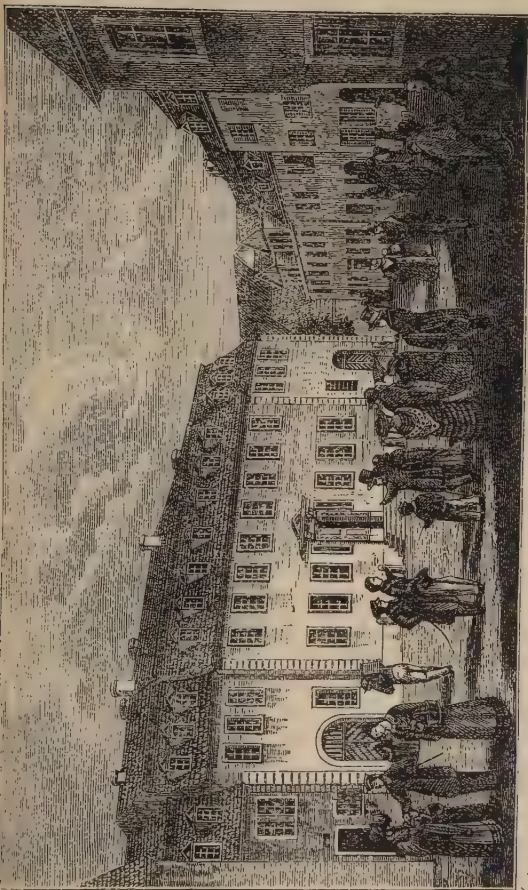
In the beginning of the new year, 1792, the year that concealed war in its bosom, the theatre and optical inquiry engrossed the poet. In the second part of the *Beiträge zur Optik*, which was now prepared, he did not advance beyond the subjective phenomena of colour; he desired, as he told Reichardt on November 17, 1791, to make a methodic advance, to add experiment to experiment, not to promulgate his doctrine until it could and must be deduced from his experiments by any one. Meyer was at this time engaged on a painting, *The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, and in the colouring conformed to the results of Goethe's prism experiments. Being exhibited at one of the Duchess Amalia's Friday Assemblies, this picture, to Goethe's triumph, won the highest admiration from all, as well for colouring as for composition (*Auffassung*) and presentation (*Darstellung*).¹

An important event in the history of the Weimar stage was the performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* on the birthday of the Duchess Luise (January 30, 1792). On January 28 *Hamlet* was performed; on February 28 Schiller's *Don Karlos*, which the author had worked over afresh; both plays were very successful.

The second part of the *Beiträge zur Optik* was to appear at Easter, but the difficulty of packing the coloured card which illustrated the text delayed the booksellers in sending it out. The publication of a third part, which was to have appeared at the same time as the second, did not take place at all owing to the supplements. Towards the close of April 1792 Count Christian Stolberg stopped for a while in Weimar; he was going to Karlsbad, leaving his wife Luise in Weimar with the Countess Bernstorff. Christian Stolberg visited Goethe, and saw Goethe's "curly-golden-haired little boy."

¹ This Friday fell on February 17, 1792. We know of it from Böttiger. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 55.—TR.

The Countess Stolberg, who abhorred Goethe's natural marriage, was very repellent to the latter because of her unrestrained



*Warum stehen sie davor?
Ich nicht Thüre an Thor?
Können sie getroffen herein
Wurden wohl empfangen seyn.
Goethe 17928*

FIG. 30. Goethe's House in Weimar. From the drawing (1827) by Otto Wagner, with a facsimile of the verses that Goethe composed for this drawing.

tendency to censoriousness.¹ Christian Stolberg and Goethe never met afterwards.

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, June 15, 1792.—Tr.

Before going to Aschersleben the Duke commissioned Voigt to buy the house on the *Frauenplan* that Goethe had occupied from 1782 to 1789. The Duke purposed to make a present of it to Goethe. After a considerable time spent in bargaining, the house was bought for 6000 thalers.

While these things were going on in Weimar, Prussia, as the ally of Austria, was preparing for war with France. Goethe kept hoping that there would be no war, since "in these times of calculation we have seen a great deal of this kind of weather pass off."¹ The birth of a healthy prince on May 30, 1792, was a joy to the Duke; for good omen he gave the child the name of the great Weimar soldier Bernhard; the whole Weimar regiment stood godfather in the person of the *Obrist-wachtmeister* von Weyrach. During the stay of the Duke in Weimar, the rebuilding for Goethe of the newly-purchased house at the Duke's expense was sanctioned. After the Italian fashion, the six-windowed lower story was to contain, besides a large, gently-ascending staircase, only one great room with recesses. Goethe planned to live in the summer of 1792 in the little *Gartenhaus*, while his collections should be stored in a part of the lower story of the new house, which was to be made ready at once. Here, too, he had a new *camera obscura*, and all kinds of instruments for his experiments. The "freedom" vertigo, which grew ever more distasteful, stirred him to composition; he began a tale, the *Reise der Söhne Megaprazons*, but lost the humour for it before he advanced far. He tells Reichardt, towards the close of July 1792, that he is working on a couple of pieces not to be brought on the stage, but to attain their end by being printed, since in that way the thinking part of the nation, in truth no small part, can be reached. Without doubt these were political pieces, probably sketches for the plays *Der Bürgergeneral* and *Die Aufgeregten*. Alas! his hope of working on the thinking part of the nation was completely disappointed; even his greatest friends were so little able to appreciate *Der Grosskophta*, that they compared it with *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*! (and even these had failed to kindle enthusiasm), and received it with coldness and shrugging of shoulders.

Since the middle of June 1792, German regiments had

¹ *Goethes Briefe an Voigt.*, S. 146.—TR.

been moving towards the Rhine. Weimar was feverishly excited by their march through. The Duke was soon to depart, and had many charges to lay on Goethe, and this, added to the confusion of house-changing, deprived the poet of all quiet. On the morning of June 22, 1792, the Duke left Weimar, after having received from Goethe the promise of a visit at Coblenz. Later, the Duke expressed a wish that Goethe, instead of remaining on the Rhine, should accompany him (the Duke) on the campaign into France; Goethe did his best to avoid this. Then he was tormented by long delay in the arrival of the Duke's decisive reply. As Karl August remained steadfast in his desire, Goethe set forth from Weimar in the second week of August 1792, leaving with a heavy heart wife and child, and his true friend Meyer, who was to superintend the rebuilding, and to counsel and support Christiane.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE—JACOBI—THE PRINCESS GALITZIN—
REINEKE FUCHS—THE SIEGE OF MAINZ—FICHTE—VOSS—
SCHILLER.

AUGUST 1792—SEPTEMBER 1794.

THE Duke's little chaise again bore the poet and his servant Götze from Weimar ; their destination now was the German army of invasion in France. Goethe took with him his MSS. on optics, the third volume of Gehler's *Physikalisches Wörterbuch*, and a careful map of the seat of war. His first stopping place was his native city, where he had planned to remain until the end of the month, only making short excursions in the neighbourhood.¹ He arrived in Frankfurt on August 12, 1792. The Frau Rath received her dear Wolfgang with infinite joy ; she had now been a long time yearning in vain to see him ! She thought him stronger and fuller. Her maternal heart exulted as she once more pressed to her heart her dear son, whose fame brought so many strangers to her ; for all the world was longing to see the mother of the famous poet, but she ascribed to God alone the gift of greatness. It was indeed a source of regret to the Frau Rath that her son instead of a church-wedded wife had only a *Liebchen*, and that she could not advertise the birth of his children, but her grandmotherly love for his August was not the less, and she could not be harsh towards the poor unfriended maiden whom Wolfgang loved so well. On August 18, 1792, Goethe writes to Jacobi :—" My old friends and my increasing native city I have seen again with joy ; only it is impossible to avoid tedium in all the social circles, for where two or three are gathered together you hear the song now four years old being

¹ Goethe to Herder, August 13, 1792.—Tr.

strummed *pro* and *contra*, and not even with variations—but the crude theme. . . Unfortunately the newspapers come everywhere; these are now my most dangerous foes.” The newspapers spread so much that was false that Goethe could not endure them. He was pretty impartial himself, and speaks in the same letter of his indifference to the fate of either “aristocrat or democrat sinners.” On August 16, 1792, the Duke’s summons to the camp had arrived. On August 20 Goethe went on to Mainz, where he spent two pleasant evenings with his friends Forster and Sömmering.

On August 27, 1792, the eve of his birthday, Goethe reached the marshy camping ground of the Prussians outside the town of Longwy, which had surrendered after a short resistance. He was glad to find the Duke of Weimar in right good health. On August 28, 1792, his birthday, he visited Longwy, accompanied by the Duke and some friends. In the inn they drank the health of the Duke and of his son the god-child of the Weimar Regiment, and probably he whose birthday it was did not lack kindly remembrances. When on August 29 the Weimar Regiment passed before the King of Prussia, Goethe preceded it in the Duke’s chaise.¹ The King rode up and asked in kingly laconic fashion to whom the carriage belonged. Goethe answered in loud clear voice, “The Duke of Weimar.” Soon after he left the chaise, and mounting the white horse allotted to him, rode on with the van. On August 31, outside Verdun he observed in a meadow pond of spring water one of the most attractive phenomena of colour. At midnight that day meeting Prince Reuss, whom he had long known, amid the batteries outside Verdun, and being asked what new thing he had on hand, Goethe tells the surprised prince not of tragedies and novels but of his recent researches in Colour. Verdun yielded on September 2, 1792, to the second summons; on September 3, the Duke of Weimar’s birthday, Goethe and many others rode into the city. Goethe sent thence to the dear ones at home by a courier a box of costly sugar-plums, bonbons, and liqueurs.

And now the great mistake of delaying in Verdun was made.

¹ The Weimar Regiment went first, so that Goethe in his chaise led the army of invasion as it moved on to conquer France!—*Campagne in Frankrich*, August 29.—TR.

Moreover, the boldness of the King of Prussia, who counselled marching at once on Paris, was overruled by the caution of the Duke of Brunswick; and the army moved down the Aisne laboriously on the deep road until (September 12) it reached Landres opposite Grandpré, where Dumouriez had occupied the heights. The rain poured without ceasing, the tents gave but little shelter. Still Goethe dictated to *Kanzlei-sekretär* Vogel an elucidation of the colour-phenomenon observed at Verdun.¹ With the aid of the Austrian General Clerfayt, Dumouriez was dislodged, but the army, instead of following him, passed a couple of days in inactivity.

When the Weimar Regiment—the van of the army—broke up from Somme Tourbe on September 20, 1792, Goethe accompanied the first squadron, which rapidly pressed on in advance of the rest. But the squadron soon received orders to go back and take position in front of the forework La Lune. In their wild ride they had crossed the highroad from Chalons to Paris, as Goethe saw by a signpost, a disquieting reminder that they were between Paris and the French Army. This day, September 20, 1792, was the day of the Cannonade of Valmy. The day ended without profit to the allies, because the Duke of Brunswick lost the advantage that offered of attacking Kellermann. Goethe, desiring to know the peculiar nature of the cannon fever, rode, in spite of the warnings of officers whom he knew, to a point where the balls played around sufficiently, but were less dangerous than at other places, because they remained embedded in the wet ground. In the night after the cannonade Goethe said:—"From this place and day begins a new epoch in history, and you can say that you have been there."² In truth, remarkable words! He saw that the power of the allies was broken, and that the Republic would hurl itself with irresistible rage on Germany. The French afterwards dated their calendar from this day.

That night the Prussians scooped trenches in the earth and lay in them cloak-enwrapped; thus reposed the Duke of Weimar and his Minister Goethe. On the evening of September 21 the headquarters were removed back to Hans, where Goethe was overjoyed to find his little chaise. Dumouriez managed

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, Sept. 12, 1792.—TR. ² *Ibid.* Sept. 20.—TR.

to protract negotiations over several days, thus detaining the allies under circumstances the worst for them ; they could not get bread enough, and the weather was fearful. On September 27, 1792, Goethe writes to Knebel :—"They begin to think something of the enemy whom heretofore they despised, and, as is usual in such changes, to think more of the enemy than is right. Some decision will be shortly known. There are only a few ways of emerging from this condition. The Duke is right well ; so am I, though I diminish in stoutness daily, as my waistcoats and coats indicate. I am after my fashion diligent in silence, and think out many things ; in *optics* I have made some beautiful advances. I am reading French authors whom otherwise I should never have seen, and so I use the time as well as I can. If the weather were good all would be different, and many experiments might be tried, and more men seen ; but, as it is, one has to spend days without leaving the tent."

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, September 27, 1792, they were talking seriously in the Duke's tent of the gravity of the situation. Goethe, who amid all distress was ever ready with observations grave or gay, felt the impulse to remind them of the Crusade of St. Louis. On that crusade, when the Christian army was in the most dangerous position and had suffered dreadful losses, the Count de Soissons said smiling to the Sire de Joinville :—"Seneschal, let the pack bark and brawl ! By God's throne ! of this day we shall yet speak in the hall with ladies !" After telling this story, which made some smile, Goethe went on to speak of the condition of Attila after his defeat, which had occurred in that very neighbourhood, a condition far worse than that of the Prussian army, and yet Attila had not been destroyed. Afterwards Goethe read aloud to the Duke until nearly morning from an amusing French book.¹

On September 29, 1792, in the evening, the army of invasion began its retreat. Every day was full of weariness and wretchedness. Goethe during the first days travelled in the chaise, but at length left it to relieve the four little horses of his weight ; but the riding horses were nowhere to be seen, and the poet mounted into a commissariat waggon that came by, the only other occupant of which was a sulky kitchen-maid. How-

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, September 27.—Tr.

ever, he read in his Gehler and tried to forget her.¹ When, by and by, they came upon the saddle-horses, Goethe in mounting vowed that he would not easily again enter on such an expedition. On the evening of this day, October 4, Goethe, his companions said, was for the first time low-spirited and taciturn. He now became very uneasy about the fate of the chaise and his trunk with his portfolio, his papers, money, and clothes.² The distress of the regiment came to its height at Consenvoy, where they spent the night of October 7, 1792; Goethe describes his grim method of tiring himself into enjoyment of the wet, cold ground as a resting-place. On October 8, 1792, the Duke, pitying Goethe's condition, offered him the fourth place in an ambulance which was being sent with a couple of invalids to Verdun; Goethe could procure a few days' rest in that city. As they drove to Verdun they overtook a little vehicle drawn by four small horses; it was Goethe's chaise, and in the charge of friends; everything was safe. The good servant had fought through all difficulties. From Verdun, on October 10, 1792, Goethe wrote home to tell of his welfare.³ But on October 11 they had to set forth again, as the Prussians could not hold Verdun. From Luxemburg, on October 16, 1792, Goethe writes to Herder:—"I for my part sing unto the Lord the merriest Psalm of David since He hath delivered me from the mire that went over my soul. When you, my dear ones, thank God in silence for all kinds of unacknowledged benefits, forget not to praise Him for having placed you and your best friends in a position where you cannot commit follies on a grand scale. . . . I am hurrying to the fleshpots of my mother, there to awake as it were from a bad dream which has held me prisoned between dirt and distress, want and anxiety, danger and painfulness, corpses, carcasses, and heaps of ruin. Farewell, and know yourselves to be as lucky as you are."

Goethe's hope of a return through Frankfurt was to be disappointed. He arrived in Trier on October 22, 1792. Soon after word reached him that his prediction about the fate of Frankfurt had proved true. After the capture of Mainz by Custine, the French under Neuwinger had occupied

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, October 4, 1792.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, October 6, 1792.—TR.

³ Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 334.—TR.

Frankfurt and levied contributions. It was in Trier that Goethe received a letter from his mother, which had been much delayed in transmission, informing him of the death of his uncle Textor on September 19, 1792. His mother went on to say that Goethe had been chosen to fill the Councillor's chair thus vacant, and she was commissioned to inquire whether he was willing to do so.¹ But nothing could have been more unlikely than that the poet should give up the well-founded good which he had earned by years of patience and labour in Weimar.

While awaiting in Trier the coming of the Duke, Goethe occupied himself in considering the important reliques of Roman antiquity to be found in Trier, and the monument at Igel near Trier, which dates from the age of the Antonines, and which he had already seen on his journey to the army.² On October 29, 1792, the Duke arrived in Trier; on the following day he entertained a large company at dinner: Goethe was present.

When Goethe saw the sick of the Weimar Regiment being sent, by the kindness of the Duke, down the Moselle in a vessel a desire to travel by water came upon him. He hired a boat and went down the river to Coblenz; there strange memories of former days in the Ehrenbreitstein valley possessed him. At Coblenz he stopped at the post-house in the quarters destined for the Duke of Weimar. Karl August arrived in the night of November 5, 1792, but could give only odd hours to his friend. As Goethe declined to be a spectator of the operations of war any longer, he must sacrifice his desire to revisit his native city, round which the war would rage. He felt a longing to see Jacobi, to rest in the friendly Pempelfort home. To avoid the roads thronged with troops the long way from Coblenz to Düsseldorf was traversed in a Rhine skiff. Late on a dark winter night he arrived at Pempelfort.³

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, October 29, 1792.—TR.

² On August 23, 1792. See Goethe's Essay on the monument, Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 415.—TR.

³ Goethe himself in the *Campagne in Frankreich* gives us no precise date for this visit. But lately published letters have established the following.—Probable arrival in Pempelfort November 7, 1792. Three weeks' visit brings Goethe's departure to November 30, 1792. Arrival in Münster December 2, 1792. See Appendix, Art. 41.—TR.

His unexpected appearance filled Jacobi with joy. Though their views in many matters differed—Goethe's conception of art had undergone transfiguration in Italy, Jacobi had visited constitutional England—the hearts of the friends, who had not met for eight years,¹ found each other again at once. Jacobi felt that he must be indulgent towards Goethe, who had suffered so much in mind and body during the last few months. The gloom of the poet was dispelled by the warm friendliness of the household; his heart was more susceptible than ever to the "blessed family-scenes" that surrounded him. He charmed the attention of young and old by his delightful stories of Italy; on the other hand, his *Reise der Söhne Megaprazons* found no response, and the experiments in optics which lay so near his heart aroused hardly any interest. Beside the half-sisters on whom Jacobi's domestic happiness so largely depended, Charlotte whom Goethe had known long ago,² and the austere "Mother of the Church"³ Helene, and beside Jacobi's son and daughter, Goethe met at Pempelfort the librarian *Hofrath* Heinse,⁴ who had fled hither from Mainz, and Jacobi's dear house-friend Heinrich Schenk. Düsseldorf was visited frequently, and there were important conversations there with Count Nesselrode, with von Dohm the Prussian plenipotentiary at the Court of the Elector of Köln, and with von Coudenhoven, General in the service of the Elector of Mainz. The wives of the latter two were a charming part of the company. At the Düsseldorf Picture Gallery Goethe's especial endeavour was to thoroughly learn the peculiar merits of the Netherlandish painters. Very anxious about the fate of the Lower Rhine, but very glad in the consciousness of revived friendship with Jacobi, Goethe after a stay of three weeks left hospitable Pempelfort in Jacobi's heavy travelling-carriage, his own little chaise not having arrived.

After leaving Pempelfort Goethe visited Plessing⁵ in Duisburg. He then spent a very happy week (December 1792) in Münster in the little circle of the Princess Galitzin,

¹ Jacobi had been in Weimar in September 1784. See pp. 361-2.—
TR.

² See p. 168.—TR.

³ Goethe to Jacobi, April 17, 1793.—TR.

⁴ See p. 199.—TR.

⁵ Goethe, in his *Campagne in Frankreich*, here pauses to give an account in detail of his first meeting with Plessing in 1777. See p. 270.—TR.

who had now been a member of the Catholic Church for six years. She was attracted by the noble mind and heart of the poet, and by the harmony of his being. He was not in the mood to communicate anything from his literary compositions, and could not bring forward the studies in optics, but here as elsewhere his accounts of Italy charmed all hearts. Hemsterhuis, who accompanied the Princess when she visited Weimar in 1785, had died two years before this visit of Goethe's. His beautiful collection of gems was a pleasant starting-point for discursive talk on plastic art. Only with an effort did Goethe tear himself from this circle of gentle and pious people. Beside the noble Fürstenberg there were many worthy Catholic clergymen and gifted young men striving after the ideal life.¹ The Princess herself gave Goethe the Hemsterhuis gems to take with him in order to make a more precise examination of them, and she accompanied him to the end of the first stage of his journey.²

When after an absence of four months Goethe came one December midnight to his home again, there was a wonderful joyous family scene. Christiane, who loved him with a passionate faithful fondness, his boy, now almost three years old, and his true and anxious friend, who had never before been so glad on being awaked from midnight rest, were all healthy and happy; and to think that he possessed a sure and steady centre of happiness in home, whatever changes and storms shook the outer world, filled the poet with exquisite joy. He found the hall and stairs of his new house well advanced, though he is said to have thought the stairs not proportioned to the size of the rooms. For the rest, the house was "still tolerably uninhabitable,"³ had only emerged "from the very roughest stage,"⁴ thus he had the pleasure of arranging many things himself. Only now did he find quiet in which to answer the letter that he had received from his mother in Trier. He gratefully declined the honour

¹ "Heranstrebende Jünglinge." Goethe, *Campagne in Frankreich*.—TR.

² In the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882 have been published some letters from the Princess Galitzin to Goethe, and from Goethe to the Princess, ranging between 1793-1801. See Appendix, Art. 41.—TR.

³ "Ziemlich unwohnbar." Goethe to Jacobi, December 31, 1792.—TR.

⁴ "Aus dem rohesten eingerichtet." Goethe to Jacobi, December 19, 1792.—TR.

offered by the Frankfurt citizens.¹ Now too he wrote to excuse himself for having journeyed home direct from Münster without attempting to see the Duke. During Goethe's absence Heinrich Meyer had drawn and painted a good deal, in some of his work having regard to Goethe's theory of colour.

The theatre, which had so long been without Goethe's oversight, was now his most pressing care, for most of the actors and the *Regisseur* Fischer were to leave at Easter 1793, and, moreover, the Duke, compelled to limit his expenditure as much as possible, could not promise to give a subsidy in 1793, as he had in 1792. Goethe favoured the bringing out of operettas, as they drew audiences best, and he liked them himself. In his scorn for the doings of men at that time he was attracted by the Low German epic *Reineke Fuchs*, that "uncanonical Bible,"² which had been long known to him; he felt the impulse to make a free translation into German hexameters, a task which would be good practice in that kind of verse, a verse very suitable for the poem. The union with Herder remained still close and intimate, and with Knebel Goethe was on the best terms. His official activities at this time were—beside the theatre—the building of the Castle, the "Roman House" in the Park (which the Duke begged Goethe to urge on to completion as fast as possible), and the Ilmenau Mines. He also gave special attentiveness to the two Duchesses and the Duke's children. The Duchess Amalia showed great interest in the Hemsterhuis gems.

In spite of all the stress of work Goethe felt very well, and grew, to use Herder's words, "young, corpulent, and round." His "little one," as he called Christiane, was a very careful and diligent housekeeper, his boy grew gaily, Meyer was industrious and sympathetic,³ and a bond of deep affection clasped the little group. Writing on February 18, 1793, the Duke had asked him to come to Frankfurt in the spring, he could thus quite easily be present at the investment of Mainz. By the beginning of April 1793 Goethe had made up his mind to go. Before departure it was especially necessary

¹ Goethe to his mother, December 24, 1792.—TR.

² "Unheiliger Weltbibel" is Goethe's expression, *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, 1793.—TR.

³ These things in Goethe's letter to Jacobi, February 1, 1793.—TR.

to set the affairs of the theatre in order ; again, as in 1791, a number of new actors had to be drilled. The office of *Regisseur*, which he had come to dislike, he had now done away with, and had instead introduced a so-called *Wöchner*¹ regularly alternating. On April 16, 1793, the actor Beck had excited general delight in the part of Schnaps in *Die beiden Billets*, an adaptation from the French of Florian. Goethe resolved to use Schnaps and the other figures of the comedy in a humorous satire of those swindlers who for their own selfish purposes were smuggling French "Freedom Ideas" into Germany. A carpet-bag with Jacobin cap, national cockade and uniform, had been picked up on the French frontier by Goethe's servant Paul Götze.² This carpet-bag played its part in the little comedy which Goethe wrote in three days.³ *Der Bürgergeneral* was produced on May 2, 1793, and had tolerable success. At this time *Reineke Fuchs* had been examined by Herder and Knebel, and only awaited the final touches. In April 1793 Goethe, to the best of his ability, looked after the establishment of Jacobi's son Max in Jena University, and there visited him. Max was always a welcome guest in Goethe's house. A few days before departure for Frankfurt Goethe made a pen-and-ink sketch, a charming indication of his joy in quiet home life. On May 12, 1793, Goethe left Weimar. He took with him his manuscripts relating to optics and anatomy, *Reineke Fuchs*, and *Der Bürgergeneral*. His mother, of course, rejoiced to receive her Wolfgang again beneath her roof. Sömmering's presence in Frankfurt was a great advantage to Goethe ; they had delightful and instructive talk together on the development of animals. As the siege of Mainz proved a slower operation than expected, Goethe only left Frankfurt on May 26, 1793,⁴ for the camp of the Duke at

¹ From *Woche*, a week. Each actor would thus be a *Regisseur* for a week.—TR.

² See the close of the *Campagne in Frankreich*.—TR.

³ In Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, February 4, 1829, Goethe will be found to state a week as the time occupied in writing the *Bürgergeneral*. But Professor Düntzer calls attention to Goethe's letter to Herder of June 7, 1793 :—"Von dem Moment in dem ich die erste Idee hatte waren keine drei Tage verstrichen, so war es fertig."—TR.

⁴ Goethe's letter to Jacobi—"To-morrow I am going to the army" is by mistake dated May 26, 1793 ; it should be May 25, 1793. Düntzer, *Goethe, und Karl August*, ii. 100.—TR.

Marienborn. He occupied a spacious tent in the front part of the Weimar Regiment. Here he saw the two Princesses of Mecklenburg (betrothed, one to the Crown Prince of Prussia, one to Prince Louis); when they visited the camp, "two heavenly apparitions,"¹ he watched them from his tent,

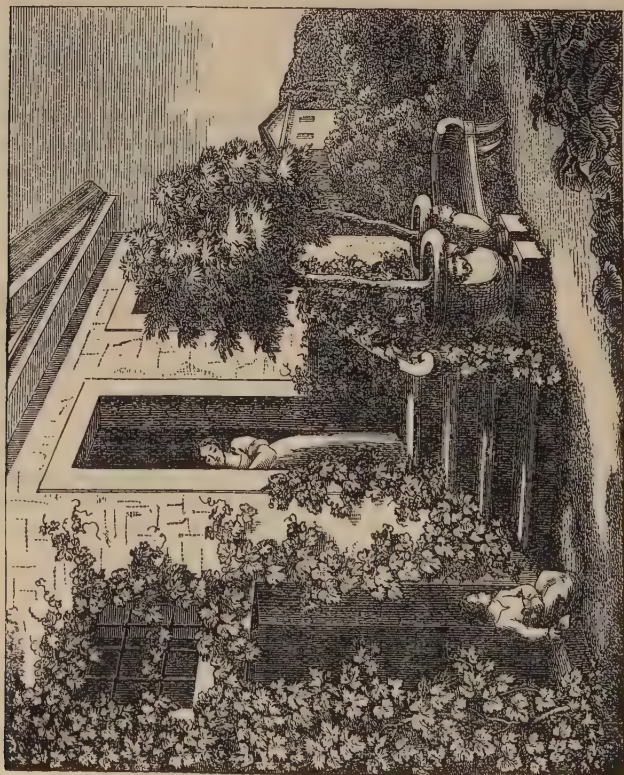


FIG. 31. Pen-and-ink sketch by Goethe. From Schwertgeburth's *Radirte Blätter nach Handzeichnungen von Goethe*.

and did not present himself for introduction, though they had stayed at his mother's house² and had been won to love her.

¹ *Belagerung von Mainz*, May 29, 1793.—TR.

² In September and October 1790. Düntzer, *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, 530-1.—TR.

After carefully observing the state of the Allies before Mainz for some time, Goethe felt unhappy. He was impressed with the absence of union, and the inadequacy of the measures for reducing the city. He writes to Herder on June 15, 1793:—"My life is very simple. I hardly ever leave my tent now; I correct at *Reineke* and write optical formulæ. I have repeatedly surveyed the situation on our side; but have not yet crossed the water except on a delightful party to the Rheingau. We went [on June 9, 1793] by water to Rudesheim, explored the vaults, went to the Mouse Tower, then to Bingen, and back to camp by land." The more wretched he felt in witnessing the destruction of war, the more earnestly did he work at his theory of colour; he wrote down parts of it in detail, and made a general sketch of the whole. A couple of times he exposed himself to the enemy's fire in the charnel house at Weisenau, where he went with Gore and Kraus to look for diseased bones in order to pathological study.¹ During the negotiations for the surrender of Mainz, Goethe brought his essay on Coloured Shadows to a conclusion. On July 24, 1793, at mid-day, the evacuation of Mainz began. Goethe, with Kraus and Gore, watched the passing French from the windows of a toll-house that formed part of the quarters of the Duke of Weimar. The road was lined with hostile Germans, who lavished taunts and threats on their late invaders. On July 25 Goethe rushed from the toll-house, and saved from the mob one who was recognised as the architect "who had plundered the Deanery and then set it on fire." Goethe peremptorily demanded that the peace should be kept in the precincts of the Duke's quarters.² Popular justice was indeed always distasteful to him. On July 26, 1793, he rode into the desolated city.

Immediately after this Goethe begged the Duke for leave to depart, having seen enough of the sights of war. In Heidelberg, in the house of his old friend, Fräulein Delph, who eighteen years before had brought about his betrothal with Lili, he met his brother-in-law Johann Georg Schlosser. Their intercourse was friendly. Goethe observed how tender

¹ See in Goethe's *Belagerung von Mainz*, the "*Lücke*" that follows June 1793, and the entry of July 15, 1793.—TR.

² *Belagerung von Mainz*, July 25, 1793. This is another of those remarkable occasions on which Goethe showed extraordinary power of controlling a number of excited human beings. See p. 393, *footnote*.—TR.

Schlosser's nature really was for all his austerity. In Frankfurt¹ he had the pleasure of more of those thorough conversations with Sömmering. There, probably, he first heard the sad news of the early death of his good friend Moritz.²

The long-desired wanderer was welcomed in his home with passionate joy.³ The Frau Rath had begun to correspond with Christiane. Goethe's boy was a source of exquisite delight to him; he writes from Marienborn to Jacobi, July 7, 1793:—"My boy is a happy existence (*glückliches Wesen*), I hope that with his beautiful eyes he will see much that is good and beautiful in the world." During his absence the new house had advanced towards completion, and he found much pleasure in ordering and beautifying it. He was not long in gliding back to the old habits of official activity. His own private work at this time was the chemical part of the Theory of Colour, and the polishing of *Reineke Fuchs*. He was now the most trusty counsellor that the Duchess had. And the intimacy with the Dowager Duchess continued without break.

But there was ere long a sad disturbance of the quiet pleasantness of things in Weimar. On September 6, 1793, Prince Constantin, whose conduct had of late justified the best hopes, succumbed to dysentery. On September 11 the news was known in Weimar. "Strain all your powers to support my mother," wrote the Duke to Goethe.⁴ On October 11, 1793, Goethe writes to Jacobi:—"In my old capacity of helper in need, I have, during the time past, helped in preparing many kinds of distractions for the Duchess Mother, and in doing so have been distracted myself." At the Duke's request Goethe had, moreover, sketched a design for a monument to the officers shot at Mainz; it pleased the Duke, who only enjoined that its execution should not cost more than 100 ducats.

For the opening of the Weimar Theatre in the beginning

¹ Goethe arrived in Frankfurt about August 10, 1793. Düntzer, *Goethe, und Karl August*, ii. 116.—TR.

² Karl Philipp Moritz (see p. 378) died June 26, 1793, in Berlin.—TR.

³ The precise date of Goethe's return to Weimar is not known.

⁴ "Spanne alles an, um meine Mutter zu unterstützen." Karl August to Goethe, Pirmasens, September 8, 1793.—TR.

of October 1793 Goethe did not write a prologue, but he did write one for the representation of Goldoni's piece *Der Krieg*.¹ The prologue was spoken by the sometime Christiane Neumann, who had lately married the actor Becker. It speaks of the blessings of peace, and of the joy which will greet the Duke's return to Weimar.

Goethe had now communicated with the Göttingen physicist Lichtenberg, who was friendly at first, being pleased with the poet's exposition of the subjective phenomena of colour. Goethe laboured to give the verse in his translation of *Reineke* that "*aisance* and daintiness which it should have."² Towards the close of the year he had to send the translation to the printer; it was to appear as the second part of *Goethes neue Schriften*; *Der Grosskophtha*, with Cagliostro's pedigree, and *Das Römische Karneval* appeared as the first part. "In order to undertake something infinite,"² he planned to busy himself in Homer again; Homer would satisfy the yearning for a higher ideal world of art.

But soon a domestic sorrow fell upon him. On November 22, 1793, Christiane brought forth a daughter; on December 3 the child was taken away. Goethe's grief was passionate and lasted long. When on December 5, 1793, he writes a few lines to Jacobi, inquiring about an actor's merits, he thus excuses his brevity:—"After the New Year I will say more; for the dark season has brought me dark fortunes, we will await the coming back of the sun."

After this he betook himself to Ilmenau, to be present at the meeting of shareholders fixed for December 9, 1793. It was necessary to make the unpleasant communication that from the mine (which had now been worked since September 2, 1792) and from the foundries there was a poor yield. The meeting was so badly attended that they had to appoint a new one to take place in the spring of 1794.

The return of the Duke on December 15, 1793, was a great joy to Goethe. An oppression was lifted from him too by the Duke's resolve to leave military service, and to devote himself solely to the government of his country. The want of union between the two chief German Powers made success

¹ Goethe's brother-in-law, Vulpius, had made a new adaptation of Goldoni's *La Guerra, commedia di tre atti in prosa*.—TR.

² Goethe to Jacobi, November 18, 1793.—TR.

impossible, the Duke thought. His decision remained for a time a closely guarded secret. It was not until February 6, 1794, that the King of Prussia completed the dismissal of the Duke, with an expression of regret at losing so valuable a general.

In December 1793 Mozart's *Hochzeit des Figaro* (*Le Nozze di Figaro*) had been produced on the Weimar stage. On January 13, 1794, followed with great success *Die Zauberflöte* (*El Flauto Magico*), and, on the birthday of the Duchess, Paisiello's *König Theodor in Venedig*.¹ There was besides no lack of important new plays in the prevalent taste.

In February 1794 Goethe called the Duke's attention to the bad condition of the nursery of young trees, and of the botanical arrangements at the Prince's Garden (*Fürstengarten*) of Jena. The Duke ordered minute investigation and a report. Goethe communicated with Professor Batsch (who in 1793 had founded in Jena a society for the study of Natural History, naming as honorary members Goethe, Herder, and Schiller, beside others). Goethe also begged the Duke to appoint a formal commission in order to more effective action, and to give him Christian Gottlob Voigt as fellow-commissioner. Voigt and Goethe reported in accordance with the opinions of Batsch. But as the Court gardener had a right to the profits of the greater part of the garden, the commissioners could only procure that Batsch should be given a house and a moderate portion of the upper garden.

The theatre (which at Easter 1794 was again to lose a number of its trained actors), the building of the new Castle, the completion of the "Roman House" in the Park, his own scientific labours and many other things, so engaged the poet that he writes:—"I am carrying on a regular *Quodlibet* of industry."² In concert with Voigt, Goethe dissuaded the Duke from parcelling out his estates; if this were to take place, it would be much more profitable after some time. Goethe, to his great regret, was unable to be present at the

¹ *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, written by Casti. Cp. Goethe's *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 17, 1787, and p. 399 of this book.—TR.

² Goethe to Sömmering, February 17, 1794. See also Goethe to Schiller, December 30, 1795:—"Mein Leben ist, diese vier Wochen her, ein solches *Quodlibet*."—TR.

meeting of shareholders at Ilmenau on April 28, 1794, because of some rebuilding at the back of his house, besides an expected actress had broken her engagement, and he was in difficulty about the theatre. (In the back part of the house lived Christiane, and with her, we do not know from what date precisely, her sister and an aunt.) The shareholders resolved on suitable measures for the improvement of the mine, but a good many withdrew.

Shortly before this Heinrich Meyer had gone to Dresden in order to study the gallery, and to make a copy of some important picture for the "Roman House." *Reineke Fuchs* was now in print; it interested even Schiller. But it was a much more important matter when Goethe resolved to publish in the following volumes of his *Neue Schriften* a completely revised *Wilhelm Meister*. This work, the first six books of which had been completed in a long lapse of years,¹ and as to the continuing and enrichment of which he had thought and planned so much, still lay upon him as a heavy burthen that he must be free from before he could rise to a new work of significance.

Fichte had lately made himself known as a bold untrammelled thinker, and now, through the ardent mediation of Christian Gottlob Voigt and with Goethe's approval, had been summoned as professor to Jena.² On some day later than the middle of May 1794, he called on Goethe, who expected a great deal of result from his coming to Jena, but who recommended him to be very prudent. And on June 2, 1794, Voss, the translator of Homer, came to Weimar by Wieland's invitation. Wieland invited Herder and Voss to dinner; an invitation of Goethe had been prevented by Voss himself, who feared Goethe's "ministerial countenance" and "haughtiness." But Herder and Wieland urged that he must not omit to see the poet, who was formal rather than haughty. Goethe, recognising the importance of Voss and desiring to learn of the great Homeric, the master of hexameter, asked him even before he called to come and dine on June 5. Herder and Wieland were invited also. "The noble house, splendid with the statues and paintings

¹ See p. 346.

² It was however to Hufeland that in the first instance this was due. See Diintzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, December 1793 (ii. 128).—TR.

of old times," surprised the rector from Eutin. "We seated ourselves at table and talked of Italy and Greece. I noticed that Goethe often observed me acutely. He grew livelier by degrees. After dinner we moved to his Garden Room and drank coffee. He read letters from the painter Meyer, a noble being. . . . Then he showed some of Meyer's pictures, enchantingly beautiful. The conversation became very cordial and intimate, Goethe turned to me and asked why I was going away so soon; I might give him one more day. I gave him my hand and promised to stay a day longer." Goethe invited him to come and see the statues and paintings next morning, and to dine in the same companionship. That evening Voss went to Herder. "We were summoned to tea and found the Wielands, Goethe, Böttiger, and von Knebel. All came round me and desired to hear this or that about my researches in Homer." At the general desire Voss read aloud from his new translation of the *Odyssey*, which had not hitherto pleased in Weimar. But now, delivered by its author, it had a wonderful effect. Goethe came up to Voss and pressed his hand for such a Homer! At tea Goethe sat beside Voss and was unusually cheerful; the conversation centred in Homer. On June 6, 1794, Voss, with Herder and Wieland, spent a happy day at Goethe's. In the afternoon Goethe took Voss to the *Fürstenhaus* and showed him paintings, and then introduced him to the Duchess, whom he thought very attractive. "Voss has been here," writes Goethe on June 9, 1794, to Meyer; "a right worthy amiable man, and one who is really serious about what he does, for which reason his affairs will not thoroughly prosper in Germany. It was a great pleasure to me to have seen him and spoken to him, and to have heard from his own lips the axioms by which he works. Thus now through the medium of his personality that is comprehensible which on general grounds we find inharmonious." Voss had spoken very unfavourably of the hexameter of *Reineke*, had indeed condemned altogether the plan of translating the poem in that metre. Voss failed to recognise Goethe's purpose, which demanded a light kind of verse. That *Reineke* needed a great deal of filing was acknowledged by the author himself, and he would have been glad of detached hints from the master of hexameter; but that condemnation prevented further discussion.

Immediately after this visit of Voss, Herder, whose translation of Balde had pleased Goethe, received the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*, "which now as re-written still needs many a stroke of the pen, not to make it good, but only that it may, a sort of pseudo-confession, be lifted from my heart and neck." To Knebel also a transcript was sent. Goethe invited these two friends to dine with him on the coming Sunday, June 15, 1794.

But before that Sunday an incident occurred to which is due the wonderful alliance which gave to Goethe's life and to German literature an impulsion such as no other external fact before or since has given. A spirit of equal birth advanced towards him, one incapable of underprizing him, one thoroughly aware of his incomparable worth. On May 15, 1794, Schiller with restored health had returned to Jena from his home, whither he had gone last year to recruit. He had discussed with Cotta the publishing of a periodical, from which he hoped the most extraordinary result. Already he had enlisted as co-workers Fichte, the historian Woltmann lately summoned to Jena, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, when on June 13, 1794, he sent the prospectus of the projected review, *Die Horen* (*Horae*) to Goethe, accompanied by a request for aid. Schiller's personal appeal to Goethe was extremely respectful. Goethe replied on June 24, 1794. In the interim he had felt the chill of Herder's ethically narrow criticism of *Wilhelm Meister*, and had read with warm interest the first sheets of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*. "I will, with joy, with my whole heart, be of the company," he writes. And again:—"A close alliance with such excellent men will certainly bring again into active current and circulation much in me that has fallen into stagnation." He ends by saying that he hopes soon to talk over face to face the principles on which the contributions sent in are to be judged. Six days before Goethe wrote this letter Voigt writes to Hufeland that in future Goethe will come to Jena more often and make longer stay there; and Goethe, on June 28, 1794, tells Charlotte von Kalb that Schiller since his return has been much more friendly and trustful towards the Weimarians.

Meantime Goethe worked steadily on *Wilhelm Meister* and at natural science. He made new experiments on colour,

and classified them, and already the whole began to seem to him no longer infinite.¹ At this time he suffered a good deal by the "Freedom" vertigo of Knebel, Herder, and Wieland, whose conduct seemed to him to border on insanity. Not until about July 21, 1794 (by which date Herder also had joined the *Die Horen* enterprise), did Goethe come to Jena. There he found in a penetrating conversation with Schiller on the Beautiful and on Art intellectual enjoyment such as had been long unknown to him. An unexpected harmony of ideas between them, Schiller tells Körner, had been found, while there was the greatest difference in their points of view; each had been able to give the other something and receive something in turn. Fichte also was visited by Goethe; the poet set forth the philosopher's own system with a conciseness and clearness such as Fichte himself could not have excelled.

On July 25, 1794, Goethe had to start with the Duke for Dessau. Thence he went on to Leipzig and Dresden; in Dresden he spent a delightful week with Meyer, and derived thorough benefit from his visits to the Gallery.² When back in Weimar, Goethe received a remarkable letter³ from Schiller, witnessing the deepest reverence and an ardent longing for closer league together. Goethe wrote a friendly reply from Ettersburg on August 27, 1794. "How great a gain for me your sympathy will be, you will soon perceive when, on closer acquaintance, you discover in me a kind of obscurity and hesitation that I cannot master, clearly aware as I am of their existence. . . . I hope soon to spend some time with you, and then we will thoroughly discuss many things." Meantime they wrote often to each other letters of mutual confidences. The bad news from the Rhine frontier made Goethe anxious. His mother had already packed up and sent her belongings to Langensalza. Some rooms in her son's house were prepared for her.

On September 4, 1794, Goethe asks Schiller to come on September 14, and stay with him for a while, as the Court is going to Eisenach. Schiller shall be perfectly free to work and live as he pleases. In the beginning of September 1794

¹ Goethe to Sömmering, July 16, 1794. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 142.—Tr.

² Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, September 8, 1794: "Ich war auf acht Tage in Dresden und habe mir auf der Gallerie was rechts zu Gute gethan."—Tr.

³ Schiller to Goethe, August 23, 1794.—Tr.

Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein again after a silence of some years.¹ (Of late he had been writing to Fritz, who was gone to London.) The purport of Goethe's visit was to request Charlotte von Stein to manage with Schiller's help the introduction of a writing-desk, a gift from Goethe to Charlotte Schiller, into the room of the latter while she was away from home.

The interval between September 14 and September 27, 1794, was passed by Schiller and Goethe in the most intimate exchange of confidence. Goethe read the *Römische Elegien* to Schiller, talked of many literary plans, of contributions to the *Horen*, of the nature of poetic composition, showed beautiful pictures, did not forget his own scientific studies, urged Schiller to finish the tragedy *Die Malteser*, begun long ago, urged him also to retouch *Fiesko*, and *Kabale und Liebe*, and Goethe's *Egmont* for the stage; entered on the project of establishing a *Musen-almanach*, and by his genuine good-will and cordial frankness won Schiller's entire trust. Now, when Goethe was happy in his house, his family life, his true art friend Meyer; when Herder was following an altogether different æsthetic bias; when the French freedom madness was alienating many, no better fortune could have been his than the alliance with such a mighty spirit as Schiller; an alliance destined to produce a perfect Art-Poetry, to send forth exquisite lyrical blossoms of varied form, to idealise German burgher life in an epos that can never die, to elevate and inspire the German stage, to give new solidity and matter to the æsthetic estimate in literature and art.

¹ Herr von Stein had died in December 1793.—TR,

BOOK VII.

THE DIOSCURI.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF UNION WITH SCHILLER. *THE HOREN—WILHELM MEISTER—HERMANN UND DOROTHEA—BALLADS.* THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY.

OCTOBER 1794—NOVEMBER 1797.

POETRY, plastic art, the theatre, natural science, family life, the Court, official duty, still interwove through Goethe's life; but now the ever-closing union with Schiller was like a fresh stream, whose current, directed over dry and unfruitful tracts, fills with a new life things that had seemed to languish, and brings from the soil many a growth unthought of before. Schiller, it is true, did not agree with Goethe in everything, but he was tolerant, and always recognised his greatness as an artist, as a man of science, as a human soul. The rich *Correspondence* that sprang from the friendship is its imperishable memorial.

Goethe would have been glad to remain on the old intimate terms with Herder, not only because of Herder's own worth, but for the sake of the Duke and on account of *Die Horen*; cordiality was, however, rendered impossible by the continual divergence of their views and by Herder's jealousy of Schiller. The starting of a new periodical was a severe blow to Wieland, for the *Merkur* would certainly be injured. But in this matter pacification was easier.

About the middle of October 1794 came the welcome return of Heinrich Meyer from Dresden. On November 2, 1794, Goethe went with Meyer to Jena. He had there free

use of the rooms on the first story of the Castle, which earlier had been allotted to Knebel. These were the first on the left hand looking into the courtyard, and a couple adjoining that now contain part of the collection of minerals. For many years they were to be the hallowed place of his meditation and invention. His simple fare was served to him in them. On this visit in November 1794 there were manifold conversations with Schiller and the two brothers Humboldt (for Chief Director of Mines (*Oberbergmeister*) Alexander von Humboldt of Freiberg was at this time in Jena). With Schiller *Die Horen* was discussed, and another periodical, *Der Musenalmanach*, which a young bookseller at Neustrelitz had offered to publish on good terms. For the sake of readers who desire amusement, Goethe had it in mind to write a series of tales for *Die Horen* which should be connected by a thread running through them all; these he hoped to contribute *beside* his *Wilhelm Meister*, whose printing had just begun. The plan of bringing out Schiller's play *Die Malteser* on the birthday of the Duchess had to be abandoned, as Schiller was absorbed in other things.

In Weimar the Friday Society had been reopened on October 31, 1794; the meetings were now held weekly in Goethe's house. At each meeting Goethe read a canto from Voss's translation of the *Iliad*, and this would suggest many and various observations. Beside his literary work, he toiled hard at optics; he now had gathered a really valuable stock of apparatus. His zeal for optics was the more ardent because there his intellect found a many-sided exercise such as no other pursuit could afford.

At the Duchess Amalia's he continued to be a frequent and welcome visitor. There he met and was charmed by the young Maid of Honour, Henriette von Wolfskeel-Reichenberg, who had come last year from Stuttgart. She was graceful and tender; she sang with inspiration, and played with exquisite finish on the harp. Goethe found it pleasant to trifle gaily with her; he would call the merry little Swabian "*Kehle*"¹ and "*Kehlchen*" and "*Kamerädle*." In the year 1830² he

¹ *Kehle* means the throat, then the voice the "pipe." "Sie hat eine herrliche Kehle" would mean—"She has a sweet voice." *Kehlchen* is the diminutive of *Kehle*.—TR.

² *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit Kanzler von Müller*, March 1, 1830. See the note on the passage.—TR.

recalled the pleasant hours at the Duchess Amalia's, when the "pretty being the 'Kehle' tripped about and said '*Silly Geheimrath* ;'" he used often then to improvise a tale of some merit. We give an engraving of the sketch in colours by



FIG. 32. The evening circle of the Duchess Amalia. From a drawing in colour by J. M. Kraus.

Kraus of the evening circle at the Duchess Amalia's. The Duchess is painting; to her left is Charles Gore, who has just been reading aloud, and is looking over his spectacles at the Duchess; then comes Elise Gore, also painting; Emilie Gore,

stitching, has looked up at a sketch which Herder is holding before her, and at her side is Fräulein Göchhausen very busy with her sewing. On the other side of the table Meyer leans to watch Goethe, who is probably sketching or painting; beyond them is Fräulein Wolfskeel, who seems to be making some saucy remark. The figure nearest us is Einsiedel, who is bent over a book.

On January 11, 1795, Goethe came with Meyer to Jena, where he stayed until January 23. In this time, beside *Die Horen*, Schiller and he discussed the Third Book of *Wilhelm Meister*, and many matters in æsthetics. With Meyer and the two Humboldts Goethe used to wade through deep snow to hear Loder lecture on Syndesmology from eight to ten o'clock in the almost empty Anatomic Theatre.¹ At the instance of the Humboldts he dictated the *Erster Entwurf zu einer allgemeinen Einleitung in die allgemeine Anatomie*.² He was present at Professor Götting's experiments on the burning of phosphorus in nitrogen.

When back in Weimar Goethe was busily occupied by the Theatre and the Court *Redoutes*. Not until Palm Sunday, March 29, 1795, could he get away for any considerable time. He stayed in Jena until May 2. *Wilhelm Meister* and the contributions for *Die Horen* were the chief subject of conversation. Goethe felt a passing inspiration to higher poetry: he wrote the very fine beginning of a *Prometheus Unbound* in the antique style.³ He had a great deal of intercourse with Batsch, Loder, and Götting. During his stay he had a forcing-house erected in the gardens, and works to confine the Saale to a straight course among the meadows were urged on. Of the dreary politics of the time Goethe desired to know nothing.

When he returned to Weimar on May 2, 1795, he found his family healthy and happy; his domestic existence at that time turned quietly on its axis, so that—his intellectual life

¹ In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1794 Goethe misdates this attendance on Loder's lectures and Götting's experiments. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 156.—TR.

² *First Sketch of a General Introduction to General Anatomy*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 189.—TR.

³ See Düntzer's monograph *Prometheus und Pandora*; and Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 229. What Goethe wrote has been lost.—TR.

also being provided for—he had nothing left to desire.¹ Meyer had been very diligent; his design and his execution were better every day, Goethe thought.² For a few days after his return Goethe suffered a good deal from a swollen cheek; during the lonely sleepless hours he meditated all his Theory of Colour over, and already thought that he could draw the main threads. He worked on at his novel also, and minutely revised the *Römische Elegien*, which were to appear in the *Horen*. *Claudine*, with music by Reichardt, was diligently rehearsed, and was performed on May 30, 1795, but without any remarkable success.

On a short visit to Jena in the beginning of June 1795, Goethe made the acquaintance of the great Halle philologist Friedrich August Wolf. Wolf was a friend of Wilhelm von Humboldt, through whom we hear how interested Goethe was in Wolf immediately, how attracted by the critical acuteness and the thoroughness of method of the epoch-making *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Immediately upon his return to Weimar (June 4, 1795) Goethe was tormented by a new swelling in his cheek; the great pain and the means of cure resorted to affected him very much, yet he laboured on without ceasing. To fortify his system against the recurrence of these attacks he resolved to visit Karlsbad, where the baths ten years before had done him so much good under like circumstances.

On the journey to Karlsbad Goethe enjoyed a few days of interesting intercourse with Schiller (June 29—July 2). In these days he hit on the idea for the *Märchen* that concludes the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*. Amid bad weather he pushed on to Karlsbad, shortening the way by brooding over some *Märchen* that hovered in his mind. In Karlsbad there was so much society and excitement that he found literary work impossible. It gladdened him to see so many human beings gathered together from all German lands. And with the lovely Marianne Meyer,³ daughter of a rich

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, February 2, 1795.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, May 12, 1795.—TR.

³ Marianne Meyer, afterwards Frau von Eybenberg, was at Karlsbad in the company of Rahel Levin. Her sister, Sara Meyer, afterwards Frau von Grotthus, was also a friend of Goethe's. Both sisters were exquisitely graceful and charming. See Diintzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, 82 and 136. Strehlke, *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen*, i. 174, 226; Fürst, *Henriette Herz*, 150-155.—TR.

Jewish banker in Berlin, he played a little romantic love drama.

On his return he delayed but a few hours in Jena.¹ Now he heard from Schiller how the Duke thought that the *Römische Elegien* ought not to have been published in the *Horen*. Goethe must have been strangely moved to find the Duke in his letter to Schiller denying to these anxiously wrought and polished poems "the most perfect degree of finish," and calling the publication of them one of the freaks which should be proscribed by "all those who by the name which destiny has bestowed on them are marked out to be the leaders and forefathers of the literary race." The Duke was annoyed because he had formerly dissuaded Goethe from publishing the *Elegien*. Herder, it will be remembered, had opposed their publication at the same time, and he, too, was annoyed; and many others who denied the ample poetic right in the matter which Goethe asserted. For the sake of Schiller Goethe now undertook to translate for the *Horen* the greater part of the Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, nay, he actually thought of giving Schiller parts of *Faust*.

After his return to Weimar (August 1795) Goethe's first occupation was to arrange the *Venediger Epigramme* for the *Musenalmanach* and to continue *Wilhelm Meister*. Meyer was to go to Italy very soon; Goethe meant to follow in the August of 1796, for he had planned to join with Meyer in the production of a great work on Italy. Starting from a consideration of the peculiar characteristics of the country, they meant to unfold the political and intellectual history of the people, and Natural History was not to be omitted.

Now came word that the water had broken out anew at Ilmenau. On August 24, 1795, Goethe hastened with Voigt to the unlucky spot, where he found an extraordinary quantity of work to be done, especially as Voigt soon had to go back to Weimar. Goethe had brought his five-year-old August with him, and very cheering was the companionship of the boy, who observed with fresh childlike interest all that Goethe was tired of looking at and thinking about during the past nineteen years.² August interested and delighted his father with his

¹ About August 10, 1795. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

² *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1795.—TR.

naïve talk and questions; it was like Felix and Wilhelm Meister. A little ideal miner-costume was made for August, and was for a time his ordinary dress. On the Duke's birthday (September 3, 1795) August marched with the miners, but he would not enter the church.

On September 6, 1795, Goethe returned from Ilmenau to Weimar. Beside his *Meister*, the *Märchen*, and other contributions to the *Horen*, he had the preparations for Meyer's journey to Italy and the plan of the work on Italy to consider. "Meyer is preparing for departure," writes Goethe to Schiller on September 14, 1795, "and is still engaged on a drawing in colour of the Parcæ, which you must see. I wish him only health, he has every other good thing. He is a noble being. As for me, I too, as you probably feel, have of late stood but with one foot, with the other have been moving towards the Alps. The mineralogic and geologic basis, the beginning and growth and decay of civilisation, I have sought to attack from below, sometimes going to the bottom of the matter, sometimes treating with a rapid glance; and in my attack from above, too, from the Art side, have a common understanding with Meyer on everything. And yet all these are but school preparations. May a good spirit help us to see, to understand aright, and bring about a joyful meeting."

On September 23, 1795, Goethe tells Schiller that the *Märchen* is finished. Immediately after this very bad news came from the Rhine. The fall of Mannheim and the retreat of the Imperial army from the Lahn caused general dismay. The Landgraf of Darmstadt came with two hundred horse to Eisenach; the French *émigrés*, who had hitherto found refuge in Darmstadt, now threatened an invasion of Central Germany;¹ already the Elector of Mainz had left his temporary resting-place in Aschaffenburg, and was expected in Erfurt. Meanwhile to Karl August had come the thought of sending Goethe to Frankfurt for a few weeks, that he might report on all occurring in the neighbourhood, and on the negotiations for peace there pending. While awaiting more exact instructions as to this very disagreeable task, Goethe laboured on *Meister*, for which the publisher was eager, and aided in fitting out Meyer, the Duke having contributed a hundred thalers to

¹ Goethe to Schiller, September 26, 1795.—TR.

that object. On October 2, 1795, when Meyer starts, we find Goethe so busy that he cannot go as far as Jena with his friend.

On October 5, 1795, Goethe rode to Jena and spent a few hours with Schiller. On October 11 he went to join the Duke at Eisenach. But on October 16 the Duke said that he need not go to Frankfurt, retaining him, however, for a time in Eisenach. "What an empty life the life of distraction is," he laments to Schiller on October 17, 1795. And the complaisance which the Duke and Duchess showed to the French aristocratic refugees had long spoiled the Court for Goethe. On October 21 he hurried back to Weimar, fearing that Christiane was about to be prematurely confined.

In Weimar he busied himself with his Italian papers, especially those about architecture. In reply to his observation of October 25 that in his house a new citizen of the world was expected to arrive any day, Schiller writes:—"Let it be a girl, and thus we shall yet be related as fathers-in-law." On November 1, 1795, Goethe writes:—"Instead of a pretty girl a tender boy has arrived, and thus one of my cares is laid in the cradle. Now it is your business, in order to the father-in-lawship and the increase of the poetic family, to provide a girl." Four days later Goethe went to Jena and stayed there a week, joining in the celebration of Schiller's birthday. He expounded his views on architecture with remarkable clearness to the interested and delighted Schiller; and they talked a great deal of his labours in optics and morphology, which he wished to be done with before his new visit to Italy. The thought of Greek literature and art was made so vivid and real by their talk that Schiller resolved to resume the study of Greek. Goethe promised a new *Märchen* for the *Horen*, and tried to cheer Schiller, whom the many attacks on his periodical had made downhearted.

On November 17, 1795, Goethe's youngest child—his second boy—died. An agony of sorrow rent his soul. The deep sympathy of Schiller, the friendly reception of the third volume of *Meister* and of the *Märchen*, and the hope of Italy helped this time to lift and sustain his spirit. For a short time there was a total ebb of literary inspiration and desire. But the anger excited by Friedrich Stolberg's Christian preface to a translation of *Selected Dialogues of Plato*, and again by

Lichtenberg's attitude towards his own scientific work¹ had a salutary effect. He now read with great pleasure the first part of Schiller's essay *On the Sentimental*, in which he was himself spoken of with great reverence. Only towards the close of November did he resume work on *Meister*. It now became his chief anxiety to complete this novel. And he advanced rapidly, though in December 1795 he lost a great deal of time through the gaiety of life at Court. At this time Goethe endeavoured to procure some representations on the Weimar stage from Iffland, but without success. The management of the theatre brought so much that was unpleasant on him, that in a moment of disgust he wrote to the Duke begging to be relieved. But the Duke promised to do his best to make matters pleasanter, and Goethe consented to go on.

Herder's ill-will towards Goethe had now grown so bitter that he would not write to him, but procured what he might want of him through Knebel.² And Wieland's feeling towards the two great allied poets was a very bitter one, though they had treated him with marked respect in the *Horen*.

Goethe, always planning aid for Schiller's enterprises, now hit on a remarkable scheme. Instead of meeting the sharp hostility of the critics of the *Horen* by counter criticism, they would make a number of epigrams in the manner of Martial's *Xenia* for insertion in all periodicals, and afterwards publish a selection of the best in the *Musenalmanach*. On the 23d of December 1795 we find him sending a few distichs to Schiller, three days later a dozen fresh ones; "with a hundred like these we could recommend ourselves to the public as well as to our fellow-contributors." Schiller entered enthusiastically into the project; only, to complete the century it would be necessary to attack individual works, and what a rich material they would have there! Further, if they were not particular about sparing themselves, they might grapple with things sacred as with things profane. Goethe writes on December 30, 1795:—"We have only to put into verse what the fools say about us and so be sheltered beneath the form of irony." Thus before the close of the year 1795, the tribunal was

¹ Goethe to Schiller, November 21, 1795.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 175, 178. See also Knebel's and Goethe's correspondence in the three last months of 1795.—TR.

established by which the two poets working in fellowship purified the atmosphere before proceeding to their greater creations. The gradual development of the *Xenien* is a remarkable story.

Meyer was now in Rome; his communications thence were giving Goethe a great deal of pleasure. "We will pursue our way very quietly but very obstinately," Goethe writes to Meyer on December 30, 1795. Meyer was to him in art what Schiller was in literature.

In the beginning of the New Year 1796 he succeeded in getting away to spend with Schiller a couple of happy weeks (January 3-14), during which he ran through the whole circle of Schiller's labours in the theory of æsthetics, thus fortifying himself for his own work in science. The theatre and the preparation of a masque for the Duchess's birthday *Redoute* hastened his return to Weimar. He found the distraction very trying. On February 12, 1796, three days after Shrove Tuesday, he writes to Schiller:—"I am still suffering indescribably by the Carnival"—being the master of ceremonies—"by the repeated arrival of foreign princes our theatrical and dancing merry-makings are confused and increased." The partiality of the Court for the exiles, to whom the Duke had now opened the whole land, grew more and more displeasing to Goethe. He clung closer than ever to Schiller, who was sorely tortured just then with spasms. Goethe spent the interval from February 16 to March 16 in Jena. During that time *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* and plastic art were zealously discussed. But the most important thing to note of this visit is that Goethe urged Schiller earnestly to go to work on *Wallenstein*, and the latter began to devote his best time to the play. Charlotte von Stein came one day to Jena and visited the Schillers (February 24); she wrote to Fritz afterwards that Goethe has become "horribly stout," "has regularly become earth," while the invalid Schiller looked "like a heavenly genius," "the pallid repose of his countenance made him interesting."

After Goethe's return to Weimar he drew near to Wieland for a time, aiding him to revise *Oberon*. Iffland had at last found it possible to promise a series of representations in Weimar. In order to be present at these the Schillers came from Jena on March 23, 1796, to spend a few weeks,—Schiller with Goethe, Charlotte Schiller and her two-year-old boy Karl

with Charlotte von Stein. During their stay Goethe's August, as Karl's playmate, used often to go to Charlotte von Stein's house. She was interested in him. "I can often," she writes to Fritz Stein, "distinguish in him the more noble nature of the father and the baser of the mother." The Weimar theatre had no boxes. Goethe had one erected for the sufferer Schiller, who was then brought thither in a carriage. A certain number of the assemblies at Goethe's house during Iffland's stay were invited in Schiller's name. The great actor appeared in Schiller's *Die Räuber* on April 16, 1796. As Goethe wished to see him in *Egmont* also, Schiller had been employed in preparing that play for representation, which was done with relentless mangling.¹ Iffland's very conscientious and finished presentation of the hero pleased Goethe so well that he resolved never to entrust the part to any other actor. He offered the managership of the theatre to Iffland, who refused, saying, however, that on certain conditions he would accept the post of *Regisseur*. Goethe, writing about April 18, 1796,² tells Meyer that Iffland has "brought to life again the almost lost conception of dramatic art." *Egmont* gave such pleasure to the enthusiastic Charlotte von Kalb that she could not help expressing her warmest gratitude to the poet. Such an instance of fresh, ardent, friendly sympathy would be the more precious to Goethe as the Court, devoted to its *émigrés*, was then rather cold towards him.

On May 3, 1796, Goethe hurried to Jena, where he hoped to finish *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* in peace. He found there Schiller's friend Christian Körner and his family, on a visit to Schiller. Goethe had pleasant intercourse with them. When Körner's sister-in-law, the painter, Dora Stock, casually asked him why he did not marry, he replied gravely that he *was* married, only not ceremonially. And perhaps with this incident we are to connect his bringing Christiane and August once to Jena during his stay there. Some weeks later, on July 13, 1796, he writes to Schiller: "To-day, I too live to see a remarkable epoch; my marriage-state is just eight years and the French Revolution seven years old." In the same letter he excuses his non-appearance at the christen-

¹ *Ueber das Deutsche Theater*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 719.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 182.—TR.

ing of Schiller's second son by saying that these ceremonies depress him too much.

Wishing to contribute to the *Musenalmanach* some more worthy offering than the stinging rhymes of the *Xenien*, he brooded over lyric poems of the most various kind, for his creative energy continually craved new forms and new notes. The noble idyll *Alexis und Dora* was finished in a few days. The delicious parody *Musen und Grazien in der Mark* was another product of this time, beside a number of earnest and tender *Sprüche*. The project of writing a ballad *Hero und Leander* was not carried out. Goethe was also during this visit to Jena very busy with science, particularly optics, and even with many official duties. At length he had to set hard to work at *Wilhelm Meister*, which progressed so well that he stayed on in Jena. For the passage of the French over the Mincio had put an end to the delightful hope of seeing Italy again in August.¹ One whom Goethe now met for the first time was August Wilhelm Schlegel. Goethe tells Meyer that Schlegel is with them as to the fundamental ideas of æsthetics, is a very good head, awake and active and skilful, only he seems to have a democratic tendency.² During the prolongation of his stay Goethe was cheered by the presence of his little August, who used to play in the Castle courtyard beneath his father's windows with the daughter of the University *Stallmeister*. This little girl, born in Jena, May 15, 1786, was Luise Seidler, afterwards a well-known painter. From her we learn³ with what infinite love the poet hung on every act and word of the beautiful little fellow in the charmingly becoming miner-costume. Father and son used to feed the pigeons together; and when the two children were playing beneath the window Goethe would lean out and let some sweetmeat dangle by a string to the children, and when at length they succeeded in capturing it he would laugh heartily.

When Goethe returned to Weimar⁴ he laboured steadily at *Wilhelm Meister*; his studies in science held on a parallel course; and there were *Sprüche* of many kinds composed.

¹ Cp. Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, June 12, 1796.—TR.

² Goethe to Meyer, Jena, May 20, 1796.—TR.

³ See the delightful book *Erinnerungen und Leben der Malerin Louise Seidler . . . bearbeitet von Hermann Uhde*. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz. (2d Edition 1875).—TR.

⁴ On June 7 or June 8, 1796.—TR.

It was a great relief that the Court was at Wilhelmsthal, for this gave him complete leisure, as the Duchess Amalia, who was stopping in Tiefurt, did not require any attendance from him.

On June 17, 1796, Goethe met Jean Paul for the first time. Jean Paul had come to Weimar at the urgent invitation of Charlotte von Kalb, who was one of his most enthusiastic admirers. Knebel conducted him to Goethe, with whom he dined twice during his stay. Goethe writes to Schiller on June 29, 1796:—"I am glad that you have seen Richter; his love of truth and his desire to learn have made me feel well towards him. Yet the sociable man is a kind of theoretic man, and if I judge aright I doubt that in the practical sense Richter will ever draw near to us, though in the theoretic he inclines much to our way." On June 26, 1796, Goethe sent *the last Book of Wilhelm Meister* to Schiller! During the ten or twelve days following he had so much business to overtake that he could hardly leave the house. Yet he managed to think over the ballad *Hero und Leander*. And a material that some years ago had attracted him now began to seem very well suited for treatment in a form hitherto untried by him—the Burgher Idyll. Any one who reads the letters of Goethe and Schiller of this period will be struck by the wonderful earnestness and thoroughness with which the last book of *Wilhelm Meister* is analysed; Schiller's criticism induced many changes, not always, indeed, improvements. The several hints at a sequel were thus inserted. As the Schillers were expecting the birth of a child, Goethe pressed them (July 9, 1796) to send Karl to Weimar for a while: August would have a welcome playmate, and Karl would be very happy in the companionship of many children who assembled in Goethe's house and garden. Evidently he wanted to see Schiller put away his prejudice against the household of which Christiane was mistress. But Schiller politely refused the invitation.

On Monday, July 11, 1796, Charlotte Schiller bore her second son.¹ At the end of the week Goethe came to Jena and stayed for a few days. He returned to Weimar on the 19th of July.

¹ The child was christened on Thursday. Goethe would not go to Jena for the christening. See pp. 482-3.—TR.

Very bad news from the seat of war now filled Goethe with anxiety. After a violent bombardment, Frankfurt-am-Main had fallen into French hands, and had been laid under heavy contributions. The only hope of Thüringen now lay in a cordon of neutrality. The treaty between the Electorate of Saxony and the French securing this was concluded successfully on August 13, 1796. In the meantime Goethe tried to forget political troubles in natural science and in the final revision of the last book of *Wilhelm Meister*,—tried, too, to quiet the longing for Italy. Meyer had gone to Florence, and there Goethe hoped to meet him next spring.¹ An "arrogant"² remark of Jean Paul's in a letter to Knebel prompted Goethe to the satirical lines *Der Chinese in Rom*; no one then guessed that these lines referred to the poet from Hof. At this time Goethe was much worried by Iffland's indecision.

But now, on August 18, 1796, began a wonderful six weeks of happiness in Jena by Schiller's side. During this time the first four cantos (afterwards moulded to five) of *Hermann und Dorothea*—the projected idyll that had widened to an epos—were composed in nine days. Every evening what had been written during the day was read aloud at Schiller's and was received with warm delight by worthy hearers. Goethe, who was in the most exalted mood, would shed tears of joy when he came to passages of genuine poetic beauty.³ Yet even in Jena all kinds of business sought him out. But the affairs of the theatre alone had power to annoy him. This was not merely because of Iffland's conduct, but because the Duke did not approve of offering to Iffland the post designed for him by Goethe. Goethe still continued to wish that Iffland would undertake the entire management of the theatre. He writes in his excitement:—"For all our efforts we have neither from above nor below a shadow of gratitude to expect, and in the main I daily perceive more clearly that the relation, for me especially, is thoroughly unbecoming."⁴

¹ Goethe to Meyer, August 1, 1796. In the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882 are published four of Goethe's letters to Heinrich Meyer, ranging from July to September 1796. One of them had been published in fragment by Riemer, whose omissions, as Ludwig Geiger observes, are unaccountable.—Tr.

² Goethe to Schiller, August 10, 1796.—Tr.

³ See Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, S. 98.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Kirms, Jena, September 6, 1796.—Tr.

On October 3, 1796, he was summoned to Weimar; the exhibition of the pictures of the Drawing Academy was nearly at an end, and the Duke wished for his presence at the distribution of prizes. And he accordingly returned on October 5, 1796. The cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* that had been written in Jena were now carefully revised. His other chief occupation for a time was Natural Science, the subject of most of the lectures that he delivered at the Friday Assemblies, which recommenced then. All hope of Iffland was gone, the National Theatre at Berlin had secured him.

At the end of October 1796 Goethe had suddenly to go to Ilmenau, the water having broken out afresh in the mines on the night of October 24. He took with him his little August, who had lately been making a great friend of Charlotte von Stein. (She tells her Fritz that August is a very sensible (*besonnenes*) child, though there is something dreary about him.) At Ilmenau Goethe remained, notwithstanding wretched weather, until all needful measures were taken. During his stay he was again attracted to the mineral kingdom by the mineral cabinet of *Bergrath Voigt*,¹ but he wrote no poetry, although he had hoped some gain in the "great solitude" for *Hermann und Dorothea*.²

After his return he was detained in Weimar by various kinds of business, the most onerous being the affairs of the theatre, where the *Regie*³ was now rearranged. The study of Natural Science continued its unceasing course. And the polishing and perfecting of the written cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* still occupied him. All to whom he read this poem were moved and charmed, even Böttiger, in whose criticism he felt secure that emotion would not overrule judgment.⁴

This success of his epic already among his friends was a keen pleasure to Goethe. Meanwhile the *Xenien* had roused against the two poets a swarm of enemies, many of whom did not hesitate to use coarse and unjustifiable means of attack.

¹ The brother of the Minister, Christian Gottlob von Voigt. See pp. 269, 310, 312, and 335.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, October 29, 1796 (before departure for Ilmenau); November 12, 1796 (very soon after return to Weimar). Goethe did not see Ilmenau again until August 1813.—TR.

³ The function of the *Regisseur*.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Jacobi, December 26, 1796 (*footnote*).—TR.

This moved Goethe to the Elegy called *Hermann und Dorothea*, announcing the appearance of the epic *Hermann und Dorothea*. The Elegy is a poem of dignified vindication of his own life and works, and in it he does not shrink from speaking of that domestic happiness which slanderers had tried to bemire. He sent it to Schiller on December 7, 1796; he would like the new year of the *Horen* to open with it. Schiller, however, dissuaded him from this, fearing that to publish it so soon would draw fresh personal attacks. It was Goethe's design, as he tells Schiller in the letter of the above date, to begin with this poem a new Book of Elegies; the second of the series should utter his longing to cross the Alps a third time, and thus he would continue either at home or on his journey. Schiller had now, to Goethe's delight, flung himself upon *Wallenstein*, and several scenes were already finished.

On December 28, 1796, Goethe started with the Duke for Leipzig to be present at the New-Year Fair. Schiller had just been roused to great anger by an attack of Reichardt's, who, referring to the *Xenien*, wrote in the periodical *Deutschland*, of which he was editor, to this effect:—"That it was sad to see such a great genius as Goethe so profane his greatness by descending to take part in deliberate calumny. On the other hand, the part which Herr Schiller might have in the matter could trouble the editor of *Deutschland* very little, his contempt for Schiller's worthless and base conduct being quite unmixed, as Schiller's literary gifts and exertions were by no means to be classed with the genuine genius of that other." Goethe promised Schiller a "counter-manifesto."¹ The visit to Leipzig refreshed Goethe. "There were some very interesting persons amid the throng, old friends and acquaintances too I have seen again,² besides some noble works of art which have washed my eyes clear."³ From Leipzig they went to Dessau, where they stopped a week that the Duke might enjoy the hunting. Though the Prince of Dessau⁴ had been annoyed with Goethe on account of the attacks on Lavater in the

¹ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797.—TR.

² The old Oeser was still living; Goethe probably visited him, and probably, too, his old friend, Christian Gottfried Hermann (p. 61); we know that he visited Christian Felix Weisse (p. 70). Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 205.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797.—TR.

⁴ See p. 362.—TR.

Xenien, there was friendly intercourse. Goethe returned to Weimar on January 10, 1797, well content with his journey, which had been without literary fruit except that he had completely schemed the conclusion of *Hermann und Dorothea*.¹

Soon after his return Goethe spent a day in Jena, the "manifesto" against Reichardt was discussed and all that was near to the hearts of the two poets. There was a cordial meeting with the two Humboldts also. After this the Theatre made extraordinary demands on his time and thought. He had the fortune to secure for it a perfectly endowed singer in Caroline Jagemann, who was then just completing her twentieth year. Her father was Librarian to the Duchess Amalia, through whose kindness she had been sent to Mannheim for training. Another important business matter concluded by Goethe during the latter half of January 1797 was the sale of *Hermann und Dorothea* to the publisher Vieweg. Goethe gave a sealed cover to Böttiger, containing this declaration:—"For the epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* I demand one thousand thalers in gold." Böttiger was not to open this, was not to know the sum demanded, until some publisher should agree to the purchase whatever the sum might be. Vieweg at once accepted the condition. On January 22, 1797, Charlotte von Stein (who, though she and little August were good friends, had not yet forgiven August's father) once more entered Goethe's house; she dined there with the Duke's children, her own sister, and her sister's children, and some others. Goethe had invited the Duchess Luise to come in the evening. The Court had grown friendly again.

On February 22, 1797, began a stay of more than five weeks in Jena, five weeks of the most earnest, most many-sided, most fruitful activity. By March 21, 1797, not only was the former portion of *Hermann und Dorothea* revised anew, but all the rest of it written except the concluding speech. Schiller, who watched the progress of this poem with intense interest, was himself busy on *Wallenstein*, and was reading in Shakespeare and Sophocles, and thus all the ideas about epic and dramatic poetry came to be eagerly discussed. One result was that Goethe planned a second epic poem of an altogether different character; he chose for it a material

¹ Goethe to Schiller, January 11, 1797.—TR.

that he had long ago thought of, only the suitable form had hitherto been lacking. He writes to Knebel on March 28, 1797:—"Schiller is hard at work on *Wallenstein*, the elder Humboldt is at a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the elder Schlegel at one of the *Julius Cæsar* of Shakespeare, and thus—while I have [on account of *Hermann und Dorothea*] reason to meditate the nature of the Epic Poem—I am led [by sympathy with friends] to be attentive also to Tragedy, whereby many remarkable relations come to be discussed. Besides, the presence of the younger Humboldt—sufficient in itself to fill a whole life with interest—brings into activity all [in me] that can only be of importance with regard to Chemistry or Physics or Physiology, so that I often find it very hard to return to my circle. If you only add that Fichte begins to publish in the *Philosophical Journal* a new exposition of his theory of the sciences, and that when I live amid a set of people of speculative tendencies I cannot avoid taking at least a general interest in this, you will easily perceive that it is often hard to tell where one's head is, particularly when rich suppers shorten the night and do not favour the moderation so needful for studies." Plastic art alone was absent from their discussions, though not absent from Goethe's thoughts; he often longed to be with Meyer in Italy, to find new life and refreshing in the contemplation of the many glorious forms.¹

On March 31, 1797, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by the brothers von Humboldt. With both he had a great deal of intercourse; and with Wilhelm von Humboldt held a prosodic court of justice on the later cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea*.² On Easter Monday, April 17, 1797, the first four cantos went to the printer. Already he was attracted by a third perfectly different subject, the Journey of the Children of Israel in the Desert. He studied the Books of Moses to discriminate the original tradition of this journey from later additions.³ Writing on April 19, 1797, he tells Schiller that he is studying the Bible and Homer, and while so doing the most wonderful light has dawned on him as to the nature of epos. Thus he was again

¹ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 18, 1797.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, April 8, 1797.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 12, April 15, 1797.—TR.

brought to consider his second epic poem,¹ and he sketched its plot. In the last week of April 1797 came news of the conclusion of peace, which calmed and cheered him, notwithstanding the heavy sacrifices that bought the peace. He felt very happy in his home affairs.² His little August was now being taught by a certain young Eissert under the superintendence of Professor Kästner.³ His only source of anxiety was news that Meyer was in bad health. He writes to Meyer on May 8, 1797, that he, Goethe, will probably go to Frankfurt in July, and will probably go thence to Italy. He therefore begs Meyer to stay where he is, but if he must return to Switzerland for the sake of his health let him write to Goethe where to meet him. On the 19th or 20th of May 1797,⁴ Goethe hastened to Jena, hoping that there the poetic mood would return and enable him to complete his epic. The four weeks then spent in communion with Schiller are memorable in the history of German Literature. *Hermann und Dorothea* was perfected, and in the finest of all rivalries the two great poets produced a whole group of noble poems. The most important among these poems were ballads, and it was Goethe who first led Schiller to this kind of poetry.⁵

On June 16, 1797, Goethe returned to Weimar suddenly. He then spent a restless, unsatisfactory time. The Duke had written on June 13 begging that Goethe would await his return, which could not take place before the beginning of July. And Goethe had not made up his mind whether his own projected journey should be a long or short one. At length, on July 7, 1797, came a letter with the welcome news from Meyer that he had returned to his home in Switzerland. Goethe writes to Meyer on July 7 that it does not matter about

¹ This poem *Die Jagd* was never written. See Eckermann, January 15, 18, 29, 1827.—TR.

² See the elegiac poem *Der neue Pausias und sein Blumenmädchen*, which was probably in hand by this time.—TR.

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein, April 26, 1797.—TR.

⁴ See Düntzer, *Goethe u. Karl August*, ii. 215 (top and footnote).—TR.

⁵ During the four weeks May 19—June 16, 1797, Goethe completed *Der neue Pausias*, wrote the ballads *Der Schatzgräber* (May 21-23), *Die Braut von Korinth* (June 4-6), *Der Gott und die Bajadere* (June 7-9), the lyric *An Mignon* ("Ueber Thal und Fluss getragen"). See Goethe's letters to Schiller during this period, and *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*; *Erläutert von Heinrich Düntzer*, Band i. S. 242-245. Schiller's first ballad, *Der Taucher*, was begun June 5, finished June 14, 1797.—TR.

that plan of theirs. "Care only for your health, and arrange what you have collected according to your own pleasure. . . . I am going immediately to Frankfurt *with my family to introduce them to my mother*, and after a short stay I will send them home and come to seek you on the shore of the beautiful lake."

Meanwhile Goethe, after "attacking many things and doing nothing,"¹ had made up his mind to grapple with the greatest of his unfinished labours, with *Faust*.² On July 1 he tells Schiller that he has advanced with good speed as to the scheme and general oversight of the poem. But his Roman friend, Aloys Hirt, who had been summoned to a professorship in Berlin, arrived in Weimar just then, and *Faust* was laid aside for a time; "the northern phantoms have been driven back by memories of the south."³ Hirt led Goethe's thoughts to architecture, and discussion of an essay of Hirt's on the *Laokoon* caused Goethe to put together his old thoughts on the group.⁴ By Goethe's urgent invitation Schiller came to Weimar (July 11-18), and the friends talked over all that was near to their hearts, and besides had a great deal of intercourse with Hirt and Böttiger.⁵

At this time Goethe entertained the design of getting a more becoming theatre substituted for the miserable structure of wood at Lauchstedt. The first thing needful was the permission of the Elector of Saxony, in whose territory Lauchstedt was situated. The hopeless condition of his beloved actress, Christiane Becker, grieved him; she was now plainly in consumption; her acting must cease for ever. Schiller had been gone a week when the Duke at length, on July 25, 1797, arrived in Weimar.⁶ Goethe had many things to discuss with him, the chief, perhaps, the building of the new castle. So it was not until the fifth day (July 30) from the

¹ Goethe to Schiller, June 21, 1797.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, June 22, 1797.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 5, 1797.—TR.

⁴ On July 14, 1797, Goethe sends Meyer an essay on the *Laokoon*. And see p. 125.—TR.

⁵ Goethe had it in mind at the time to write a ballad on *The Cranes of Ibycus*. So we have seen him dally with the subject *Hero and Leander*, and soon we shall find him struck with the legend of *William Tell*.—TR.

⁶ Marianne Meyer came to Weimar about this time. Goethe in a letter to Schiller (July 26, 1797) regrets that she had not come a few days earlier:—"I should have liked you to know this singular being."—TR.

Duke's arrival that he started with Christiane and August for his native city.¹

When, after four days spent on the way, they arrived in Frankfurt, the Frau Rath greeted with a very joyous welcome her Wolf, her daughter-in-law, and her grandson. All Goethe's friends, older and younger, were very glad to see him. During his stay he paid remarkable attention to the theatre, to the inner circumstances of his mother city, and to the prevailing public feeling. Before leaving Frankfurt he renounced the journey to Italy; the political condition of that country just then was hateful to him.²

On August 25, 1797, he took leave of his mother, whom he never saw again. He travelled by Heidelberg, Heilbronn, and Ludwigsburg, and arrived in Stuttgart on August 29, 1797. He stayed there nine days, chiefly occupied with the theatre and with plastic art. With the young professor, Nikolaus von Thouret, Goethe thoroughly discussed the subject of ornament in relation to castles, having the new castle at Weimar in his mind. He sent to the Duke reports which enter minutely into detail, and evidence the most exact and many-sided observation. On August 31, 1797, he tells Schiller that he has thought of a new *genre* of poetry, *Conversations in Lyrics*.³ On the 7th of September Goethe left Stuttgart and came to Tübingen, where he stayed until the 16th. On the evening of September 17 he arrived at Schaffhausen. The Rhine Falls were studied with great reverence and care.⁴ To Schiller, from Stäfa on September 25, 1797, Goethe writes:—"I had almost forgotten to say that the line—'*es wallet und siedet, und brauset, und zischt*' [from Schiller's ballad *Der Taucher*] has at the Rhine Falls signally proved its rightness."⁵ On September

¹ For the history of the following journey see in Goethe's Works—*Aus einer Reise in die Schweiz . . . im Jahre 1797*. Before starting Goethe burnt the letters of the last twenty years (*Tag- und Jahres-Hefte, 1797*), only excepting those that came from his most intimate friends. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 221.—TR.

² On August 10 he writes to Knebel:—"I have no desire towards Italy; I do not wish to observe the caterpillars and chrysalids of freedom; I had far rather see the French butterflies."—TR.

³ During his journey Goethe composed three poems, which are specimens of this *genre*: *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin*, *Der Jungesell und der Mühlbach*, and *Der Müllerin Reue*.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe's *Reise in die Schweiz*, September 18, 1797.—TR.

⁵ Schiller replies on October 6, 1797:—"It is no small delight that,

19, 1797, an ivy-entwined apple-tree on the way from Schaffhausen to Jestetten originated in Goethe's mind the elegy *Amyntas*. Goethe arrived in Zürich on the evening of September 19, and went to the inn by the lake which he had known so long; he visited no one in Zürich. In the afternoon of September 20 Meyer came, and on the following day Goethe and Meyer sailed in bright pleasant weather up the lake to Stäfa, Meyer's home. Here Goethe spent some days examining his friend's collections, which gave occasion to the most searching talk upon the current rhetorical style of books of travel, and on the necessity of fixing some terminology for describing works of art. On September 28, 1797, Goethe set out in Meyer's company on a short tour through the mountains. The grand impression which the scenery of the Lake of the Four Forest Cantons had made in former years¹ was renewed. The Hospice on the Gotthard Pass was the turning-point of the excursion, which terminated with their return to Stäfa on October 8. It was a time of immense happiness, disturbed only by the sad news that Christiane Becker, of whom Goethe had been so proud and fond, had died on September 22, 1797. His grief was not the less deep because her death had been long expected. He afterwards wrought out a noble elegy in honour of her memory.

Meanwhile *Hermann und Dorothea* had been published, and had charmed all readers, as nothing of Goethe's had done since the appearance of *Werther* in 1774; for, like *Werther*, it was a perfect work of art.² And now Goethe had found a new epic material on this his third and last Swiss journey; the fine popular legend of Wilhelm Tell was eagerly studied and carefully considered during his stay in Stäfa after the

according to your observation, my description of the whirlpool agrees with the phenomenon. I have never had the power of studying this manifestation of Nature except in the water near a mill, but I have studied Homer's description of Charybdis minutely, and this has perhaps kept me true to reality."—TR.

¹ Goethe had seen Luzern Lake twice before, with Passavant in June 1775, and with the Duke in November 1779. See pp. 230, 301 (*foot-note*).—TR.

² To explain the popularity of a poem we must not, however, look to its perfection as a work of art. The people, Goethe himself testifies, look always to matter not to form in literature. *Werther* was popular because of its subject rather than because of the treatment; *Iphigenie*, perfect also, was unpopular because of its subject,—TR.

excursion in the Lesser Cantons. At length the case arrived which contained Meyer's copy of the celebrated painting, the Aldobrandini Marriage. Thus all Meyer's treasures were safe gathered together, and on October 21, 1797, our remarkable pair of friends could set out on their journey to Weimar,¹ where, in alliance with Schiller, they would devote themselves to the pure service of true Art. In the old German city of Nürnberg they lingered nine days (November 6-15). At midday on November 20 they arrived in Jena, and spent a few hours with Schiller, who, to Goethe's joy, had made up his mind to spend the winter in Weimar, hoping profit for his *Wallenstein* in daily familiarity with the theatre. On the evening of the same day the house in the *Frauenplan* was the witness of a very loving and joyful welcome.

¹ On their return they stayed a few days (October 22-25) in Zürich. Goethe did not visit Lavater. On February 17, 1829, he tells Eckermann that he had last seen Lavater when in Zürich. Lavater had not recognised him, because he was in disguise. This was probably in September 1797.
—TR.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY TO THE DANGEROUS ILLNESS
OF 1801—A TIME OF GREAT LABOUR, IN UNION WITH
SCHILLER, FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE THEATRE AND OF
THE CONCEPTION OF ART IN GERMANY.

NOVEMBER 1797—JANUARY 1801.

FOR some time after his return from Switzerland Goethe found it impossible to labour steadily at anything. One cause of this was the after excitement of the journey, a second was that familiar cause—excess of business. The old enumeration will serve—there was the theatre (now really getting on well), the *Redoutes*, the building of the castle, and new improvements in the park. He was occupied with plans of all kinds, one being an epic poem on the Death of Achilles; but none of them was carried out, and his only important systematic labour during this winter was the exposition of the Theory of Colour and of its history, in which he was encouraged by the earnest sympathy of Meyer and Schiller. For the birthday *Redoute* of the Duchess (Jan. 26) he arranged a masquerade on the apposite theme, Peace; six young ladies and six children had to be suitably equipped and trained. Fräulein-Wolfskeel, who represented Peace, spoke the noble expository stanzas written by Goethe.¹ Schiller had, on account of his health, to put off until March his coming to Weimar.

Towards the end of February 1798 Goethe received into his charge the library of Jena and the ducal collection of coins, *Geheimerath* Schnauss, their former keeper, having died in December 1797. Goethe now succeeded in having Thouret

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 299.—TR.

summoned to superintend the building of the castle. During his Swiss journey they had, to his annoyance, applied to a Leipzig architect. Meyer was working hard in setting forth their views on plastic art.¹

In the early part of March 1798 Goethe was kept in great anxiety for a time by a purchase of some property that he had had in mind since last year. The place was a freehold property (*Freigut*) at the friendly parochial village Oberrossla, on the right bank of the Ilm. It was about a league from Osmannstedt, where Wieland had taken up his abode in April 1797, in a manor property (*Rittergut*) that he had bought.² Goethe concluded his purchase on March 10, 1798; the price was 14,000 thalers, of which 6000 were to be paid down. He had not seen the property himself, and probably depended on the judgment of his faithful Seidel, who, as district-steward of finance (*Rentamtman*), would know the circumstances minutely. When Goethe visited Oberrossla on March 11 he saw that he had made a pretty good purchase, though the price seemed too high considering the yield of the place hitherto. But what Goethe really wanted was a pleasant country residence for himself and his family. This incident was a fine opportunity for Weimar gossip. Some said, part of the money he has from his writings, part from his mother; others said, the price was too high, he has been compelled to this purchase because through his relation to Christiane his social position is so unpleasant.³ Precisely at this time, however, Goethe began to receive in Weimar, and though he felt how unseemly it was that his wife could not be the hostess in his house, he managed matters so that his guests were at their ease. On the evening of February 20, 1798, he had a party to meet the Swedish Secretary of Legation, von Brinkmann, who was known as a German poet. Von Brinkmann was seated with Frau von Wolzogen on one side, and on the other Amalia von Imhof, a lady gifted both as poet and artist.

Not until March 18 did Goethe find it possible to leave Weimar. He stayed three weeks in Jena. The first three acts of *Wallenstein* were read to him; he thought them excellent,

¹ Goethe to Schiller, March 3, 1798.—Tr.

² See on this Goethe's letter to Schiller, June 21, 1797.—Tr.

³ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii, 243.—Tr.

in some passages "astonishing;" still to make the play fit for the limited German stage, a "cruel shears" must work upon it. Schröder as the hero would be, Goethe thought, the noblest possibility of a German theatre.¹ His own two epic plans² were talked over with Schiller. And for the *Musen-almanach*, the *Weissagungen des Bakis*, intended to excite the curiosity of a riddle-loving world, were begun,³ while the elegy on Christiane Becker was considered. Goethe wished moreover to have a monument erected to her memory;⁴ to be paid for by voluntary contributions and by the proceeds of a representation at the theatre. As for the work on Art that Goethe and Meyer had planned, Schiller too thought of taking part in it. It should consist of detached treatises on Art issued in four small octavo volumes, and they would append a complete imprint of Goethe's translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, with notes elucidating the history of politics and art in Italy in Cellini's time.

Goethe returned to Weimar on April 6, 1798. Beside the various familiar official toils and distractions, he had on hand the preparations for the coming of Iffland, who had promised to play in Weimar if his expenses were paid.⁵ At this time Goethe took up his *Faust*, and found it possible to advance with it.⁶ Meyer was to make outline sketches in Indian ink on grayish brown paper for this "barbarian composition"⁷ (barbarian contrasted with his Greek epic material the *Achilleïs*), the outlines to be set off afterwards with the brush. Now, too, Goethe took out the *camera obscura* again and other apparatus for the study of colour.

Schiller's ailing condition prevented him from coming to Weimar during Iffland's eleven days' stay,⁸ and Charlotte

¹ See all this about *Wallenstein* in Goethe's letter to Heinrich Meyer, Jena, March 23, 1798.—TR.

² A *Wilhelm Tell* and an *Achilleïs*.—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 528.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 23, 1798.—TR.

⁵ "I ask for no honorarium whatever. What I see and feel there is the noblest honorarium." Iffland's letter to Kirms, March 30, 1798. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 245.—TR.

⁶ Goethe's letters to Charlotte Schiller, April 14, 18, 21, 1798. During Schiller's illness Charlotte wrote to Goethe, and received letters from him. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 246.—TR.

⁷ Goethe to Schiller, April 29, 1798.—TR.

⁸ April 24-May 4, 1798.—TR.

Schiller saw only the performance of May 3. Iffland could not play *Egmont* because, to Goethe's annoyance, he had forgotten the words. During this delightful little dramatic season Goethe gave a series of *déjeuners* at his own expense, to which Iffland, with his ugly wife, and between twenty and thirty of the people of most consequence, were invited. Charlotte von Stein was at the first of the series, and all the royal personages of Weimar, the Hereditary Prince of Gotha and many ladies. Fräulein von Wolfskeel was asked to the *déjeuner* that fell on her birthday, the 1st of May.

Goethe had hoped to get away to Jena soon after Iffland's performances had come to a close. But it was needful that he should await the coming of Thouret, who delayed longer than had been expected. In this time of suspense *Faust* was laid aside for the *Achilleïs*.¹ At length (May 20, 1798) Goethe hastens with August to Jena. Karl von Stein, and his bride, and three other couples, were to be married in Charlotte von Stein's house on that day, and Goethe wished to avoid being present. His August had a dear play-mate in Schiller's boy Karl, who was very proud of a gay little hunter costume. Goethe spent most of the evenings of this stay in Schiller's garden. After consultation with Schiller, he wrote for the bookseller Cotta an exact account of the purpose of the work which he and Meyer meant to bring out. It should consist of the speculations on Nature and Art, of friends whose minds were in harmony; (in "Nature" he was at the moment only thinking of the Theory of Light and Colour.)

Before the close of May 1798 the arrival of Thouret drew Goethe back to Weimar. But June 4 saw him again with Schiller for a stay of two weeks and a half. At first articles for the new work occupied him; then, as he had to provide for the *Musenalmanach*, he worked on lyric poetry. Between June 13 and June 17 he completed the Elegy on Christiane Becker (*Euphrosyne*), *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, *Das Blümlein Wunderschön*, *Der Müllerin Verrath*, *Die Musageten*, *Deutscher Parnass*. And during this period he grew interested in experiments in magnetism. On June 21, 1798, he went to Oberrossla to take possession of his new

¹ Goethe to Knebel, May 5, 1798; Goethe to Schiller, May 12, 1798.—TR.

property, and to induct the new tenant. He had meant to return to Jena, but was summoned unexpectedly by business to Weimar. Here, during the last week of June 1798 and the early part of July, and during another short stay in Jena (July 4-11), his projected epic *Wilhelm Tell* was closely thought over. Then he was fully occupied by the matter of rebuilding Weimar Theatre, and by the new work undertaken by Cotta. They had decided to give it the name *Die Propyläen*,¹ significant of its purpose. On July 25, 1798, Goethe's noble Introduction to *Die Propyläen* was sent to Cotta.

Meanwhile Goethe's interest in magnetism had not died. On July 14, 1798, the pieces of iron cast in Ilmenau by his directions have arrived in Weimar. The experiments for which he wanted them have turned out as he expected, and a few new phenomena of which he had not thought, very remarkable ones. He draws up a scheme of all effects due to polarity.² (The presence in Weimar of the Dutch physicist, von Marum, is a great help to him.) And he is successful in an endeavour to imitate wood engraving with copper.³ The pleasure of these successes was marred by the Duke's re-entering the Prussian service, a step by no means likely to benefit Weimar.

In the beginning of August 1798, Goethe being again in Jena, Schiller read to him the two powerful last Acts of *Wallenstein* so far as they were yet complete. But Goethe did not believe that these would be of use for the stage within any short time; and he planned to write "a kind of fore-piece and a prologue" for the opening of the new Weimar Theatre.⁴ Schiller had now to get the *Musen Almanach* ready, and only when, this labour over, he came to Weimar on September 10, 1798, did Goethe succeed in moving him to give *Wallenstein's Lager* for the needed fore-piece, and to make of *Wallenstein* itself two distinct plays. And still it was with great difficulty that the fore-piece, and the prologue (also undertaken by Schiller) were obtained in time. The opening performance was fixed for October 12, 1798.

¹ See Schiller to Goethe, June 28, 1798.

² Goethe to Schiller, July 14, 1798.—TR.

³ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, June 15, 1798. Goethe to Schiller, July 21, 1798.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Kirms, August 14, 1798.—TR.

Very toilsome for Goethe were the days preceding this. But he had a great reward. His new theatre and Schiller's forepiece were universally praised. The admirably spoken prologue and the fresh life and movement of the *Lager* charmed all. Never probably before or since has one poet expended so much sympathy and enthusiasm in bringing on the stage the work of another. And now at any cost the first part of the Tragedy of *Wallenstein* must be ready for the next birthday of the Duchess, that Schiller's triumph might be full. From Schiller's dramatic labours Goethe expected the very highest result. For Schiller would continue to advance with all the endurance of his strong nature on the path which had proved such a happy one. Goethe himself had indeed a great part in this.

On October 14, 1798, the two poets went to Jena together. Thence Goethe sent to Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* a notice of the late opening of the theatre,¹ designing to forestall Böttiger, who was very fond of communicating news in all directions. After about a week's stay Goethe left Jena, having to prepare for the first *Redoute* of the season, which was to take place on October 26 in the theatre. At the same time he began anew to work passionately on his Theory of Colour, and resolved not to desist until he was quite done with it.² Schiller's praise of the first number of *Die Propyläen* gave him keen pleasure. Through *Die Propyläen* Goethe hoped to work for ideal Plastic Art, as Schiller worked for the Drama. But the periodical would be also a real good to himself, for it would compel him to give expression to ideas and experiences that he had long borne about with him.³ In the first week of November 1798 Goethe had to spend a few days in Oberrossla, during which he considered the whole Theory of Colour. On the 11th of November began a long visit to Jena, and the same subject occupied his thoughts. Of course Schiller and he talked a great deal about *Die Piccolomini*, to finish which was so pressingly needful. For *Die Propyläen* Goethe was preparing the important letters *Der Sammler und die Seinigen* in the novel form. On November 29, 1798, the Duke wrote to Goethe that Count Friess and Lerse (Goethe's

¹ See this reprinted, Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 630.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, October 31, November 7, 1798.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, October 31, 1798.—TR.

honest Strassburg friend of old times) had come to Weimar; their visit was partly to the Court. Goethe returned to Weimar on the evening of the 29th.

Lerse, after having with Pfeffel conducted the Military School in Colmar, had in the Revolution times been for two years Commandant of the *Garde Nationale* there; but finding no satisfaction in this, turned to the labour of collecting the scattered Archives and Monastery Libraries of Colmar, and had shown therein remarkable patience, skill, and knowledge. After this Count Friess (the Viennese connoisseur and collector whom Goethe met in Rome) had chosen Lerser for his son's companion. Lerser in this capacity spent two years in Leipzig, and was now a man of wide learning in art and antiquities. In Numismatics especially he was well versed, witness his criticism of the works of Eckhel and Sestini. To meet again this dear friend, direct and honest as of old, and to call to mind with him the happy youthful days, must have been a rare joy to Goethe.

December was generally a bad month with Goethe, and in the December of 1798, his time was miserably wasted by "polypus-like"¹ tasks. On December 24 he had the pleasure of hearing from Schiller that a copy of *Die Piccolomini* had been sent to Iffland, and also that in the course of the week the transcript of the play for the Weimar Theatre would be properly finished. At Schiller's wish Goethe had ere this arranged that when he came to Weimar to look after the rehearsal of his play, he should have the rooms in the Castle lately occupied by Thouret. (Thouret, having quarrelled with Wolzogen, Schiller's brother-in-law, had left Weimar.) After all pressing, it was only on December 31 that the copy of *Die Piccolomini* at length arrived.

While the theatre was thus moving on to a higher development, an undertaking which during twelve years had lain close to Goethe's heart had come to an unhappy close. There had been a new outbreak of the water at Ilmenau; and all hope of profitable mining was at an end; it was just possible to keep the shafts and drifts open for thoroughfare. Goethe, whose regret was deep, did not revisit Ilmenau until

¹ On July 27, 1799—it was a time of great worry—Goethe writes to Schiller:—"Business tasks are polypus-like; if you cut them into a hundred pieces each single piece becomes living again."—Tr.

fifteen years later.¹ It was in this year of misfortune, 1798, that his friend Knebel, whose marriage with a former *Kammersängerin* had rendered it impossible for him to live in Weimar, took up his abode in Ilmenau.

On New Year's Day, 1799, Goethe, wishing to keep the players in good humour on account of the great efforts before them, gave them a little breakfast. On January 4 came Schiller, in time to dine with Goethe. It was a January full of labour and enjoyment for the friends. Many social distractions enlivened the time. On January 16 there was a great dinner in honour of Schiller at Goethe's house. Herder, Voigt, Meyer, and Böttiger, and others, were present. Herder was somewhat milder at this time; he had received from *Die Propyläen* "a peculiar, pure and great attuning."² The reading-rehearsals of *Die Piccolomini* took place in Goethe's house. Schiller was too ill to attend the acting rehearsals. At length the representation on the Duchess's birthday came off, and with the greatest success: Goethe had a rich reward for the trial he endured in teaching the actors to speak the unaccustomed iambics. To Goethe's regret, the Duke's æsthetic judgment of the play (in a letter of January 31) was altogether from a French point of view: he was pleased only by "the exceedingly beautiful language," finding in the play numbers of mistakes in other respects. However, on February 1, he invited the author to come with Goethe to dinner, and he rewarded the two chief actors. The second representation (February 2, 1799) was even more successful than the first. Goethe was not at it, being too weary after the birthday *Redoute*. "It may be considered," he writes, "what, after a pause, can be done to urge the third representation further."³

On February 6, 1799, Goethe accompanied his friend to Jena and remained three weeks there, working on the Theory of Colour, and engaged in all sorts of business, the most important matter being the threatening ice-choke. As to Schiller's alterations in *Die Piccolomini*, and the third piece

¹ August, 1813.—TR.

² "Eine eigene reine und grosse Stimmung." Knebel's *Nachlass*, ii. 276. See also in this connection, Goethe to Knebel, March 22, 1799.—Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 273, 275.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, February 3, 1799.—TR.

that was gradually forming, he showed the old cordial fruitful sympathy. At the end of February he returned to Weimar.

In the gloomy distracted winter days he was not happy. "It is very strange," he writes on March 6, 1799, to Schiller, "that my position, which, speaking generally, could not be more favourable, is very much in opposition to my nature." Schiller exhorted him to courage and cheerfulness, and Goethe turned again to the *Achilleïs*, which he hoped to finish by the end of September.¹ When he receives the concluding acts of *Wallensteins Tod*, sent to him on March 17, 1799, he congratulates his friend heartily; as for his own work, "extorted by violence from the Muses,"² he does not yet know whether it will be worth anything. He clings with ardour to the thought of working for the elevation of Plastic Art; thinks about prize tasks for painters and sculptors, in which the principles set forth in *Die Propyläen* shall find practical illustration. The Duke intimated that as the competing works were to appear in the Weimar Art Exhibition, he was prepared to pay the greater part of the thirty ducats to which the prizes would amount.

On March 21, 1799, Goethe, in order to gain freedom for the *Achilleïs*, went to Jena. Here he learned with pleasure that Schiller, in order to develop a new tragic material, would not for a time write any lyrical poetry, and instead of producing the *Musenalmanach* for the year, would edit a poem by his young friend Fräulein von Imhof, *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*.³ Goethe even relieved Schiller of the trouble of reading this poem through, and planned to write an introductory elegy to heighten its effect.⁴ The completion (April 2) of the first canto of the *Achilleïs* filled him with courage. But alas! when he made a short pause in order to assure himself exactly as to the "motives" next to be developed, his glow of inspiration chilled, the poem stood still.

During the winter 1798-9 an affair had been going on which, though altogether unconnected with poetry or the

¹ Goethe to Schiller, March 9, 1799.—TR.

² "Den Musen abgetrotzte," Goethe to Schiller [March 18, 1799].—TR.

³ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 21, 1799. Schiller's new tragic material was *Die feindlichen Brüder*, afterwards *Die Braut von Messina*.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 27, 1799.—TR.

drama, interested Goethe and Schiller very much. In December 1798 the Elector of Saxony had written to the Duke of Weimar touching certain articles in a number of Fichte's *Philosophisches Journal* which savoured of atheism. The Elector begged that the authors and editors of these articles might be made responsible, and pointed out that otherwise it might be "Our" unpleasant duty to forbid the children of "Our" state to resort to Jena University and the *Gymnasien* of the Duchy Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. Before Fichte knew that any such request had reached the Duke, he had printed a pamphlet defending himself conclusively against the charge of atheism. So far, of course, his action was perfectly justifiable. But many of his subsequent words and acts were rather those of a hot, indiscreet man than of one concerned chiefly about Truth and Liberty of Speculation. The Weimar Government was very anxious to befriend him, but he seemed unable to believe this, and at length threatened that if he were censured he would resign, and that some of his friends who thought as he did were resolved to follow him. This of course precipitated matters. Fichte was censured and his resignation was accepted March 1799.¹

On April 10, 1799, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by Schiller; on the two following days the rehearsals of the trilogy *Wallenstein* took place, and the three pieces were publicly represented, *Wallensteins Lager* on April 15, the *Piccolomini* on April 17, and *Wallensteins Tod* on April 20, 1799. Even the most insensible spectators were stirred to enthusiasm by *Wallensteins Tod*. Goethe's heart was full of joy in this the first decisive success of his dear friend and brother-poet, "who has opened new paths for author and actor by his ideal Drama."

We find him again in Jena from May 1 to May 27, 1799. He has a carriage of his own with him, in which he daily goes out driving with Schiller. Enabled by his friend's active sympathy, he completed by May 12 the group of letters entitled *Der Sammler und die Seinigen*, which were intended to gain for the *Propyläen* the interest of a wider public. Schiller had ere this begun printing a collection of his poems. Now Goethe, too, resolved to publish the lyrical poems of his

¹ Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, Theil ii. 278-280, 285, 287, 290-293. Düntzer, *Aus Goethes Freundeskreise*, 396-408.—TR.

later years as the seventh volume of his *Neue Schriften*; those written in elegiac form he meant to submit to sharp prosodic scrutiny. Schiller undertook to get the publisher Unger to introduce the matter and ask for the poems.

When Goethe returned to Weimar the pressure of business prevented him from doing steady connected work. Revising the poem of Amalia von Imhof according to the standard of a more searching criticism gave him a great deal of trouble. Meanwhile Meyer had finished his beautiful design for a monument to Christiane Becker; its execution was entrusted to the Gotha sculptor Döll. On June 8, 1799, Goethe went with his wife and child to Oberrossla. So urgently did his own affairs there claim him that he excused himself when the Duchess summoned him to Weimar to renew old acquaintance with the Prussian Minister von Haugwitz, the companion of the Stolbergs on the Swiss journey of 1775. Soon after, however, Goethe had to return. The Duke had invited the King of Prussia when visiting Erfurt to come to Weimar, which was by no means prepared for a royal visit, as the ducal family were themselves living very economically. How unwelcome the prospect of this visit was may be read in Goethe's letters to Schiller. "External circumstance makes our existence and plunders our existence at the same time," he writes on June 19, 1799, "nevertheless it is a man's concern to see that, things being so, he yet comes through; for to isolate one's self entirely as Wieland has done, is not to be counselled."

About this time, too, Goethe was again wearied by his eccentric fellow-townsmen Johann Isaak Gerning. Gerning, a son of the famous entomologist, was born in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1767. When in 1790 the King and Queen of Naples, on the occasion of the coronation at Frankfurt, had stopped at the house of Gerning's father, they had taken so great a liking for the young fellow, then twenty-three, that they invited him to Naples. When he went there in 1794 the Queen was said to have treated him like a son. Radiant in the distinction of this favour, he came in the autumn of 1794 to Weimar and Jena, thinking that his acquaintance with the Neapolitan royal pair, his being Goethe's fellow-townsmen, and his gift for poetry, would procure him the best treatment. He gained the *entrée* at the houses of the Duchess

Amalia, of the Weimar celebrities, and of the good Knebel. Goethe was rather cold; he saw that the new-comer was designing, and really not worth much. Gerning attended lectures in Jena during the winter 1794-5. Afterwards he sent contributions of verse to *Musenalmannachs* and monthlies, Schiller and Wieland being among the editors thus made happy. When in the summer of 1797 he was about to visit Italy, he offered himself to Goethe as a travelling companion; Goethe could politely avoid this, being unable at the time to decide about his own journey. Gerning was now back again and had been paying Knebel a visit in Ilmenau. From Knebel he came to Goethe as to a brother-poet! To him that remark refers in Goethe's letter to Schiller, June 22, 1799:—"I have lately had a dilettante in poetry with me, who would have brought me to desperation had I not been in the mood to contemplate him as a contribution to Natural History, to gain once for all a right objective notion of the species." This dilettantism in poetry was precisely the evil that the two great allies were combating with all their powers.¹ A better reception than Goethe's was found by Gerning with Herder.

On June 30, 1799, Schiller came to Weimar to be present at the performance of *Wallensteins Tod*, which the King of Prussia had desired to hear when given his choice by the Duke. (Schiller was by this time at work on *Maria Stuart*.) After levée at Court on July 2 all went to the theatre. *Wallensteins Tod* had a great success. Schiller was summoned to the royal box, and the King praised the piece; and the Queen talked for a long time with both Schiller and Herder. We do not hear that Goethe rejoiced in any special mark of favour. The Queen's disposition towards him was not friendly, nor was his external appearance at this time remarkably engaging; he had grown much too stout. Yet the Queen loved and honoured Goethe's mother, with whom she had stayed in the coronation time in 1790,² and to whom four years later (1803) she gave a golden necklace. It was only in subsequent trouble-darkened days that the Queen felt the power of the tragedy and pathos of *Wilhelm Meister*.³ That the sun of royal favour shone

¹ See, beside Goethe's and Schiller's letters at this time, the scheme in Goethe's *Works* of an Essay *Ueber den sogenannten Dilettantismus*.—TR.

² See Düntzer's *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, 530-532.—TR.

³ See Carlyle's Essay on Goethe, and its quotation from *Kunst und Alterthum* for 1824.—TR.

not on him was a matter of small concern to Goethe ; did not his friend profit by its rays ? Schiller was now recognised as the first of German dramatists, and Goethe was happy.

But how discouraging just at this time was Cotta's announcement that he had sold hardly 450 copies of the *Propyläen*, being already at a loss of 2500 gulden by it ! Goethe concealed this from Schiller in order not to trouble the pleasure of the days of his success. When Schiller on his return to Jena read in a letter of Cotta's how far from prosperous was the undertaking by which the friends had hoped to work some reformation, he was passionately stirred to think of the "unheard-of pitifulness"¹ of the public—much more than Goethe, who only felt a deep regret that noble seed had fallen on unreceptive soil. And though he strove for a time so to arrange that continuation might be possible,² the enthusiastic confidence of the beginning was gone.

And now he could not get away to Jena. The betrothal of the Hereditary Prince to a Russian princess having been planned, the Duke desired to get the Castle finished as soon as possible, and he believed Goethe's presence in Weimar to be necessary.³ The poet was low-spirited and disquieted to think how the precious time was passing without durable results. He writes moodily to Schiller on July 27, 1799 :—
 "Our latest experiences have convinced me anew that men desire, not any kind of genuine theoretic insight, but phrases by which their mode of thinking and acting may acquire some seeming."⁴ In such a state of intellectual "debasement" he was able to meet with calm composure, nay, even with perfect friendliness, his old friend Mama Laroche, who with her grandchildren (two daughters of poor little Max Brentano, who was now dead six years) had come (July 15) to visit Wieland in Osmannstedt. Goethe met Frau von Laroche first at Tiefurt, then when staying for a short time at Oberrossla went over to Osmannstedt to see her, and finally invited her and her

¹ Schiller to Goethe, July 5, 1799.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, July 10, 1799.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 9, 1799.—TR.

⁴ He goes on as follows :—"A few friends who visited our collection, the presence of our old friend [Frau von Laroche], and, above all, the amateur theatre lately constituted, have given me terrible examples of that truth, and the walls which I have already drawn round my existence shall now be carried a couple of feet higher."—TR.

granddaughters to dine at his house on July 26, 1799. The good old friend, who could now be nothing to Goethe, was as it were intoxicated by the delightfulness of this "sentimental dinner."¹ And reading her minute account of the entertainment, it must be acknowledged that the whole was admirably thought out with the design of lifting her to the third heaven of happiness. The company was sentimental; Wieland was there, and Charlotte von Stein, and Caroline von Wolzogen, and Amalia von Imhof. And at the end—while soft music came in from the garden through the beautiful shrubs—appeared an *Amorino*, no other than Goethe's nine-year-old August.² On the preceding day, July 25,³ Goethe had had the poets, Tieck, Hardenberg [Novalis], and A. W. Schlegel, to dinner. The "trippers and askers" who swarmed round the great poet in his later years reported him cold and haughty, but to genuine merit he was open and friendly as ever.

Goethe had hoped that he could at any rate get away to Jena on July 27 or 28. But he had to await the return of the Duke and Voigt, and his hope proved vain. In order to escape the bustle and noise of his house in the town, he takes refuge at the end of July in his Garden,⁴ where he lives solitary, having sent Christiane and August to Jena. August, like Wilhelm Meister's Felix, showed much readiness in writing, in languages, and in all objective acquirements (*zu allem was angeschaut werden muss*), and had moreover a good memory. Goethe desired only to develop what really lay in him, and to secure accuracy and thoroughness in what he did learn.⁵

In his garden solitude Goethe now spent six happy and industrious weeks. He wrote the *Erste Walpurgisnacht*, a

¹ Charlotte Schiller, ii. 337. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

² Frau von Laroche's account is quoted at length in Düntzer's *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, pp. 548-550.—TR.

³ Düntzer observes that the letter No. 633 in Goethe's and Schiller's published correspondence is misdated July 24, 1799. It should be July 25. Tieck directed Goethe's attention to Ben Jonson, urging him to read *Volpone*.—TR.

⁴ The trees and shrubs sown twenty years before had now grown so much as almost to deprive the house of light and air. "Thus does it often happen," remarks Goethe, "our own wishes grow over our heads."—TR.

⁵ These details about August are from Goethe's letter to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

ballad of a peculiar kind—dramatic in form, and intended to be set to music ; laboured at collecting and revising his poems for that Seventh Volume which Unger was to publish ; continued the revising of *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*, (it had ere this been determined to publish the poem in the *Musen-almanach*) ; studied Winckelmann's life and writings ;¹ and planned to write with Meyer's aid the history of Art during the eighteenth century.² On August 21, 1799, he tells Schiller that, contrary to his custom, he has been staying up until midnight to await the moon, which he looks at through the Auch³ telescope. Meanwhile the building of the Castle went on briskly, and drew Goethe into the town several times. (He was not content with the plan.) He took a house in Weimar for Schiller, who meant to spend the winter there in order to be near the theatre. Meanwhile the number of drawings sent in to compete for the prizes offered in the spring was growing very large, and Goethe spent some time examining and discussing them with Meyer, beside arranging about exhibiting them.

The Duke's return did not, after all, release Goethe. About September 13, 1799, Schiller came to Weimar for a few days.⁴ The friends criticised the drawings together. It was at this time that Schiller received the gift of silver plate which the Duchess had resolved on as a token of gratitude after the representation of *Wallenstein* in July 1799. Now came the Duke's reply to Schiller's petition for an increase of salary to enable him to live in Weimar during the winters. The Duke added two hundred thalers to the salary, and hoped that Schiller would in future, before finishing his plays, submit them to the Weimar lovers of the drama. Here Karl August is thinking especially of himself ; he did not consider Goethe a sufficient counsel to Schiller. He had become very enthusiastic about the theatre ; this may be largely ascribed to his passion for Caroline Jagemann, the remarkable *prima donna* and actress. His partiality for the French drama may be seen in his expressing to Goethe a wish to have Voltaire's *Mahomet* on the Weimar stage.

¹ Goethe to Schiller, August 21, 1799.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

³ Auch was a Weimar mechanician. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

⁴ Schiller was returning with his family from Rudolstadt.—TR.

Schiller having returned on September 15, 1799, to Jena, Goethe followed him thither next day, intending to remain a fortnight. He went through his elegiacs and hexameters with A. W. Schlegel, and towards the end of September began at length to translate the *Mahomet*; and for the sake of this translation obtained leave of absence until the 13th of October. His intimacy with the two Schlegels, who visited him frequently, vexed many people, even Schiller was a little put out by it. Goethe visited no one¹ except Schiller and the old Ecclesiastical Privy Councillor, Griesbach (a native of Butzbach, but brought up from babyhood in Frankfurt). In the night between the 11th and 12th of October 1799 a daughter was born to Schiller; Goethe was one of the sponsors.

According to his promise Goethe returned to Weimar on October 13. There the old throng of official duties pressed in upon him, and the collectedness needful for literary labour was totally unattainable. He had half resolved to go back to Jena in the beginning of November 1799, when he received a letter from Schiller bearing word that Charlotte Schiller was dangerously ill. Goethe felt that he could be no use to Schiller in Jena, and would himself but spend the time in disquiet.² In order to divert and compose his thoughts he went with his family to Niederrossla for a few days, where he was present at the dedication of a church. There he heard from Schiller that Charlotte was growing better, was out of danger. When the fever subsided, however, the state of the sufferer's mind caused deep anxiety. Meanwhile Goethe was occupied with the report on the allotment of the drawing-prizes, and

¹ Dorothea Veit (Dorothea Mendelssohn by birth, afterwards Dorothea Schlegel) was one of those disappointed by Goethe's secluding himself. It was dreadful, she thought, to be in Jena and yet not see Goethe. See this and other details of this stay, Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 313-316.—Tr.

² Goethe to Schiller, October 26, 1799. Goethe's brother-in-law, Johann Georg Schlosser, had died on October 17, 1799. Goethe tells Schiller of this on October 23. When the French were approaching Frankfurt Schlosser was outside the walls in his garden; he found the gate nearest his garden closed, hurried to the next gate, which was a good deal farther away, and, thus heated by exercise, heated himself further by entering a warm room. From this he was summoned to the Council, where he caught cold, then fever came, and he was carried off very fast. The reader will probably care for these details of one of the old intimate Frankfurt circle, now fast dwindling.—Tr.

with the announcement of a new competition. It was a great pleasure when, in the midst of his labours, his Roman friend, the painter Bury, arrived for a visit of considerable length. The Court of Weimar gave Bury a friendly reception. On November 6 Schiller, weary of watching in the house of sickness, sought refreshment and rest in a few hours' visit to Weimar; he left his Karl behind with August Goethe. On November 7, 1799, Professor Döll came with the monument to Christiane Becker. Goethe received it and had it temporarily deposited in the Castle Yard. The Duke promised to contribute to the cost of erecting it properly.

On November 9, 1799, Goethe went to stay some weeks in Jena; "If my presence can bring no positive help," he writes to Schiller on the 8th, "the diversion of the thoughts in an enduring sorrow is at any rate always something." He succeeded during his stay in finishing the translation of the *Mahomet*. But this was not the important event of the visit. In the earlier part of it, before the *Mahomet* was finished, Goethe read the first volume of the *Mémoires historiques de Stephanie Louise de Bourbon-Conti*, lent him by Schiller. On November 18, 1799,¹ he conceived from the perusal of this book the idea of a drama, *Eugenie*, afterwards called *Die Natürliche Tochter*. In this piece Goethe hoped to free himself of the mighty material of the French Revolution. He would show the monarchy, which the crimes of king and of noblesse had destroyed, restored on the firm basis, of reverence for the liberty of the people on the part of the ruler and his ministers, and of confidence in and harmonious co-operation with the Government on the part of the people. The project lay so near his heart that he kept it secret even from Schiller. And during this visit to Jena Goethe wrote his first sonnets; they were sharp ridicule of dilettantism in Art. He was led to the sonnet-form through his intimacy with A. W. Schlegel.² On December 2, 1799, Goethe is able

¹ Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 557.—TR.

² The sonnets which Goethe wrote in 1799 have been lost. The earliest preserved sonnet of Goethe's is that which closes Scene xix. of *Was wir bringen*, written June 1802. Next in order comes the Sonnet spoken by Eugenie in *Die Natürliche Tochter*, Act ii. Scene iv., written at the close of 1802. Next comes *Das Sonnett*, now the first poem in the division of Goethe's poems headed *Epigrammatisch*; this was probably written in 1806, it appeared in the *Morgenblatt* for January 5, 1807, and

to write to Gottlieb Hufeland:—"During the three weeks of my stay here I have at last put together the scheme of the whole Theory of Colour. You know from your own experience what a great gain that is." On December 3, 1799, Schiller, with his wife, now convalescent, went to Weimar, but Goethe stayed on in Jena, where on December 6 and 7¹ he framed the plan of the first two pieces of his trilogy *Eugenie*. He left for Weimar on December 8.

When back in Weimar he used the remnants of time not devoured by business in giving his translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet* a final revision. During this winter, 1799-1800, a young student of medicine, Nikolaus Meyer of Bremen, who lodged near, spent a great deal of his time in Goethe's house. He was writing his Doctor's Dissertation, the subject—the Anatomy of the Mouse. He was welcome to the use of Goethe's anatomic collections. The investigations sometimes took place on the kitchen-hearth, to Christiane's horror! Meyer was also the good friend of Christiane and August; with Christiane he often went to dancing assemblies, a fact which was greedily pounced on by scandal. Schiller had taken up his abode in his new dwelling earlier than his wife,

soon after in a volume of Goethe's poems which he had arranged for the printer before going to Karlsbad in 1806. Then in December 1807, at Jena, he begins writing, in competition with Riemer and Zacharias Werner, the group known as the *Sonnette*. (The two sonnet-translations in Goethe's translation of Benvenuto Cellini's Life (1796) are by A. W. Schlegel.) Diintzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, iii. 244-246:—TR.

¹ Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 557. During this time Goethe heard Tieck read his *Genoveva*, and was much interested by Malone's essay on the probable order of Shakespeare's plays, by a tragedy and a comedy of Ben Jonson's, and by two of the apocryphal Shakespeare plays. (Goethe to Schiller, December 6, 1799.) During this time, too, Dorothea Veit had her desire, and met Goethe. She was out walking on November 14, 1799, with the brothers Schlegel, Caroline Schlegel, Hardenberg [Novalis] and his brother, in a public walk called "Paradise." Goethe unexpectedly appeared, seemed not to wish to meet the large party, then they executed a skilful manœuvre, half the party retired, and the Schlegels went forward with Dorothea Veit, whom Wilhelm introduced as Moses Mendelssohn's daughter. She did not mean to talk at first, but, seeing that Goethe and Schlegel were not talking, thought: "Devil take shyness! If he is bored now I am irrecoverably lost." So she immediately began to ask him about the destructive floods in the Saale; he replied, and they got on pleasantly. Of all his works his presence made her think most of *Wilhelm Meister*. See Dorothea Schlegel's Letters recently edited by Dr. Raich.—TR.

who stayed with Charlotte von Stein until December 16; he spent many of his evenings with Goethe. On December 17, 1799, Goethe at length could read *Mahomet* to Schiller, the Duke, and the Duchess. The Duke took a remarkable interest in the representation of this play, and discussed it thoroughly with Goethe. On December 18 Goethe invites Schiller's wife to his house for the first time. On December 23 a large evening party (one of his guests being Herder) assembled at his house to hear *Mahomet* read. On December 27 Schiller and Goethe dined with the Duke. We find Goethe taking a warm interest in the three first acts of *Maria Stuart*, and, though in the closing days of 1799 not very well, spending New Year's Eve in the most cordial intercourse with Schiller.

During the last year of the eighteenth century¹ the two great poets continued their labours towards the ennoblement of the German stage. Schiller not only trained the actors in his own plays, but would take Goethe's place in the rehearsals of the plays of others, sometimes, in cases of sheer necessity, in the rehearsals of operas, though he knew nothing of music. They found it impossible to exclude Kotzebue, who had come to Weimar in 1799. He stood in high favour with the Duchess Amalia, and required no payment for his plays. The first theatric task of the year was the preparation of the *Mahomet*. It demanded special care, as it was admired so much by the Duke, and was to be given on the Duchess's birthday (January 30, 1800). Schiller undertook to write a prologue, stating that the classic French Drama was here produced on the German stage not as a model for imitation, but as an example of a distinctly characterised national Form of Art. And the two friends agreed (January 6) that Shakespeare's *Macbeth* should be prepared by Schiller, and Goethe's *Iphigenie* by Goethe, for stage representation. The barometer was low, and in this kind of weather Schiller could work, while Goethe felt well only when the barometer was high. Accordingly two acts of *Macbeth* were ready by January 20, 1800, while Goethe on that day despaired of adapting *Iphigenie*. The performance of *Mahomet* on January 30, 1800, excited Goethe's enemies to extravagant abuse. However, before the performance

¹ Note how Schiller in the first letter of 1800 makes the mistake that Heine made, calling 1800 the "new century."—TR.

Goethe had written :—"To me it is indifferent, whether the piece pleases, and whatever may result from its representation. I regard it as an experiment in which author, actor, and public may learn many a good lesson."¹ The Duke had the piece repeated, and endeavoured to improve the future representations by his criticism.

Just after the middle of February 1800 Schiller had a severe illness. We find him six weeks later, on March 24, 1800, still suffering from its consequences. Goethe and Meyer visited him constantly, and showed their true and anxious sympathy. We know little of Goethe's activity during the time. On February 26 he sends the *Römische Elegien* to A. W. Schlegel to receive his final corrections.² On March 5 we find him thanking Schlegel for these corrections, the greater number of which have been adopted, and enclosing the Second Book of *Elegien*; the *Epigramme* shall follow (they did on March 20); "my present condition is as unpoetic as it is uncritical," and such aid is therefore very valuable. All desire to continue *Eugenie* flagged.³ At this time Bury finished painting a half-length portrait of Goethe, a little more than life size. Though somewhat idealised it was a very good likeness, and gained general praise. After this Bury began to paint Goethe seated, with the attributes of the stage. At length, on April 10, 1800, Goethe was able to despatch to Unger the final poems of his Seventh Volume,⁴ in the arrangement of which Schiller's sympathy had been a valuable aid.

On April 28, 1800, Goethe followed the Duke to Leipzig Fair. He had found that he must seek some refreshing influence. In Leipzig he met the celebrated metrist Hermann,⁵ and had a long talk with him; on suggesting that he should write on German metre, Hermann replied that

¹ Goethe to Knebel, January 30, 1800.—TR.

² He had spoken of sending the *Römische Elegien* to Schlegel, Jan. 1, 1800, but seems to have delayed, hoping to see Schlegel.—TR.

³ See Goethe's reference at the end of a letter to A. W. Schlegel, dated April 2, 1800, to "a work that I have begun," which Professor Düntzer (*Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 332) believes to refer to *Eugenie*.—TR.

⁴ The treasures of this wonderful volume of lyric poetry are reckoned by Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 270-274.—TR.

⁵ Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann. The name of Goethe's friend of old times was Christian Gottfried Hermann. Oeser had died before this visit to Leipzig. Goethe probably visited Friederike Oeser.—TR.

Goethe must first create German metre. Another whom he met in Leipzig was Cotta, to whom he promised text to match the caricatures of women in the *Pocket-book for Ladies*. Goethe had his Christiane and August to Leipzig also, that they might enjoy the bustle and life of the Fair, that "world in a nut."¹ They left Weimar on May 9. With them Goethe returned on May 16, 1800. Schiller was away in Ettersburg finishing *Maria Stuart*; having brought his adaptation of *Macbeth* on the stage with success, he had started the day before Goethe's return. On June 9, 1800, Schiller came back to Weimar with *Maria Stuart* finished; its rehearsals began at once. The performance on June 14 was a new triumph for Schiller. He had carried through what the Duke viewed with grave doubt, and Goethe too—he had the Holy Communion represented on the stage. In this summer died suddenly the good true Lese, to whom had come in his very last days a cordial greeting from his friend of the old Strassburg time.

For a long time Goethe felt out of tune, hardly got his contribution to Cotta's *Pocket-book* done;² he turned to *Faust*, but could not advance aright, while Schiller had already taken firm grasp of a new subject.³ At length he could bear it no more, and on July 22, 1800, suddenly made up his mind to fly to his abode in the Castle at Jena. There he had indeed some business, but not so much as to prevent literary work. On arrival he began immediately translating the last three acts of Voltaire's *Tancrède*. Of this he had already spoken to Schiller, but he now planned to make a freer adaptation, and to add a Chorus. On August 1 he "unties a small knot" in *Faust*—he discovers how to introduce *Helena*; he could do a great deal if only he had a fortnight longer in Jena, "but unfortunately I imagine myself to be needed in Weimar, and to this imagination I sacrifice my most vivid desire."⁴

He returned on August 4, 1800, and was engaged by the building of the Castle and the drawings competing for the prize, as they gradually accumulated; but literary work was

¹ Goethe to Schiller [end of April 1800].—TR.

² *Die guten Weiber*—*The good Women*—to counterbalance the caricatures of women.—TR.

³ *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, Jena, August 1, 1800.—TR.

almost impossible. So on September 3, the anniversary, so important in Goethe's life, of the Duke's birthday, he hastened back to Jena, and there succeeded in beginning *Helena*. He was visited on September 21 by Schiller and Meyer, and the allotment of the prizes was decided, and the new prize theme fixed on. Goethe read aloud the beginning of *Helena*: Schiller felt that in it breathed the lofty spirit of ancient tragedy. But Goethe was now withheld from poetry for a while by having to draw up a critical report on the drawings, by conversations on higher physics with Ritter, by conversations on philosophy with Niethammer and Friedrich Schlegel.¹ It was his way to derive from intercourse with men of eminence in any kind that which profited his own being, as from the books of great philosophers he culled the thoughts harmonising with his own. This enjoyable stay came to an end with his return to Weimar on October 4, 1800.

Goethe was now attracted by the circle of the Duchess Amalia. A comedy by Gotter, *Die stolze Vasthi*, was played in masks in the Duchess's private theatre. Goethe wrote an epilogue, an address to the Duchess.² In the epilogue he refers to "something new" which she may hear in a few days. This was his *Paläophron und Neoterpe*, a masque in which the change of century is celebrated. It was composed very rapidly, dictated to Henriette von Wolfskeel, and then rehearsed as rapidly under Goethe's guidance. When performed,³ there was no voice but praise of the author and the actors. Goethe turned ardently to the Theatre then, he resolved to publish in union with Schiller a prize theme for dramatic pieces, and to celebrate the passage from the old to the new century by a series of festal performances. The last number of the *Propyläen* (iii. 2) was now printed without indication of the resolve to publish no more.

About the middle of November 1800 Goethe again sought in Jena the rest and collectedness needful for literary work. Again men of science and philosophers claimed him, and "poor Poesy"⁴ had not her perfect rights. One of the

¹ Goethe to Schiller, September 30, 1800.—TR.

² Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 232.—TR.

³ On the Duchess Amalia's birthday, October 24, 1800. See Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, ii. 205, and the footnote.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, November 18, 1800.—TR.

philosophers was Schelling, who had returned to Jena for the winter. Goethe was drawn back to Weimar for a short time,¹ by the building of the Castle and by the Theatre. When in Jena again he at first began on *Faust*. But word came from Iffland that he would play Goethe's translation of *Tancrède* on the next Coronation Day, the 18th of January 1801. Goethe wrote to Iffland on December 16, 1800, promising to do his utmost. The piece would serve also for the birthday of the Duchess Luise, January 30, 1801. Unfortunately he had to give up the plan of a free translation and of introducing a Chorus. In order to finish his work in time he stayed on in Jena, alone in his room; only on one fine day did he go out walking. And he succeeded; on December 25, 1800, he sent the last two acts to Iffland, proposing at the same time lyric episodes for the piece. The old damp Castle was not a good December residence, and Goethe had caught a violent cold, which by the advice of a young doctor, a friend of his, he repelled with Peruvian balsam with opium and myrrhs.² Meanwhile the Duke, to the annoyance of Goethe and Schiller, had declared against their plan of celebrating the new century; he was particularly displeased that the Direction of the Theatre had not been treated with. Schiller instantly gave up all dealing in the matter.³

On December 26 Goethe returned to Weimar, bringing Schelling with him to spend the Christmas holidays in his house. They opened their minds freely to each other on nature and art. On the last day of the eighteenth century there was a *Redoute*, for which Goethe had arranged a pageant. After midnight Goethe, with Schiller, Schelling, and his enthusiastic admirer the nature philosopher Steffens,⁴ withdrew to a

¹ From about November 24 to December 12, 1800. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 349.—Tr.

² See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801. The doctor was certainly a young Harbauer. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 352.—Tr.

³ See the undated letter No. 779, in the third edition of the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Schiller* (No. 780 in the second edition).—Tr.

⁴ The Norwegian Heinrich Steffens, in his autobiography *Was ich erlebte*, tells us that in 1798 he spent a few days in Weimar as Goethe's guest. He met Goethe first in Jena at the house of the bookseller Frommann, then at Loder's. But Steffens's account is not quite correct. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 273.—Tr.

side-room, where a little later they were joined by Chr. W. Hufeland, and there they celebrated the close of the century in flowing champagne. Steffens gives an interesting account of the party :—"Goethe was unrestrained in his mirth even to excess, while Schiller grew more and more serious and delivered himself in ample doctrinaire æsthetic expositions . . . and did not let it put him out when Goethe by some brilliant objection tried to confuse him in his discourse. Schelling steadily maintained his calm bearing ; I could hardly observe any change in him. The physician Hufeland was on the eve of departure to an appointment in Berlin. He joined us somewhat later, and beloved as the excellent man was, the general dislike of Prussia was pretty freely expressed, and he very good-naturedly put up with the jokes of which he was the object."

On January 1, 1801, the century was worthily begun with the performance of Haydn's *Creation*, and of Goethe's *Iphigenie* to Gluck's music. It was on the following day that Lavater, that faithful champion of justice and order, was after long suffering set free by death.¹ On the same day Goethe was prostrated by violent illness, stated by Herder's wife to be a cold brought on by his presence at the theatre on the previous evening, and by Goethe himself² considered the result of that ill-judged treatment of the cold caught in the Castle at Jena. Erysipelas with fever and a convulsive cough were now added ; on January 5 it had become necessary to keep him in an erect posture, breathing being impossible in a recumbent one, a repetition of the experience of thirty years ago in Frankfurt. His left eye was endangered by a tumour that formed on his whole head and neck, and the physician feared for his brain. Christiane related that in his ravings the old Pagan broke forth into the most moving, heart-piercing, genuinely passionate appeals to the Saviour.³ During five days he was without personal consciousness. "Charlotte Schiller⁴ and I have shed many tears over him during the

¹ In September 1799 Lavater, heroically endeavouring to save the people of Zürich from the excesses of Massena's soldiery, had received a gunshot wound which, though not immediately fatal, caused him great suffering and ultimately death.—TR.

² *Tag- und-Jahres Hefte*, 1801.—TR.

³ Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, i. 121. Christiane used to repeat this whenever that epoch of Goethe's life came to be talked of.—TR.

⁴ "Die Schillerin."—TR.

last few days," writes Charlotte von Stein on January 12 to Fritz. All Weimar was subdued to anxious sadness; now at last it was perceived how much all owed to the self-sacrifice of the sufferer. But on January 13 recovery had begun; he was able to send word that he was in a good way. In convalescence he was very low-spirited, weeping especially at sight of August. He was penetrated with the thought of the desolateness of his unwedded Christiane and her child had he died; he felt that until now he had never known what a deep disinterested love for him they cherished. On January 15 he sent to thank Charlotte von Stein for her sympathy, and to say that he hoped soon to go out of doors. On January 19 he was able to thank the Duke by letter, who then came to see him. Not to remain unemployed, he turned to translating the little book of Theophrastus on Colours.¹ His friends Schiller, Heinrich Meyer, Voigt, Einsiedel, and Loder,² did their best to make the time of recovery pass pleasantly. It was not long ere he felt the need of music.³ On January 22, 1801, there was a little concert at his house, in which probably Caroline Jagemann and her younger sister sang as they did in one in April. On January 24 Goethe's left eye at length opened. And now he had the pleasure of receiving the Duchess Amalia with Fräulein von Göchhausen and Fräulein von Wolfskeel. The Duchess Luise was at the time unwell. When, on January 26, Charlotte von Stein and Schiller's wife visited him he begged anew for their friendship as though he had just returned to the world. Schiller meanwhile superintended the rehearsals of the adaptation of *Tancredè*, though on January 29 Goethe was able to go over the part of Amenaïde with Fräulein Casper. On the evening of January 29, after the last rehearsal, Schiller supped with him, and on the following evening was able to tell his friend of the success of the performance.

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801. The translation (finished at Pyrmont), is incorporated in the *Geschichte der Farbenlehre*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxvi. 25-44.—TR.

² Add Herder from the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*. But see Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, S. 217.—TR.

³ "The first higher need that I felt after my illness was that of music." Goethe to Reichardt, February 5, 1801.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GOETHE'S DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF 1801 TO THE DEATH
OF SCHILLER.

FEBRUARY 1801—MAY 1805.

IT was with no common pleasure that Goethe, while recovering, received the hearty congratulations of *Capellmeister* Reichardt, whom the *Xenien* had hit very hard. He replied on February 5, 1801, in a letter in which thrills deep pleasure at the friendliness called into manifestation by his illness. After mention of the kindness of friends, and a few particulars of his illness, he goes on :—" It is told of Haller that one day having fallen down a stair and on his head, he immediately on rising repeated in their order the names of the Chinese Emperors, wishing to try whether his memory had suffered. Let it not be taken amiss in me if I institute similar tests. I, too, had time and opportunity during the last fortnight to make present to my consciousness many of the threads which unite me to life, to business, to science and art. Not one, it seems, is snapt asunder ; Combination proceeds as of old, and Production, too, seems to lurk in a corner, soon perhaps to delight me by her effects."

Very deeply was Goethe impressed with the general advantage of his position in Weimar, notwithstanding its occasional oppressive circumstance. He did not hide from himself that his union with Christiane had, in some measure, set him at odds with society ; as little that with her—however dear she was—he could not know the happiness born of community of soul, that her influence on August could not be the ripening and elevating influence exercised by an intellectual mother on her son ; but love and integrity and manliness forbade that

the least thought of dissolving their union should cross his mind. On the contrary, he felt a strong impulsion to do all that could improve her position, even to seize opportunity and make his peace with offended morality by a legal marriage. In a letter of February 1, 1801, to his mother, he says:—"How good and careful and loving my dear little one has shown herself you will imagine; I cannot praise her unwearied activity enough. August also has been very good, and the two on my re-entry into life give me much joy."¹ The duty of procuring for August legal recognition as his son, and of gaining the boy's confidence and friendship by companionship in excursions, was felt by Goethe.

By February 7, 1801, the productive impatience had begun, on that day he turned again to *Faust*. On February 11 Goethe sent his carriage for Schiller, and had the rare pleasure of hearing him read the first three acts of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. He was soon again concerned in the affairs of the Theatre and the building of the Castle. He went over the part of Amenaïde with Caroline Jagemann in his own room; and on February 20 conducted in person the rehearsal of *Tancrède* at the theatre. The affairs of the stage were indeed soon to be a cause of great annoyance. First, in the beginning of March 1801, there was a quarrel between Fraülein Jagemann and *Capellmeister* Kranz about the music of *Don Giovanni*, which ended in the dismissal of Kranz; a little later there was a quarrel between Fraülein Jagemann and Frau Vohs, one of whose side results was to compel Goethe to maintain against the Duchess Luise the authority of the Direction of the Theatre; indeed Charlotte Schiller, who with some other ladies was furious on the Duchess's side, almost managed to bring Goethe and Schiller into conflict. This was avoided by Goethe's self-command, remarkable as exercised in spite of an irritability that clung to him after his illness, for which neither the Duchess nor Charlotte Schiller made any allowance in their acts.

On March 25, 1801, Goethe went with Christiane and August to Oberrossla, intending but a week's stay, though it grew longer. He had an unpleasant enough matter to settle

¹ Robert Keil, *Frau Rath*, S. 341-2. (In this letter Goethe mentions that his illness had been long coming on; he ought to have gone to a watering-place in the summer of 1800.)—TR.

—the eviction of a thriftless, non-paying tenant. Yet the days spent in the open air, the dealing with the common things of country life, made the time in this pleasant spring residence enjoyable. Plenty of visits relieved the quiet of the place. And work at *Faust* proceeded. Only in response to the repeated wish of the Duke, who had a good deal to talk over with him, did he return after a three weeks' stay.¹ On April 15 it happened that Schiller finished *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*; he came to see Goethe in the evening, and soon after sent him the manuscript of the play. Goethe returned the manuscript on April 20 with warm praise. He now ventured to go out in Christiane's company, and at a dinner which he gave to the *Hofmarschallin* Countess Egloffstein, and the Duchess's Maids of Honour, Christiane received the guests.² Goethe stayed only ten days in Weimar, then hurried back to Oberrossla, and at length got rid of the old tenant, but as two months would elapse ere the coming of the new tenant there were many things to be looked after. He found the temptation to lay down a walk during this delay too strong to resist; hitherto no dry footing in wet weather, no shade in sunny weather, had been available; and the enterprise called forth in him the old Park love of trifling in winding paths, in tiny sociable nooks, and led him further than he had intended, so delaying a little his return to Weimar.³ During this absence Goethe was annoyed to hear how the Duke, out of consideration for his mistress, Caroline Jagemann, prevented Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* from being acted on the Weimar stage.⁴

Goethe returned to Weimar probably about the close of the first week of May 1801. A good deal of his time was now taken up in arranging about the building of the Castle with Professor Gentz from Berlin, and in looking after the new improvements in the Park of Weimar. And he procured the legitimation of August, in whose companionship, being urged by his friends and by his physician, he started on June 5, 1801,

¹ On April 15, 1801.—TR.

² See Düntzer's *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 139.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 28, 1801; *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801.—TR.

⁴ "Der Herzog fürchtete wohl besonders die Spottreden welche man auf diese *Jungfrau* machen werde die mit ihm in so vertraulichem Verhältnisse lebte."—Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 367-9.—TR.

for the Pymont Baths.¹ August's companionship brought the same kind of delight as Fritz Stein's and August Herder's on former occasions; and he observed with joy how the boy himself was profiting. In Göttingen Goethe derived great pleasure from the sympathy of the students, who assembled in front of the inn and cheered him; and a deputation came asking permission to visit him in Weimar at Michaelmas. He spent several days full of instruction and interest in Göttingen, and on June 12 left for Pymont. There he was rendered unfit for work by the strong action of the Pymont cure; he even found it hard to work on the Theory of Colour. On July 9 Karl August arrived, ailing exceedingly; his feverish excitement rendered intercourse with him difficult. Thus Goethe looked forward with pleasure to departure from Pymont, which took place on July 17, 1801, and the happiness of the four weeks that he spent in Göttingen was heightened by contrast. The whole *Corpus Academicum* streamed in upon him. His main object—collection of details for the History of the Theory of Colour—was fully attained, and his old love for osteology and botany found nourishment, while August became an enthusiastic student of mineralogy.² Goethe and August left Göttingen on August 14, 1801. At Cassel Christiane and Heinrich Meyer joined them, and on August 21 all left Cassel together; but Goethe alone arrived in Gotha. There he spent some days of friendly intercourse in a strictly private circle in the charming summer residence of Prince August; nor was the celebration of his birthday forgotten.

Cured in mind and body, he returned to Weimar on August 30, 1801. He found there the architect Rabe, who had undertaken to conduct the building of the Castle. Now that two men like Gentz and Rabe co-operated in this difficult work, Goethe felt at length some ease of mind on a subject which had long been a trouble to him. The building proceeded, under the guidance of Rabe, according to a design

¹ Of the trip that follows Goethe gives a more than ordinarily full account in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1801.—TR.

² Goethe tells in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* how in Göttingen they were annoyed by the barking of a crowd of dogs at night. Everything missile was laid hold on, and many an ammonite that August had brought with toil from the Hainberg flew from their windows.—TR.

once for all fixed on as best adapted to the needful ends. The pieces competing for the Art Prize were hung in two rooms at the theatre, and, with some pieces by old masters, made a very interesting Exhibition; it was on this occasion possible to raise the prices and yet secure a large recourse of visitors. A series of representations by the famed actress Madame Unzelmann having been arranged to begin on September 21, 1801, Goethe was very busy for a while with the preparations for them, and for Madame Unzelmann's receptions in society during her stay; and the personal presence of the actress laid no less a claim upon his time. This visit had the best formative influence on the Weimar audience and the Weimar actors.

On October 8, 1801, Goethe's friend old *Hofrath* Büttner died in Jena, and his library now became the property of the University.¹ The task of putting in order this library and the papers of Büttner fell to Goethe, whom we find going to Jena on the matter on October 18,² the celebration of the Duchess Amalia's birthday on October 24 drawing him back to Weimar only for a short time. In the cheerful spirits of this interval in Weimar he arranged for the assembly of an evening circle at his house every second Wednesday, in which thirteen persons beside himself should take part, seven ladies and six men. The standing members of the society were the Countess von Egloffstein, (who was Goethe's partner), Schiller and Lotte, Schiller's brother-in-law von Wolzogen and his wife, Amalia von Imhof, the Maids of Honour Fräulein von Göchhausen and Fräulein von Wolfskeel, Voigt, Meyer, and Captain von Egloffstein. When Goethe was in Jena he saw a good deal of his young nephew Schlosser,³ a student there. "My brother-in-law's son seems a worthy son of his father [now two years dead]; it appears to me that he has a good direct character, and takes pleasure in actual experience."⁴ Besides this young Schlosser, his two cousins, the sons of Hieronymus

¹ See page 338.—Tr.

² Goethe's first visit to Jena in 1801.—Tr.

³ This lad was not Goethe's nephew, properly speaking. He was the son of J. G. Schlosser, by his second wife Johanna Fahlmer. His name was Eduard. He died in 1807.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Jacobi, November 23, 1801. From the same letter are derived the two quotations following.—Tr.

Schlosser,¹ were studying in Jena. "The youngest son of the Sheriff Schlosser is a little *enragé* for the newest philosophy, and that with so much intellect, heart, and character (*Geist Herz und Sinn*), that Schelling and I are struck with wonder." Two sons of Voss completed "one of the strangest young groups that I have ever known." One of the Vosses seemed to Goethe somewhat overstrained (*überspannt*), the other somewhat obscure (*dunkel*). Goethe returned to Weimar finally on November 10, Schiller's birthday. On the following evening the first of the meetings of their circle or *Kränzchen* took place;² Goethe had composed for it the burlesque *Stiftungslied*, in which the popular manner is admirably caught. The Duke, the Princes, and the Princess were invited; but their presence did not chill the meeting: all went merrily. The measles prevalent in Weimar prevented the second meeting from being held on the appointed day. On November 28, 1801, Lessing's *Nathan*, as fitted for the stage by Schiller, was presented, and made a deep and splendid impression. Since it was Goethe's desire to cultivate audience and actors by habituating them to all art forms, he now ventured on the *Ion* of A. W. Schlegel, a drama in the antique style. On December 1 Schiller's household was attacked by the measles; and not until December 14 can Schiller propose a walk to Goethe. The rehearsals of *Ion* were superintended with great care by Goethe. He was, besides, occupied with a report on the prize pieces, and in fixing the prize theme for the coming year. As the *Propyläen* had ceased, the communications to the public on the subject would in future appear in the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. It was found possible to offer a prize twice as large as last year's. Goethe found himself in the mood for poetic labour also, notwithstanding December weather; the first act of *Eugenie*, still a secret from every one, was now completed. On December 27 Schiller finished the adaptation of Gozzi's *Turandot*, which was to be the birthday piece of the Duchess Luise; yet illness prevented him from being present at

¹ Page 127. The names of these two sons were—the elder Fritz, the younger Christian. With Fritz Schlosser Goethe was afterwards on particularly friendly terms.—TR.

² *Kränzchen* literally means a garland. *Stiftungslied* = a poem for the foundation of an institution. See Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder*, "Was gehst du, schöne Nachbarin, Im Garten so allein?"—TR.

the second *Kränzchen* on New Year's Eve. Goethe composed for this *Kränzchen* a beautiful lyric on the change of year, which, with all its gaiety and rapid movement, is full of thought and suggestion.¹

Very cheerily did Goethe begin the second year of the nineteenth century. To the disgust of Charlotte von Stein, he went out sleighing with Christiane.² On great sleighing parties he usually offered the place at his side to some noble lady. *Ion* was acted on January 2, and aroused loud outcry on the ground of immorality. Böttiger, who bore a grudge against the brothers Schlegel, wrote an article for the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, in which the representation was praised, but the bitterest remarks made about the piece and its author. When Goethe got word of this, the number of the *Journal* not being yet published, he procured from the editor the sheet containing Böttiger's article, and having read it he declared that if it were published he should go straight to the Duke and resign the direction of the Weimar Theatre. He added that he was ready to supply reports of the theatre himself. The article was not published. Most of the evenings were spent with Schiller (who was one of those hostile to Schlegel and *Ion*). Before going (Jan. 17) to Jena he committed the superintendence of the rehearsals to Schiller, and asked him for a stage adaptation of *Iphigenie*.

The main cause of his visit to Jena was the Büttner Library. The introduction of order into this "dreadful chaos"³ was rendered more difficult by the Duke's having made over Büttner's house without further ceremony to the new Commandant, von Hendrich. Goethe now meant to carry out an earlier design of his, a general catalogue of the Weimar Library and of the two libraries at Jena.⁴ He began an exposition of the principles on which the Weimar

¹ See in Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder* the poem *Zum neuen Jahr*, "Zwischen dem Alten, Zwischen dem Neuen."—TR.

² Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz, January 7, 1802:—"Gestern fuhr er mit seiner Hausmamsell auf der Schlitten." See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 145.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, January 22, 1802. See also Goethe's letters to Voigt on the subject. In one he writes that "the most fluent tongue and the most skilful pen are not able to describe the condition in which we found the rooms." See also the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, December 9, 1797; January 19, 1802.—TR.

Theatre was conducted for the *Journal des Luxus*, and he wrote the beautiful stanzas¹ addressed to the Duchess to be spoken at the pageant which was to be given under his management on the Birthday *Redoute*. He returned to Weimar on January 28, 1802, and on that day conducted the final rehearsal of *Turandot*. On the following evening, Friday, January 29, the Birthday *Redoute* and the pageant took place. To the horror of the polite society which despised and hated Christiane, "Amor" in the pageant was personated by August Goethe, who handed to the Duchess the stanzas written by his father, having been borne through the hall by "Momus" and "Satyr." The Hereditary Prince represented "Epos;" the Princess Caroline, "Fama," held a garland above the head of "Epos." When the pageant was over the Princess sought out Goethe and presented the garland to him. The angry eyes of the fine ladies did not prevent poor Christiane, who was present, from a hearty childish enjoyment of the fine sights. On the Duchess's birthday, January 30, 1802, *Turandot* was presented and proved very successful; it was repeated on February 2, when to add to the interest, the riddles propounded by the Chinese Princess were new.

The tiresome building of the Castle gave Goethe some trouble at this time. But a more important matter was the breach with Kotzebue. Kotzebue's piece *Die Deutschen Kleinstädter* was to be played in Weimar, but Goethe had required that first a number of passages should be omitted which seemed to him unsuited to Weimar. Kotzebue would not consent, and, strange enough! called on Schiller to take his part. But Schiller, having read the piece, declared his opinion to concur with Goethe's. Then Kotzebue agreed to the larger number of alterations, but took his final stand upon the maintenance intact of certain five passages objected to by Goethe; Weimar should not have the play at all otherwise. But Goethe was not the man to yield to defiance what he had not yielded to persuasion, and so Weimar had not the play and Kotzebue became an enemy.

The reader will remember how much a new theatre was needed at Lauchstedt.² It was resolved to begin it this year, and the necessary preparations were entered on. The

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 234.—TR.

² See p. 491.—TR.

Kränzchen had been closed by Goethe, who wished to draw back into himself again. When asked why he closed them he replied, "Sprecht, ich sei der Bär."¹

Goethe returned to Jena about the 8th of February. Although the difficult task of getting the Büttner Library into order laid heavy claim on his time, the stay in Jena offered him a good deal of pleasure. Nay, he even felt inspired to some lyrics² which flowed forth fresh and fair and perfect as of old. An especial pleasure was his bright delightful alliance with Professor Hufeland's³ wife, a lover of singing. Another friend of Goethe's was Silvie von Ziegesar, a charming girl of sixteen, who lived in Drakendorf, not far from Jena. After some hesitation Goethe yielded to his desire to give a *Kränzchen* of farewell in honour of the Hereditary Prince, who was about to travel to Paris accompanied by the lately appointed *Geheimerath* von Wolzogen. For this purpose he returned to Weimar. The *Kränzchen*, at which the Hereditary Prince and the Princess Caroline were present, was held on February 22, 1802. Two of Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder* and a poem of farewell, composed by Schiller, were sung.

Goethe spent the end of February in Weimar. During this time he had a visit which gave him great pleasure. For some years he had been on friendly terms with Karl Friedrich Zelter of Berlin, who had composed several things for him. Zelter, now forty-three, was a Master Mason and Director of the Singing Academy. Zelter wore short black silk breeches, silk stockings, and on his shoes great silver buckles. He combined a solid and rugged independence with tenderness of feeling.⁴ Goethe felt much attracted; even spectacles, usually so repellent to him, were in Zelter a venial fault. He made Zelter come and stay in his house, and thus learned a good deal, and gave him several of his songs to compose.

¹ "Say, I am the Bear." Cp. pp. 214, 228, 229. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 278.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, February 19, 1802. The lyrics probably were *Tischlied*, and *Generalbeichte*. See the *Gesellige Lieder*. It was at this time too that Goethe begun *Hochzeitlied*. See the *Balladen*, Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 278-9.—TR.

³ This was the Jurist, Gottlieb Hufeland, not the professor of medicine, Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, who had been called to Berlin.—TR.

⁴ See Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, December 4, 1823.—(the end). As to Zelter's spectacles see April 5, 1830.—TR.

As for Zelter, he was transported ; he writes of his visit : —“I thank God daily on the knees of my heart that I have seen your face at last. Remembrance of those days will only cease when my memory ceases. A new spirit has been waked in me by contact with you, and if I have produced or shall produce anything worthy of the Muses, I know that it is a gift and whence it comes.”

Kotzebue, who had long been trying to discredit Goethe's Wednesday evening *Kränzchen* by a more brilliant and showy one held on Thursdays, now resolved to play what he thought a trump-card against the poet whom he hated, envying his lofty genius and his stable power. If all went, indeed, according to Kotzebue's hope, a breach between Schiller and Goethe would be effected. He organised a *fête* to celebrate Schiller's Name-Day, March 5, 1802.¹ There should be recitations from Schiller's works in the Town Hall of Weimar, terminating with *Das Lied von der Glocke*, at the end of which the Master Bell-founder, personated by Kotzebue himself, should strike the mould of the bell and disclose Dannecker's bust of Schiller. Even for the Countess von Egloffstein and Amalia von Imhof the temptation to show off was too strong. Many preparations were made, a great deal of trouble taken, and, after all, the scheme broke down miserably on the refusal of the *Bürgermeister* to lend the Town Hall, which had lately been fitted up with new decorations and a new platform. Goethe was meanwhile spending pleasant days in Jena, whither he had gone early in March, and Schiller, who filled his place at the rehearsals, held completely aloof from the honours that were meant to betray.

During a short interval spent in Weimar Goethe asked Herder to confirm August in the boy's own home. Herder consenting, Goethe wrote a letter of warm thanks to his old friend who is so good as to introduce August into the Christian community by a more liberal way than precedent authorises. August, accompanied by his tutor, shall present himself to Herder.² Immediately after this Goethe returned to Jena, taking with him his brother-in-law Vulpius, who had been

¹ Falk, Ludecus, and Goethe himself have left accounts of this scheme and its results. See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802, and Biedermann's note (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 408-9).—TR.

² Goethe to Herder, Weimar, April 26, 1802.—TR.

appointed library-amanuensis. All went well with Goethe this time in Jena; he felt the lyric stir and thrill again,¹ and the poems that he wrote were like the fresh blossoms of the spring. On May 15, 1802, he returned to be present at *Iphigenie*, which Schiller had prepared for the theatre. The piece made a deep and noble impression. Goethe, with that theory in mind that it is well to accustom actors and spectators to every form of the drama, had ere this resolved on a very bold step. Friedrich Schlegel's tragedy *Alarcos* is a strange mixture of the antique and romantic, Greek trimeters and Spanish assonances, iambics and trochaics, rhymed and unrhymed verse. This play Goethe resolved to bring on the Weimar stage, though Schiller expressed doubt, and Goethe agreed with him that the play was full of faults. It was a bold undertaking of the master, who cared little about external success or failure, but who was resolved on carrying out a strong will, made stronger by having hitherto overborne all opposition. Goethe had at this time but one cause of anxiety—Christiane was very poorly.²

Goethe went, about May 20, 1802, to Lauchstedt for a week, and found the building of the new theatre progressing. After he had returned *Alarcos* was given (May 29), and, notwithstanding the most careful and finished acting, the piece was a complete failure.³ Untroubled by this, Goethe went a week later (on June 6, 1802) to Jena, to compose the open-

¹ Goethe to Schiller, May 4, 1802.—Probably the lyrics written at this time were *Frühlingsorakel*—"Du prophet'scher Vogel Du, Blüten-sänger, O Coucou!" and *Bergschloss* :—

Da droben auf jenem Berge
Da steht ein altes Schloss,
Wo hinter Thoren und Thüren
Sonst lauerten Bitter und Ross.

See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 279, (where read Lieder 75, not Lieder 15). See in Mr. Hutton's Essay on Goethe comment on this poem *Bergschloss* and a translation. *Geistesgruss*, composed on the voyage down the Lahn in 1774, is next to *Bergschloss* in the arrangement of the *Lieder*.—TR.

² See in the book *Freundschaftliche Briefe von Goethe und seiner Frau an Nicolaus Meyer*, the affecting letter of Christiane to Nikolaus Meyer at this time. Meyer had been in Weimar again during January and February 1802.—TR.

³ This is the occasion on which Goethe is related to have stood up and said: "Let no one laugh!"—TR.

ing piece for the Lauchstedt Theatre, and returned with the piece finished on the morning of June 13, the day on which August was confirmed.

After a short stay in Weimar, Goethe went to Lauchstedt,¹ accompanied by Christiane and August, and on Sunday, June 27,² 1802, the new theatre was opened. Ludecus tells how, when he arrived in Lauchstedt at seven o'clock in the morning, he saw Goethe in a blue overcoat in front of the theatre. Goethe was glad that Ludecus had accepted his invitation to be present at the opening performance, and conducted him into the theatre immediately. To the astonishment of Ludecus, the fitting up of the interior was in active progress, and all appeared to be in indescribable confusion. Ludecus exclaimed in surprise: "And here it is proposed to act a play to-night?" To which Goethe triumphantly answered: "Here a play shall be acted to-night!" At six in the evening a trumpet sounded to give notice of the performance. The theatre could hold one thousand spectators; there were about eight hundred present. At the close of the opening piece, *Was wir bringen*, the students from Halle University cried: "Long live the greatest Master of Art, Goethe!" To this performance Goethe had invited Reichardt (who had visited him lately) and the philologist Friedrich August Wolf.

Accompanied by Wolf, Christiane, and August, Goethe went after a while to Halle,³ where he and his made the acquaintance of most of the professors. Here August learned to swim. To Reichardt, in Giebichenstein, near Halle, a pleasant visit was paid by the whole family. Goethe found many objects of attraction to prolong his stay in the university city; but Christiane and August returned after a few days to gay Lauchstedt, to use the baths and enjoy life. Christiane's greatest pleasure was dancing, and there were innumerable

¹ He left soon after the Duke's departure, which took place on June 20, 1802. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 403.—Tr.

² Goethe, in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, says June 26, 1802. This is a mistake, according to Düntzer. See *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 403. Ludecus mentions that the day was Sunday. June 26 was a Saturday. (There is, however, some evidence in favour of June 26. See Biedermann's note to the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 413.)—Tr.

³ About July 12, 1802. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 405.—Tr.

hops and balls in Lauchstedt.¹ On July 25, 1802, Goethe returned to Weimar.

The affairs of the library drew him very soon (August 3, 1802) to Jena. Here, surrounded by museums and all those influences which in former years had led him to the natural sciences, the old interest in them revived, and he studied with special attention Comparative Anatomy and the Metamorphosis of Insects; then the Theory of Colour occupied him, and the remarkable *Appendix* for the new edition of his translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*.² He enjoyed constant delightful and helpful intercourse with the families of the bookseller Frommann, the theologian Paulus, the jurist Hufeland, the anatomist Loder, and others. The Art Exhibition, less brilliant this year than in other years,³ drew him back to Weimar at length.⁴ On September 25, 1802, the Weimar Theatre began its season with the piece played at the opening of Lauchstedt Theatre, *Was wir bringen*. A few days later Professor Batsch of Jena died unexpectedly; his death was a great loss to the Botanic Gardens and to Goethe. On a short visit to Jena caused by this incident, Goethe had the friendliest meeting with Voss, who shortly before had settled in Jena.

Another loss at this time was that of the daily companionship of Heinrich Meyer, who, intending to marry at Christmas, left Goethe's house for one of his own. August inherited Meyer's room, and could now display his collections (chiefly of coins and minerals) to the best advantage. Schiller's children and he were the best friends; they had even instituted an Order among themselves, the insignia of which were sometimes awarded to grown-up people. During November 1802, Goethe revised that remarkable cluster of *Gesellige Lieder* which had sprung up during the two past years, and worked on

¹ See Christiane's second letter to Nikolaus Meyer. She made the acquaintance of Reichardt's and Wolf's daughters, and was treated by all with great friendliness.—Tr.

² The first edition in book form of this translation was published in 1798. That with the *Appendix*, in 1803.—Tr.

³ See in Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 411-414, the account of the visit of the sculptor Schadow to Weimar.—Tr.

⁴ Probably after August 20, and before August 23, 1802, Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 409. On August 23 Corona Schröter died at Ilmenau.—Tr.

the usual annual report on the prize pieces ; but it was a time of creative activity also ; the second act of *Eugenie* was forming. He drew back from the Court at this period. A Court attempt to draw Schiller into nearer relations was not successful, though with that end in mind a diploma of nobility for him was procured in Vienna.

It was at this time that Herder complained to the Duke of the injury done to the *Gymnasium* by the withdrawal of the children who served as a chorus at the public representations of operas and the numerous rehearsals. Goethe could only reply that without the aid from the children no opera was possible, and that already it was arranged to have the rehearsals at other than the school hours. He could not procure a regular chorus when needed, and there was not money to pay for the institution of choristers. This was a period of deeper anxiety on a graver subject ; Christiane's confinement was approaching. Goethe was about to go to Jena for the sake of intercourse with Voss, when Christiane bore a daughter.¹ On the following day, to Goethe's bitter sorrow, the infant died. This was the fourth little comer that had suddenly departed after the briefest stay ; and her coming had given him such joy ! If the passionate outbreak of his grief lasted but a short time, the bereavement worked the more enduring inward effects.²

During the first quarter of the New Year 1803, Goethe, unwell, unstrung, and dejected about his position in Weimar, remained shut up indoors most of his time. Such sad quarantines were henceforward frequent with him ; in them while living entirely to himself, to his own thoughts and emotions, he collected himself for renewed living in the world. The retirement of which we are now speaking was used in bringing to completion *Eugenie*, a piece which rose from the depth of his heart, for in it the primary effort was to set forth an after-throbbing grief like his own—the grief of a father who has lost his daughter. But he had many other employments ; thus he was still working on the *Appendix* to the *Life of Cellini*, and he spent time in arranging a collection of coins

¹ December 18, 1802. Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 159.—Tr.

² Schiller showed great sympathy with Christiane on this occasion. See Goethe to Schiller, December 19, 1802.—Tr.

which were the result of his interest in Cellini. During the beginning of this "quarantine"¹ Goethe would only receive strangers of real eminence. Thus the famous discoverer in acoustics, E. F. Chladni, visited him, and after his usual fashion he absorbed what Chladni had to give and moulded it anew, beside gaining positive immediate furtherance as to his Theory of Colour, since there are many senses in which the relations of sounds and colours may be said to cross each other.² The gladdening influence of music was not forgotten. In December 1802 Zelter had thrown out a hope of visiting Weimar in the beginning of February 1803, and Goethe looked forward to this visit with much pleasure, but the friends were, after all, disappointed. (Beside the delight of personal intercourse with Zelter, Goethe had wished to ask him questions about the organisation of the opera and the orchestra in Weimar, now about to be carried out on a scale intended rather to meet future than present needs.³) Even Schiller, having to economise time and strength, did not come to Goethe, though he visited the theatre and the *Redoute*. At Goethe's request Schiller sent him a transcript of *Die Braut von Messina* on February 5, 1803, and on the day after he at length visited him, when the play was thoroughly talked over. We find the Duke somewhat later sending Goethe a number of the new paper of Kotzebue and Merkel, *Der Freimüthige*, with the remark:—"We must take the thing in between us all in order to remain *au courant* of the impertinences." The shabby attacks of the superficial Kotzebue (whom the Berlin Academy of Sciences had just admitted to the Class of Belles Lettres), did not tend to dispel Goethe's depression. The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, it is true, took up his part, still he was embittered. He did not permit the matter to turn him aside in his path; only in silence he revenged himself with some satirical verse.⁴

¹ Schiller to Goethe [end of January], 1803.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, January 26, 1803.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, March 10, 1803, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796-1832*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer (Berlin 1833-4; six volumes).—TR.

⁴ See *Ultimatum*, Hempel's *Goethe*, iii. 300. There is an important passage at the end of Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, February 7, 1803, which helps us to see how Goethe felt about personal attacks on himself. Düntzer (*Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 426) hears Goethe's own voice in this passage.—TR.

Henceforward he occasionally saw a small assembly at his own house, and had the actors to him often there. On March 10, 1803, he conducted a rehearsal of Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, and then he had a reading rehearsal of his own *Eugenie*. He cautioned the actors not to betray anything of the substance of the piece. All that even Schiller knew was the name, and what memoirs had been worked on. On March 19, 1803, Goethe left his retreat in order to be present at the performance of *Die Braut von Messina*,¹ but afterwards shut himself obstinately from the world again,² only receiving Schiller, a few men of eminence, and his actors; besides that he continued to give occasional little concerts. To one of these, on March 28, 1803, we find the lately returned Hereditary Prince invited.

On April 2, 1803, *Eugenie* was acted. Goethe was not present. The play, a model of simple, noble style, made a beautiful impression. Schiller wrote to Iffland that it was a piece of a lofty, moving kind, and that with its great female *début* part it could not fail to draw on the German stage.³

Goethe's depression had not yet departed, and he continued for some time his retired indoor life. It is probable that he was present when, on the 23d of April 1803, Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* was at length⁴ acted on the Weimar stage; we find him after this in intercourse with society, and visiting the Duchess Amalia. On May 1 the betrothal of the Maid of Honour of the Duchess, Fräulein von Wolfskeel, took place. For the day, which happened to be also her birthday, Goethe wrote a bright little poem.⁵ Of official

¹ Crabb Robinson was at this performance. He by mistake places it on the 20th. The Jena students cheered for Schiller, though it was contrary to the rules of the Weimar Theatre to express applause by cheering. Clapping alone was permissible.—TR.

² See the important evidence of his state at this time in Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, April, 21, 1803.—TR.

³ See Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 433-434. This part Fräulein Jagemann played with remarkable power. Crabb Robinson complimented her once on it, and she said:—"If I played the part well it was by chance, for I do not understand the character."—TR.

⁴ It will be remembered that in April 1801 Karl August had been a hindrance to its being acted in Weimar. See p. 522.—TR.

⁵ *Magisches Netz*, "Sind es Kämpfe die ich sehe?" Varnhagen's explanation is that Goethe had found Fräulein Wolfskeel secretly knitting a vest for her betrothed. Goethe did not know of her betrothal, and was

duties those which, beside the theatre, occupied him during the period just considered were the fitting up of the Castle and the choice of a successor to Professor Batsch. The arrival, expected to take place in the late autumn of 1803, of the Russian Princess, the bride of the future Duke of Weimar, made a great improvement in the Theatre desirable, especially as to opera. Schiller and Goethe talked over the plan of a periodical, *Das Deutsche Theater*, to contain noteworthy stage-versions of plays. Goethe unhappily undertook an adaptation of *Götz von Berlichingen*.

On May 14, 1803, Goethe, accompanied by August, went to Jena,¹ intending there to revise his *Gesellige Lieder* and *Eugenie*, and to work at the Theory of Colour. He had pleasant friendly intercourse with Voss, to whom he submitted *Eugenie*; but the rigid metrist showed poor judgment in dealing with the poem, and Goethe came but once to him on the matter. And a course of daily lessons which Voss began to give August died away like a stream in the sand.² Goethe, during this stay in Jena, had the good fortune to get rid of his property at Oberrossla by selling it to the man who had been his tenant. The house there in which he spent so many happy and significant hours has long since disappeared. He returned on May 29, 1803, to Weimar, and had a delightful fortnight's visit from Zelter. After this he accompanied Christiane to Lauchstedt, and leaving her there went on to Halle, whence, after a short stay, he returned to Weimar.

afterwards surprised to see the waistcoat on K. W. von Fritsch. (The five boys and girls are the fingers of the two hands.) But Varnhagen's story is not quite correct. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, iii. 358.—TR.

¹ During this visit it was that Goethe saw Herder for the last time. Herder, after some very pleasant talk, made a displeasing remark about *Eugenie*, on which a dreadful emotion seized Goethe: "I looked at him, made no reply, and the many years of our intercourse terrified me in this symbol most fearfully." See Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten*.—TR.

² But Goethe was on very pleasant terms with the Vosses. One day he found Frau Voss in the garden working at her flower borders. He chatted pleasantly about her work and advised her to get hardy things, and she remarked that they were such strangers in Jena that they did not know where to get them. Then Voss and Goethe walked up and down chatting while Frau Voss worked on. A few days later, when the Vosses came back in the evening from a party, they found all the borders dainty and neat, and everywhere summer flowers planted.—TR.

Meanwhile all was not well with the University of Jena. Some of her best professors were being drawn from her by the brilliant prizes offered in other universities. And when on July 2, 1803, Goethe again betook himself to Jena for some days, his mind was occupied in considering how best to fill up the vacancies and how to guard against such losses in future. Unhappily the Duke was now in a mood of disgust with the University, especially because he had not means to offer salaries as high as those given to professors by other German states. The Weimar Theatre had a real piece of good fortune at this time. On July 21, 1803, a young Augsburg, Pius Alexander Wolff, offered himself as an actor to Goethe, of whom both as a poet and as a manager of the theatre he was an enthusiastic admirer. Wolff was very young, only turned twenty. From Augsburg with Wolff came Grüner, another young man who wished to be an actor; it afterwards turned out that he had not patience enough to submit long to Goethe's exact and thorough training. Shortly before a third young actor named Grimmer had come to Weimar. As Goethe considered all three to possess good powers he gave them a special series of careful lessons before the return of the company, absent in Lauchstedt.

On August 1, 1803, the new Castle which, during fifteen years, had cost Goethe so much anxiety and trouble, was at length occupied by the ducal family. But a new and much worse source of anxiety and annoyance was prepared for him when Kotzebue's *Freimüthiger* was able to announce with malicious delight that the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, with its editor C. G. Schütz, was about to remove from Jena to Halle. So great a loss to Jena could not be contemplated by Goethe without an endeavour to make it good, and he accordingly set to work and founded a new magazine in Jena. And this magazine succeeded, though the plan had been looked on as hopeless by Schiller and others. The success was indeed purchased by a really wonderful exertion of Goethe's powers, which might perhaps have been otherwise used to better purpose. Still, beside the great profit to Jena University and to literature, there was much for himself in this labour. On his birthday, August 28, 1803, the first conference took place with Professor Eichstädt, who had undertaken the editing of the new magazine: and not until, after three years' existence, its

continuance was assured, did Goethe retire to some extent from active co-operation.¹

An important addition to the library building of Weimar was now begun, and the plan of a new *Schiesshaus*² carefully considered. Meanwhile Goethe's Berlin opponents—one of whom was the sculptor Schadow, a partisan of Kotzebue's and an enemy to the Ideal tendency—had succeeded in having *Eugenie* regularly damned in the Prussian National Theatre.³ And this while Fichte declared the play to be Goethe's masterpiece, and could not adequately admire it. Malice had done its work, though Berlin, before the year was over, tried to expiate the fault by giving a good reception to the play.⁴ Schiller meanwhile enjoyed high honour as a dramatist—the young king of Sweden who visited the Court of Weimar about this time (August 1803), had *Wallenstein* acted at his special desire, and when going away sent the poet a diamond ring. No shadow of jealousy marred Goethe's pleasure in his friend's success, though at times his own mishap depressed him.

The visit which Goethe had planned⁵ to pay to Frankfurt and his mother in the year 1803 had proved impracticable. A couple of years earlier,⁶ when a relative of J. G. Schlosser (who died in 1799) wished Frau Aja to be put under guardianship, because she was spending too much, Goethe saved her. She had the right, he declared, to spend all her property away if she desired, since she had suffered so long, and with such noble patience, under a weary lot. He whose affection was the dearest of her treasures was not one to see her wounded by her power of giving away being limited, or by any restraint on her careless, joyous, innocent life.

¹ Woldemar Freiherr von Biedermann has published *Goethe's Briefe an Eichstädt* (Hempel, Berlin, 1872), with a preface and notes. A good notion of Goethe's amazing labours may be gained from this book. The new magazine was called the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*.—TR.

² Literally "Shooting House." House whence game are shot, being driven up by beaters.—TR.

³ Schadow had hired and placed hooters, we learn from a letter of Fichte's. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 444.—TR.

⁴ Zelter, writing on October 24, 1803, tells Goethe that *Die natürliche Tochter* had been played for the third time on October 22, and had had good applause.—TR.

⁵ Keil, *Frau Rath*, S. 346.—TR.

⁶ In 1800. See Düntzer, *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, S. 551. As to J. G. Schlosser's death, see p. 510 (note).—TR.

In the beginning of September 1803, Goethe had a piece of good fortune. Fernow,¹ who had been offered a professorship in Jena, came from Rome to take it up, and with him came Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, a native of Glatz, then in his thirtieth year. Riemer was an excellent philologist in the school of Wolf. He had been tutor in the house of Wilhelm von Humboldt, and now entered Goethe's house in the same capacity. Nothing could have been more accordant with Riemer's desire than a life beneath the influence of such a spirit; and, though Goethe often dictated to him as a secretary, Riemer had plenty of time for his own purposes.

After the return of the actors from Lauchstedt, the class of three which Goethe had been instructing in theatrical delivery widened to a whole dozen.² Meantime, while Goethe had lost interest in continuing *Eugenie*, Schiller had found a new dramatic material in *Wilhelm Tell*. The two poets laboured very diligently together in preparing a representation of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, which took place on October 1, 1803, was very successful, and was repeated on October 8. Also Schiller's adaptation from the French, *Der Parasit*, was acted about this time with the best result, the Duke especially being delighted with it.

During the closing months of the year 1803³ we find Goethe frequently in Jena, where he shows particularly friendly interest in Voss, whom he hoped to gain for the University. In Jena Goethe wrote that delightful satiric poem on Kotzebue, *Der neue Alcinous*, which he of course kept secret. The remarkable volume *Der Geselligkeit gewidmeten Lieder*, which he had been preparing for the printer in May, had now appeared; though issued in pocket-book form, and in some instances giving the guitar accompaniment to the songs, it seems to have been hardly noticed by the public. The approaching appearance of the first number of the new *Literaturzeitung* filled Goethe with excitement. It was a difficult and critical business; he had to look after everything, from the

¹ Fernow's speciality was the philosophy of art.—TR.

² Goethe jotted down at this time a series of observations on the actor's art, which Eckermann put into form in 1824, and which are published in Goethe's works under the title *Regeln für Schauspieler*.—TR.

³ Herder began to ail at this time; the final illness of his life was upon him.—TR.

general intellectual conception of the whole to the smallest details of typography.¹ Then he was at the same time preparing his report on the Art Exhibition, which included an essay on the work of Polygnotus. All this coming on him in the unkindly December weather taxed his powers severely, and when he heard that Madame de Staël was expected in Weimar, he felt it altogether impossible to go thither to meet her and take part in society. Madame de Staël is welcome to Jena, he remarks; give him but twenty-four hours' notice, and part of Loder's house shall be ready for her; she shall find homely fare; she and Goethe will really meet and speak to each other better than they could in a drawing-room.² Schiller spoke to the Duke, who wrote to Goethe (December 14, 1803), approving of his staying in Jena and receiving the visit of Madame de Staël there; but on December 18 the Duke sent a courier, pressing him to come to Weimar, where the great Frenchwoman had been setting everything in a whirl since her arrival on December 15. Goethe, however, remained firm. But when Madame de Staël declared that she would visit Goethe in Jena on December 24, it seemed to him impolite to bring her over the bad road in winter for his sake alone, and he invited her to dine with him in his Weimar house on December 24, to meet the Schillers. On December 18, 1803, in the evening, Herder died; Frau von Imhof, the sister of Charlotte von Stein, had died at noon the day before. Goethe was agitated by these deaths, and the bad weather and the other causes of depression seem to have produced a kind of nervous torture. In a letter of December 20 to Charlotte Schiller, he says that he envies Herder when he hears that they are burying him.

Madame de Staël and the Schillers dined at Goethe's house on December 24, 1803. Goethe was very friendly, but did not at all yield his assent to the gifted Frenchwoman; who conceived that she understood the great poet thoroughly,³ and

¹ Goethe to Schiller, December 13, 1803.—Tr.

² Goethe to Schiller, Jena, December 13, 1803.—Tr.

³ See *Crabb Robinson's Diary*, the year 1804 (vol. i. pp. 177-8). "I said: 'Madame, vous n'avez pas compris Goethe, et vous ne le comprendrez jamais.' Her eye flashed, she stretched out her fine arm, of which she was justly vain, and said in an emphatic tone: 'Monsieur, je comprend tout ce qui mérite d'être compris; ce que je ne comprends n'est rien.'"—Tr.

took upon her to give him counsel. Yet his very opposition, sometimes frank and direct, sometimes mischievously turning and baffling, charmed her; she regularly fell in love with him, in spite of the "*bonne et belle rotondité*," with which she roguishly taxed him,¹ undeterred by the fact that she did not want for plumpness herself. Goethe paid her the return visit, but immediately after a violent cold brought from Jena confined him for weeks to his room,² so that personal intercourse with Madame de Staël ceased for the present. On her way to Weimar she had visited Goethe's mother, and had oppressed her extremely. Goethe's illness was lightened by a visit of some length from the philologist F. A. Wolf, who came from Halle at the close of the year 1803. The historian of Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, who arrived in Weimar on January 22, 1804, was also admitted to see Goethe. The first act of *Wilhelm Tell*, which he read in the second week of January, called forth warm praise and congratulation.

But Madame de Staël grew restless at being so long shut off from Goethe's society; the notes that they exchanged were not enough for her. On January 22, 1804, she wrote asking for an interview, and her request being granted, she came to see Goethe on the following morning, accompanied by her friend Benjamin Constant, who knew German well. Nor did Goethe remain at all in the debt of the lady on this occasion, who, with all her polish, was "rude enough to the Hyperboreans, whose fine old pines and oaks, nevertheless, whose iron and amber, may be so well applied for both use and ornament."³ After the brilliant Frenchwoman he felt a desire for intercourse with intellectual German women. So on January 24 he invited Charlotte von Stein and her niece Amalia (formerly von Imhof, now married to Lieutenant von Helvig) to come and see his coins, which they accordingly did. Two days later Madame de Staël and Müller were together at Goethe's, and the Duke came in, when, as Goethe tells Schiller, the talk grew very merry, and the plan of going through her translation of his poem *Der Fischer* was not carried out. At this interview she

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 461.—TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* that the dear experience of 1801 ought to have made him more careful about residing in harsh winter weather in the old castle at Jena.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, January 23, 1804.—TR.

is said¹ to have brought him roundly to task for secluding himself so much, and for being so reserved. If she did make such an ill-judged attack on his deliberately-chosen plan of life, a German retort to her French obtrusiveness was doubtless not lacking. On the evening of January 27 Goethe was visited by Benjamin Constant and by Schiller. Immediately after this he broke his quarantine, though he continued to avoid the Court.

In the beginning of February 1804 Voss came with his wife to stay in Weimar. Goethe had provided them with a suitable lodging not far from him, and there was always the warmest welcome for them in his house. So much did Goethe esteem Voss, indeed, that, in order to retain his services for Jena, he ventured on an act not consonant with rigorous justice, he gave to Voss's son Heinrich, who had as yet done nothing to prove his teaching powers, a new professorship, which, long earnestly advocated by Herder, was now to be founded in the Weimar *Gymnasium*. It was arranged that Heinrich should soon come and stay with Goethe, and so make himself familiar by degrees with the requirements of his new calling. During this time Schiller usually came over to Goethe's in the afternoons, and remained until evening.

On February 10, 1804, Heinrich Voss came to Goethe, and remained nine days, during which he acquired an extraordinary love and reverence for the great poet, whose interest in him was like that of a father. Every morning he spent a couple of hours with Goethe in his room, and in the evenings listened with delight while he poured forth his thoughts. Goethe's actors' class was now, it seems, merely an assembly on Sunday mornings to read poetry aloud. For the two Sundays on which Heinrich Voss was present (February 12 and 19) Goethe chose the elder Voss's idyll *Luise*. On the evening of February 16, 1804, Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant supped with Goethe without other company. "There was a remarkable wit-combat on this occasion. Goethe pressed Madame de Staël so hard by his rejoinders that she was forced to take refuge in a skilful change of front."² Though Goethe would not visit Court while Madame de Staël stayed in

¹ By Böttiger, who states that he derives his account from Müller. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 468.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 473-4.—TR.

Weimar, he was on one occasion at the Duchess Amalia's when she was present ;¹ on February 23 he was her guest at dinner ; on February 24 she visited him and lectured him about Schlegel's *Alarcos*, and he talked finely about Tragedy. When she was going he told her that August would call on her to-morrow, to ask an inscription for his new album. As yet the only other entries in this album were by Goethe and Schiller. On February 29, 1804, Madame de Staël left Weimar for Berlin. Goethe had given her letters of introduction to Zelter and to August Wilhelm Schlegel. He felt a glad sense of relief on the departure of this typical French *femme d'esprit*. Her importunity and obstinacy used to drive him into opposition, and often compelled him to carry the opposition to extremity ; for otherwise he must either be silent or say plainly to her that such conflict could lead to no result.

"In mere joy that the Staël is gone, Goethe has been for two consecutive days driving everywhere on a sleigh with his more congenial *Donna*," writes Charlotte von Stein on March 8, 1804.² The rehearsals of *Wilhelm Tell* and the needful preparations made Goethe very busy for a time. The representations, first on March 17 and then, with some cutting down, on March 19, 1804, excited greater admiration and delight than any of Schiller's former plays. Now Schiller felt that he was gaining mastery of the scenic art. He had already attacked a new subject, derived from the history of Russia.

Yet he liked Weimar less every day, and longed to find some other home, while Goethe's strong attachment to the place strengthened as the years passed by, notwithstanding the many pains and burthens that they brought. He was now suffering a great deal in an endeavour to adapt his *Götz* for the stage. However, his spirits brightened towards the close of March 1804. Thus we find him inviting Charlotte von Stein to visit him every Thursday morning about eleven o'clock, when he will show her and the friends whom she may bring something from his collection of objects of art. Then there were concerts at his house every Sunday ; at these concerts he gave the preference to Zelter's melodies. At the end of March young Voss again came for a considerable stay, during which Goethe was even more amiable than before. Goethe had

¹ See the account of this in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1804.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 195.—TR.

secretly procured a doctor's diploma for the young fellow, who himself tells of the kindly jest by which the burdensomeness of the moment of giving and receiving a benefit was in this instance lightened.¹ His appointment to the new professorship was now finally determined.

From Berlin Madame de Staël wrote merrily to Goethe that she would soon return to Weimar for a three weeks' stay, in order to steal from him all that could be stolen. But news that her father was very ill brought her to Weimar earlier than she had intended, and in Weimar she heard that he was already dead. Her grief was terrible—almost madness; she screamed; she had convulsive fits. There could be no wit-combats this time; Goethe could only try to show his deep compassion for her. She left Weimar for Coppet on April 30, 1804. Four days earlier Schiller, longing to escape from the narrow life of Weimar, had gone with his wife and children to Berlin.

Goethe now again drew near to the Court that he had so long avoided, nearest of all to the Duchess Luise. Heinrich Voss had come to take up the duties of his new post; he lodged close to Goethe, who allowed him the freest access, and a friendship grew between them, which made Voss very happy. The young fellow's father and mother came at Goethe's invitation to Weimar for a few days, and visited the school where their son was teaching. Goethe wished the elder Voss to accept a pension from the Duke, but he would not, whereupon Goethe procured him an authorisation to receive certain allowances, such as firewood and game, altogether worth about 200 thalers a year.

On May 21, 1804, Schiller returned from Berlin. He was not ill-disposed to go and live there on the favourable conditions offered him. This would be a severe loss to Goethe, who nevertheless unselfishly abstained (as formerly, when Herder was invited to Göttingen) from attempting to dissuade such a course; he only counselled a thoughtful balancing of advantages, and that no step should be taken before the return of the Duke from his tour of inspection. But after a week at home Schiller had resolved on declining the invitation to Berlin, if the Duke, as he wrote to Körner, would only offer some compensation worth accepting. The

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 479.—Tr.

Duke returned on June 4, 1804. After hearing from Schiller, he desired him to let his wishes be known without any reserve ; and on June 8 wrote affectionately to him, gladly granting the desired boon,—the doubling of his salary,—and promising that it should soon be raised to 1000 thalers. Besides, the Duke expressed a hope that the Berlin folk would be able to benefit Schiller without any injury to Weimar, viz. that Schiller might obtain good terms on agreeing to reside in Berlin for a considerable time each year.¹

During the summer of 1804 we find Goethe frequently dining at Court, and occasionally the Duchess and the Princess Caroline came with Charlotte von Stein to his Thursday morning receptions. He was often in Jena, and spent a fortnight in Lauchstedt (August 17 to September 3), where at last the stage adaptation of *Götz von Berlichingen* was finished, and a reading-rehearsal of it held. When on the Duke's birthday he returned to Weimar, his time was fully claimed by the Court, by the preparation of *Götz* for the stage, and by the Art Exhibition. Meanwhile Voss and his son had received an invitation to Würzburg University, and the elder Voss seemed inclined to accept it ; but Heinrich was firmly resolved not to leave Weimar and the great man to whom he owed almost as much as to his parents. He was daily with Goethe, often half a day without interruption ; they read Greek together diligently.²

After many rehearsals *Götz* in its new form was presented on September 22, 1804. The piece was very long ; the representation, beginning at half-past six, lasted until eleven. There was very slight applause ; to many, one of whom was Wieland, it was incomprehensible how Goethe could have so transformed the great work of his youth. The adaptation had been made to meet the taste of ordinary audiences, and to suit the usual requirements of the theatre ; there were several good pieces of

¹ Schiller wrote to Berlin about this, but never received an answer. See Düntzer, *Life of Schiller*.—TR.

² See the letter from the younger Voss to Boie, quoted by Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 488. Goethe was then especially interested in Sophocles :—

“ But be his

My special thanks, whose even-balanced soul
From first youth tested up to extreme old age,
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild ;
Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole.”

TR.

writing among the additions, but the unity of the play as a whole was disturbed, and much of the poetry and beauty gone. Too long for a single performance, only the first two acts were played on September 29; the last three followed on October 13. Various causes made it impossible for Goethe to leave Weimar in September and October 1804; thus, though the Natural History Society of Jena had appointed him president, he could not thank them in person. In November he was appointed honorary president of the Mineralogical Society of Jena, in the room of Prince Galitzin,¹ who was dead.

Weimar now bestirred itself to welcome home the Crown Prince and the Russian Grand Duchess, his bride. Goethe tried to compose some appropriate piece, but he waited on inspiration in vain, and at length asked Schiller to undertake the task. Within four days Schiller's lyric dialogue *Die Huldigung der Künste* was composed and studied. On the afternoon of November 9, 1804, the festal entry of the bride and bridegroom took place. It seemed during the next few days as though the people could not rejoice enough. On November 12 the young pair honoured the theatre with their presence; and then Schiller's piece was received with extraordinary delight. The amiability and charm of the Princess won all hearts; she received Goethe in the most graceful way, though for him she had not, as for Schiller, a diamond ring from the Empress of Russia. Nor was there a Russian Order for him, as there was for Voigt. The Duke, however, raised Goethe, Voigt, and Schmidt to the dignity of Actual Privy Councillor (*Wirklicher Geheimerath*), with the title "Excellency."

Charlotte von Stein and her little sister-in-law had become regular attendants at Goethe's Thursday mornings. On November 29, 1804, a party from the Castle also came—the Crown Princess, the Duchess Luise, and the Princess Caroline. Goethe was now busy editing Winckelmann's letters to Berendis,² which had been preserved in the keeping of the Duchess Amalia; he was writing an essay on Winckelmann, to be published with the letters. During the last five years Goethe had again felt strongly attracted by Winckelmann. Then, prompted by Schiller, he began to translate Diderot's dialogue *Le Neveu de Rameau* from manuscript, and, besides,

¹ The husband of Goethe's friend the Princess Galitzin.—TR.

² See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 195.—TR.

prepared a series of careful notes on the persons mentioned, and on the questions of music and literature touched upon in the dialogue. In the latter half of December 1804 Goethe felt extremely unwell again; we find him on December 19 writing to Charlotte von Stein that he cannot receive on the morrow—Thursday morning—as usual. Yet a week later, on December 27, 1804, he had the Duchess, Charlotte von Stein, Charlotte Schiller, and other ladies, with him, and showed them the cast of the Minerva of Velletri, that had come from Paris a few days before. Charlotte Schiller observed how ill Goethe was. Schiller, too, was a sufferer at this time; a heavy cold had left its usual legacy. He kept steadily at work on a translation of the *Phèdre* of Racine, to be acted on the birthday of the Duchess; a translation undertaken in order to please the Duke, whose partiality for the French Drama will be remembered.

The New Year, 1805, in which death was to terminate the great poet alliance,¹ began not very ill for Goethe, since he found himself able to appear again in the “society of the noble and fair;”² but the result was not good; he was laid up, and had to stay indoors for a while.³ However, on January 10, 1805, he received the Crown Princess and the other ladies, though on the two following Thursdays he had to excuse himself. His comedies *Die Mitschuldigen* and *Der Bürgergeneral* were played with great success about the middle of January; he had conducted the rehearsals himself in his room. So, too, the rehearsals of *Phèdre*. Goethe was, besides, busy with important contributions for the *Literaturzeitung*. Schiller suffered a great deal during the beginning of January, and a little later his family were ill.⁴ At the end of the month Goethe ventured

¹ The story which comes to us by Voss, how Goethe, writing to Schiller, set down, “The last New Year’s Day,” is well known. And when visiting Charlotte von Stein on New Year’s Day, he told her that he believed that year would see either his death or Schiller’s.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, January 9, 1805.—TR.

³ In one of her letters Charlotte Schiller observes that the air of the Court does not agree with beautiful souls, for Schiller, too, always becomes ill when he goes there!—TR.

⁴ On January 14, 1805, Schiller writes to Goethe:—“I am very sorry to hear that your remaining indoors is not voluntary. Alas! it goes hard with us all, and he who, compelled by necessity, has gradually learned to endure his illness patiently, is best off. I am now really glad that I formed and carried out the resolve to occupy myself with a translation. Thus, at least some result has come of these days of wretchedness, and I have at any rate lived and acted.”—TR.

out, but immediately had to shut himself up again. On February 1, 1805, he amused himself preparing an honorary diploma for Gerning, as a member of the Mineralogical Society. In the pen-and-ink outline round the edge are seen symbols of the storms and weather, of the planets, of the god of earthquakes. Vulcan and Neptune are shown as symbols of the two opposed geologic theories. In the figure of the god of earthquakes there hovers a memory of Raphael's cartoons. All in this diploma is by Goethe, except the signatures of von Trebra and of Lenz.

About the 7th of February 1805 Goethe became very ill indeed; so terrible was the pain that his screams were heard by the sentinels at the gate of the city.¹ During the three following months an attack of his disorder occurred every four weeks.² He was dreadfully weakened each time. It was a colic of the kidneys, attended with violent cramps; and on each return his life was in actual danger. At this time Schiller suffered from ague fits. Goethe's present attack, though so violent, did not last long, and he was soon able to go out every day, but not strong enough to visit his friend; the excitement would have been too much for both of them. His intellect was pretty clear, however, and he dictated at the notes to his translation of *Le Neveu de Rameau*. In the beginning of March 1805 Schiller could resist the yearning to see Goethe no longer, and sent young Voss to announce that he was coming. "They fell on each other's neck," writes Voss, "and kissed in a long, earnest kiss before speaking a word. Neither of them mentioned the illness of himself or of the other, but both enjoyed the unmingled delight of being once more together and in good spirits."

The success of *Die Mitschuldigen* encouraged Goethe to bring his oldest piece, *Die Laune des Verliebten*, on the stage. It was acted March 6, 1805, and must have strangely affected the many anxious friends of the great poet. All seemed well. Schiller returned to his *Demetrius*; Goethe rejoiced in the increase of knowledge of French literature and art in the eighteenth century which his work on *Le Neveu de Rameau* was bringing. He had a new and violent attack on March 8,

¹ This is mentioned by Falk in a letter. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 501.—TR.

² See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, April 12, 1805.—TR.

1805, but was soon tolerably restored; his old friend Knebel found him a week later in his garden, looking happy. Knebel had come to live in Jena now, and Goethe was very glad of this. Heinrich Voss was continually with him, and confided to him all his feelings and thoughts. Goethe and Schiller saw each other at times. But on March 20, 1805, a cold north-east wind came that shut them within doors again, and delayed their recovery. However, in the beginning of April 1805 Goethe felt so well that, when on April 10 August Goethe set out in good charge to see his grandmother Goethe, Christiane could accompany her boy to Erfurt. But she had been only a few hours in Erfurt when a messenger came to call her back; Goethe had had a violent attack of his illness. Yet he was as before soon restored to a tolerable condition. He was ordered horse exercise by his doctor, and it did him a great deal of good. The thought of the return of his illness troubled him.

Frau Aja was very happy in her little grandson, who already overtopped his mother by half a head. The child stayed over three weeks with her. We give here a silhouette of the dear little woman, taken at this period. It was given by her to Frau Senator Stock, a great friend of hers.¹

On April 19, 1805, Goethe sent to the press the three essays on Winckelmann, one by himself, one by Friedrich August Wolf, and one by Heinrich Meyer, which, with the letters of Winckelmann to Berendis, and Heinrich Meyer's *Outline of the History of Art in the Eighteenth Century*, formed the book called *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert*. Goethe had grown anxious to publish a new edition of his *Works*, and as the great publisher Cotta was expected to come soon to Jena, he sent to Schiller his agreements with former publishers (Götschen, Unger, and Vieweg), in order that if Schiller were



FIG. 33. Silhouette of Goethe's mother in the year 1805. From the *Gedenkblätter an Goethe*.

¹ Frau Senator Stock was a daughter of the Danish Councillor of Legation, Johann Friedrich Moritz. See p. 32.—TR.

talking with Cotta on the subject he might know all that was needful. (In October 1804 Schiller had communicated Goethe's conditions to Cotta, who on the whole approved of them.) However, Goethe's first care now was to finish the collection of notes for the translation of *Le Neveu de Rameau*, and on April 24, 1805, he sent the last of them to Schiller. On April 25 he visited Schiller, and talked of a journey to Dresden. Schiller thought him tolerably restored. Yet the decline of the University of Jena was weighing on his mind. So many of the best professors had been lured away, and the number of students was diminishing. And now Voss was invited to Heidelberg, and resolved to go, though Goethe and the Duke were ready to do anything they could for him.

On the evening of April 29, 1805, Goethe went to visit Schiller, but found him starting for the theatre to see a *Ritterschauspiel*¹ called *Clara von Hoheneichen*, by that voluminous scribbler C. H. Spiess; and having no wish to keep him from going, and feeling too ill to go himself, they parted, never to see one another again. The performance over, Heinrich Voss went, according to his custom, to Schiller's box, and found him extremely feverish, with his teeth chattering. He was taken home, and lay for some days very ill, not responding even to the caresses of his children. Goethe, not at first apprehensive, grew very sad as the days passed and Schiller was no better. "On one occasion I found him in his garden weeping," writes Heinrich Voss; "but only single tears, that glistened in his eyes. His spirit wept, not his eyes; in his looks I read that his feelings had something great—more than earthly, something infinite—in them. I told him a great deal about Schiller, and he listened with a kind of ineffable composure. "Destiny is inexorable, and man is little!" that was all he said; and in a few moments began to speak of more cheerful things."

On May 1, 1805, Goethe planned out for Cotta the contents of the twelve volumes in which they proposed to issue his *Works*. A new attack of his disorder came on immediately after this; its violence soon abated, but it left him sadly weak and broken. It was a delight to him when about this

¹ One of the many results of the success of *Götz von Berlichingen* was the springing up of plays whose scenes were laid in the feudal ages, and whose principal characters belonged to the old German feudal nobility. These plays were called *Ritterschauspiele*.—TR.

time August came back from the ever joyous and loving Frau Aja. So soon as Goethe could, he wrote to her, May 6, 1805 : —“Receive, dear mother, a thousand thanks for all the goodness you have shown our August ! I only hope that the memory of his stay may give you a fraction of the delight that his account of his visit gives us. We are brought by it again into the living presence of you and of my old friends. Thank warmly for us all those who received him with such kindness. This first attempt to look forth into the world has been so successful, that I have good hope for his future. His youth has been happy, and I would fain see him merry and joyous still, as he passes on to a more serious age. I too in these better days, notwithstanding some agitation, find myself right well.”¹

On the day on which this letter was written, Schiller had grown so much better that he himself plucked up courage anew. But his head was bad that evening, and he raved a good deal during the following days. On the afternoon of May 9, 1805, he fell asleep, and the watchers took heart. His wife sat in an adjoining room. Suddenly, at about six o'clock in the afternoon, she was called ; a paralytic stroke had fallen, the face was distorted, the hands cold ; then a kind of electric shock passed over the features, and the great ease and quietness of death had come to Schiller.

Heinrich Meyer was at Goethe's house when the sad news came there. Meyer was called out, but when the worthy man heard what had happened, he was too much agitated to face Goethe ; he hurried home without taking leave. Christiane, too, went out for a moment. On her return Goethe saw that something was wrong. After a while he said, “I see clearly Schiller must be very ill ;” whereupon they tried to persuade him to the contrary. During the rest of the evening he remained silent, wrapped in his thoughts ; in the night he was heard weeping. In the morning he said to Christiane, “Is it not true that Schiller was *very* ill yesterday.” She began to sob. “He is dead ?” whereupon she had to acknowledge it. Then he turned aside and wept, without speaking a word. He spent the day in deep, gentle grief, in the companionship of Christiane and Riemer. He sent kindly messages to Heinrich Voss by August, and asked him to come to him ;

¹ See this letter in Robert Keil's *Frau Rath*, p. 357.—TR.

but Voss dared not. Goethe could not bear to look on the dead face, nor to see any of Schiller's dear ones. On the other hand he drew near to his old friend Charlotte von Stein, who too had loved and honoured Schiller well. Charlotte writes on May 11: "Goethe is again fully restored, and comes more often to me now. In Schiller he has had an irreparable loss. To-day he spoke with such originality on the physical and spiritual man, that I would have wished to write it down on the spot." Karl Stein remembered to have heard from his mother that, when she tried to persuade Goethe to see Schiller lying in death, he exclaimed: "No, the agitation!" ("*Nein, die Zerstörung!*") Not until May 13 did Heinrich Voss venture into his presence. On May 18 they went together to walk in Weimar Park. Goethe was greatly moved when he heard that the departure of the elder Voss was now fully determined on. Schiller's loss he must bear, since destiny took him away, but Voss was being taken away by men. They went home in silence; young Voss took leave in silence. In his home Goethe was very sad; Christiane heard him saying to himself: "Voss will follow his father, and Riemer too will sooner or later be drawn away; then I shall stand quite alone!" At this sad time the Duke was absent on a tour of inspection in Prussia. We do not know whether Goethe visited the Court, it is probable that he did not; but we find him often at the Duchess Amalia's. When the first weight of grief had lightened, he yielded to the solicitation of the actors, that a piece should be given in honour of Schiller's memory. Since by Art "pain should be roused only to be alleviated, and resolved into higher emotions of consoling power;" Goethe would seek in this piece to set forth "not that which we have lost but what is still left to us."¹ To Zelter, on June 1, 1805: "Since I wrote to you last, my good days have been few. I thought to lose myself, and lose a friend, and in him the half of my existence. The truth is, I ought to begin a new mode of life; but at my years there is no longer a way. So I just look straight before me every day, and do what is nearest, without thinking of a further sequence." Yet there was much still left him, his wife and child, true friends, an assured centre of powerful activity; above all, his own creative and speculative genius, and his own unsubduable will.

¹ Goethe to Cotta, June 1, 1805. See Vollmer's *Briefwechsel Schillers mit Cotta* [Stuttgart, 1876] S. 557.—Tr.

BOOK VIII.

THE YEARS OF POLITICAL CALAMITY

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DEATH OF SCHILLER TO THE PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE
AND PRUSSIA.

MAY 1805—SEPTEMBER 1807.

IN the few months of rest and recovery which followed, Goethe was still troubled by occasional illness. On May 30, 1805, Friedrich August Wolf and his charming daughter came to stay a fortnight with him.¹ After Wolf had returned to Halle, Voss and his wife came to Weimar to take leave. We know through Heinrich Voss that Goethe was in pain at the time from his disease, but it is not wonderful that a certain chill had come over his manner towards Voss, who did not speak a word of his approaching departure for Heidelberg. Cordiality was impossible, in the face of such reserve, and with Goethe's wounded memory of all the affectionate wiles thrown away in the endeavour to retain Voss for Jena. Not long after Goethe had another attack of spasms; but it was less violent than former ones, and on the following morning he was able to receive his old friend Friedrich Jacobi and his sister Helene (June 23). It was now almost thirteen years since they had seen one another,² and the meeting gave Goethe great delight. Wieland, who of late had begun to draw close again

¹ Goethe writes at length of this interesting visit in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1805.—TR.

² They had seen each other when Goethe was returning from the campaign in France in 1792. See pp. 457-8.—TR.

to the single great figure in German poetry left,¹ was during Jacobi's stay on one occasion dining at Goethe's, and observed how Christiane took the place of honour at the table, and with what tender courtesy Goethe treated her.²

On July 1, 1805, Jacobi left. He afterwards told a friend that during the last two days of his visit Goethe had been almost perfectly the Goethe of old times.

On July 2, 1805, Goethe, with Christiane, August, and Riemer, went to Lauchstedt. He was, of course, soon attracted to Halle, and there spent many fruitful and interesting hours with Wolf. Gall the craniologist was delivering lectures in Halle. Goethe attended these lectures. When one of his fits of illness came on, Gall delivered the lectures that he had missed at his bedside. When back in Lauchstedt, Goethe wrote (July 22, 1805), begging Zelter to come and visit him in Weimar: "I am thinking of a dramatic presentation of Schiller's *Lay of the Bell*. What might not this be with your help! Do come!" Zelter could not come; nevertheless Goethe asked him (August 4) for the musical arrangement of the *Lay*. But shortly after he came quite unexpectedly for a few days, and was very useful. Many matters were discussed between the friends. Goethe's yearning pain found some abatement in paying this tribute of honour to the memory of Schiller.³

On August 12 Christiane and August went back to Weimar, to be present at the opening of the new *Schiesshaus*.⁴ Goethe had arranged with Wolf to go to Helmstedt, in Brunswick, to see the strange old collector of curiosities, *Hofrath* Beireis, who lived there. They started on August 14, 1805, taking Goethe's boy with them. Goethe has given in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1805 a very full account of this pleasant excursion. They visited Magdeburg on their way, and Goethe examined with interest the cathedral and its ancient monuments. Their return journey brought them through Halberstadt, and they thought with tender regret of the good old poet

¹ See the reference to a remark by Wieland in Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii, 514.—TR.

² Christiane had been very unselfish and good during Goethe's illness. See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii, 220.—TR.

³ The performance of *Das Lied von der Glocke* at Lauchstedt took place August 10, 1805.—TR.

⁴ See p. 538.—TR.

Gleim, who had died there two years before. Their journey ended with their arrival in Halle on August 25.

Restored in mind and body, Goethe finally returned to Weimar on Friday, September 6, 1805. A week later he had a visit from the Crown Princess and Princess Caroline, and henceforward he delivered lectures on Natural Science, on Colour, Magnetism, Elasticity, every Wednesday morning before a select circle, consisting of the Princess and her governess, Charlotte von Stein and her sister-in-law; and in these lectures he sought to interweave ethical considerations. His delivery, the result of careful thought and practice, pleasant to hear and instinct with feeling, charmed the ladies, notwithstanding the habit of often passing his hand over his forehead, in which he resembled Gall. Now at length he ventured on a visit to Lotte Schiller; it proved a strange mingling of pain and pleasure. He talked to her chiefly of Natural Science, and invited her to attend the Wednesday lectures. The Art Exhibition of this year was poor. It was the last, for Goethe, seeing his efforts in the service of Ideal Art working but little result, defeated on one hand by the pietistic tendency of the time, on the other by the naturalistic tendency, felt ill inclined to continue an unprosperous war. And accordingly no prize subject for 1806 was published. In the Report of 1805 it simply runs thus:—"For the current year our Art Exhibition remains closed. Meanwhile we purpose to hold intercourse on the subject of Colour with the friends of Art and Nature. Perhaps we shall in future appoint our prize subjects with reference to this insufficiently treated side of Art."

Already while in Lauchstedt Goethe had come to an understanding with Cotta as to the publication of his *Works*. On sending in the beginning of his MS. he was to receive one thousand thalers, at Easter 1806 three thousand, at Easter 1807 three thousand, at Easter 1808 three thousand. Cotta was to have the sole right of publishing until Easter 1814, and then he was to have the right of preference if he offered as high terms as other publishers. On September 30, 1805, Goethe sent the revised *Wilhelm Meister*, which was to occupy the second and third volumes of the set; the first volume, to contain the poems, demanded greater labour. But even nearer to his heart than the new edition lay the completion of the

Theory of Colour, which should appear in the coming spring; and when in October 1805 he went to Jena on University affairs, he worked on this long-cherished scheme. In Jena he was always cordially welcome in the house of the bookseller Frommann. Frommann's wife, an intelligent and cultivated woman, was interesting and attractive to Goethe, and so too was the adopted daughter of the house Minchen (Wilhelmine) Herzlieb, a beautiful girl of seventeen, whom he had seen grow up during the last eight years, since the death of her father, the *Superintendent*¹ in Züllichau.

But already the dark shadow of coming war had fallen on the land. The Prussians, fortifying themselves in Erfurt, billeted troops all over Weimar territory, a heavy burden that lasted many months. In the beginning of November 1805 the Emperor Alexander of Russia, a man of undoubted personal amiability arrived in Weimar. During his stay we find Goethe dining at Court for the first time in that year. The Emperor sent his visiting card to Wieland and to Goethe. The latter went to Jena again in December 1805; thither, accompanied by Prince Louis Ferdinand, came also Karl August, on his way to headquarters in Ronneburg.

At Christmas 1805 Goethe became ill; his periodic spasms began again and continued during the first five months of 1806, at intervals of three or four weeks. The continual anxious anticipation of these weakening and painful attacks untuned him dreadfully. Yet he went on delivering the lectures to the ladies whenever not absolutely prohibited by sickness, and their unanimous praise gave him real pleasure, though he did not like their devoting a previous quarter of an hour to the public events of the day. He was much grieved by the death of Christiane's sister Ernestine on the 7th of January.²

On January 15, 1806, Goethe's *Stella* in Schiller's adaptation was acted. Goethe had changed the *dénouement*, making Fernando commit suicide. The piece was splendidly appointed, but the new *dénouement* was felt to be an evasion of the difficulty, and the moral sense was still unsatisfied.

¹ *Superintendent* in several states of Germany means a clergyman of high rank.—TR.

² See the extracts from letters of Christian Vulpius, Christiane's brother, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881. See the extract dated January 7.—TR.

The Weimar stage at this time possessed two very good actors in Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife; the maiden name of the latter was Malcolmi.

Marches through, and the billeting of soldiers, continued to weary and vex the poor little duchy of Weimar. Officers frequently dined at Goethe's table. On January 30, the birthday of the Duchess, before the performance of Corneille's *Cid* the audience in the theatre all joined in singing to the air of *God save the King*, and with the accompaniment of the splendid trumpeter band of the Owstien Regiment, verses of Goethe's that expressed the general longing for peace.¹ And for the time warlike demonstrations ceased. In the middle of February 1806 the Prussians left Weimar.

Meanwhile Goethe had written a very searching and appreciative notice of the *Volkslieder* in the collection of Arnim and Brentano, called *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*;² and with Riemer's help had been revising and rearranging his poems for the new edition. Some new poems were written. At this time, too, re-emerged the plan of eight years ago of an epic *Tell*. To complete the first batch of copy only the fourth volume was now wanting, and that would give little trouble. On May 10, 1806, the day after the anniversary of Schiller's death, *Das Lied von der Glocke* was acted again, with Goethe's *Epilog* somewhat altered. Goethe hoped that a visit to Karlsbad in the summer would do him a great deal of good, but before the time for the trip came he had another attack of his illness.

In June 1806 he went to Jena with August and Riemer, there to do his best to prevent the physicist Voigt from leaving Jena with his apparatus for the study of Physics. August soon went back to Weimar, where he was a pupil at the *Gymnasium*. It is related that once when Director Lenz desired the boys to translate the classic poets in German verse, August Goethe refused, saying that his father had forbidden him to make verses. A few years before, when a young man was announced who did not know French, Goethe had said with irritation: "*Verse machen können sie alle.*"³ He had special reason for preventing his son from making verses.

¹ See in Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 302, in the *Maskenzüge*, the lines beginning "*Herzlich und freudevoll.*"—TR.

² See the notice in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxix. 384-98.—TR.

³ "*They are all good at verse-making.*"—TR.

In the beginning of July¹ 1806 Goethe, accompanied by Riemer, arrived in Karlsbad. The delight in two old pursuits—in the study of mineralogy and in landscape sketching—awoke anew in Karlsbad, and during the six visits of the following seven years continued unabated. The lapidary, Joseph Müller, long known to Goethe, had investigated minutely the characteristics of the various rocks and strata of the district during the years since their last meeting, and had gathered an adequate museum of specimens. This museum and Müller's communication of his views, together with conversations with *Bergrath* Werner² and August Herder, drew Goethe again to mineralogical investigation, a result to which, indeed, the neighbourhood of Karlsbad alone was sufficient. As to his sketches, he purposed to bring a dozen of them when perfected to the Princess Caroline, whose talent for drawing he was glad to stimulate in every way.

During this visit of 1806 to Karlsbad an important plan revived in Goethe's mind. He had once thought of writing a *Festspiel* in the manner of Calderon, a poet whose work A. W. Schlegel had made known to him some years before, and whom he had learned to honour. In the rich form bequeathed by Calderon, Goethe had designed to set forth in the *Return of Pandora* this thought—that a genuine work of art is only possible through the combination of poetic fire with the ripe skill that comes of well meditated experience. And now in one Frau von Levezow, by birth a von Brösigke, he found a prototype for the noble figure of the Pandora of his conception.³

But political fears and anxieties invaded the peaceful mountain valley. Through Prince Reuss the poet had a glimpse of approaching calamity. Napoleon had succeeded in seducing sixteen German sovereign princes into forming the so-called *Rheinbund* under his protection. On the way back to Weimar Goethe learned at Hof, near the scene of Jean Paul's boyhood, how the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist.⁴ He reached Weimar on August 12, 1806.

¹ Goethe says in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, "end of May"—a mistake—see the letters to Zelter. He has not been in Karlsbad since 1795.—TR. ² See p. 432. This is Abraham Gottlob Werner.—TR.

³ In Goethe's Diary for July 27, 1806, the two names "Frau von Levezow" and "Pandora" stand beside each other.—TR.

⁴ On August 6, 1806, the Emperor, Franz II., declared that he considered the empire dissolved by the formation of the Confederacy of the Rhine.—TR.

A few days after his return he went to Jena. Here he had the *Farbenlehre* placed in the printer's hands; the two volumes were to proceed at the same time. The first volume contained his new Theory of Colour and the confutation of the current theory, the second volume gave the history of the science. While he was in Jena word came that the Berlin Academy of Sciences had elected Goethe and Cuvier to be Foreign Associates. He was called back to Weimar in the first week of September 1806 by the growing seriousness of the political situation. Karl August made a treaty with Prussia, by which Weimar was to join in the threatening war. At the Prussian headquarters in Niederrossla Goethe and Karl August had a "pregnant conversation."¹ The Duke talked hopefully, showed how necessary it was that he should take part in the war, and committed the care of his land and people to his old friend.

On September 26, 1806, Goethe hastened to Jena again, his primary object being to help in setting out the geological specimens that had just come from Karlsbad. As the Prussian general, Prince von Hohenlohe, was to stay in the old Castle, Goethe occupied a side wing on this occasion. He generally dined at the Prince's table, and there heard nothing but politics talked. The greater pleasure was it each evening to join the peaceful Frommann family circle, where he had grown more and more intimate continually. There he always found materials for drawing ready, and his unfinished drawing would lie open awaiting him; he was fond of drawing and talking at the same time.² He returned to Weimar (October 6, 1806) and found all disquiet and consternation there.

Weimar had lately gained a charming resident. Johanna Schopenhauer was a native of Danzig; her husband had died in Hamburg, leaving her in easy circumstances, and she had chosen Weimar as her new home. She was now thirty-six, of charming presence and fine culture. When a few months before she had paid a brief visit to Weimar, Goethe had wished to conduct her through the Library, but had been prevented by illness. On Sunday, October 12, 1806, a stranger was announced at her house; a handsome, grave-looking man in

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1806.—TR.

² See p. 161—Caroline Flachsland's letter of November 27, 1772.

dark dress appeared and bowed low with much grace. "Permit me," he said, "to introduce to you the *Geheimrath* Goethe." Having heard so much of Goethe's stiffness, she did not suppose her visitor to be the great poet of the Germans, until he showed her more clearly who he was. "My joy and my confusion were equally great," she writes to her son Arthur. "When I collected my thoughts I found my



FIG. 34. Johanna Schopenhauer. From an oil-painting in the Library of Weimar, engraved here for the first time.

two hands closed in his, and we were on the way to my sitting-room. He said he had wished to come yesterday; he quieted my fears as to the future, and he promised to come again." Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein on the same day.

Early on the morning of October 14, 1806, the day of the battle of Jena, the Duchess Amalia, the Crown-Prince and Princess Caroline, fled from Weimar. By seven o'clock in the morning the cannonade was heard. The day was very

calm and fair. The roar grew more and more terribly audible ; then later it diminished, and at length seemed to die away entirely. So about three o'clock Goethe's household assembled at dinner, but hardly had they begun when cannon shots were heard again, this time very near at hand ; at first isolated shots, then several following on one another rapidly. The dinner-table was soon deserted ; Goethe went into his garden and walked up and down, while balls whistled high above. It was now about four o'clock, and Riemer could see the bayonets of the retreating Prussians gleaming in the sun as they passed along by the garden wall. After a while French hussars thronged into the town, and soon it was filled with rioting, plundering enemies. A hussar officer, Wilhelm von Türckheim—Lili's son—came to Goethe and accompanied him to the Castle. Goethe sent home word that Marshal Augereau¹ and his escort, beside some troopers and cavalry officers, would take Goethe's house as their quarters ; no one else should be admitted. Soon sixteen Alsatian troopers appeared there, so tired that they soon all went to sleep downstairs in the servants' room. In the building at the rear of the house were many people of the neighbourhood, who had fled thither. Later Goethe returned. The Marshal did not arrive. There is a detailed account in Riemer of the incidents of the night—how two tirailleurs who came were not so easily contented as the troopers had been ; how they secretly got into Goethe's bedroom ; how Christiane, by her presence of mind calling one of the fugitives in the back house up to help by the stairs which led into the garden, freed Goethe from the drink-maddened intruders. When the Marshal² came at length in the morning, a guard was placed before the door (October 15, 1806).

During the presence of the enemy Christiane had a great deal to bear from the insolence of the officers, who treated her as a mere housekeeper.³ Goethe saw this, and felt that

¹ Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 363, says Marshal Ney. But Ney did not take up permanent quarters in Goethe's house ; he only spent a few hours there on October 15. Still there may have been a change of purpose, and Riemer is probably correct.—Tr.

² On November 3, 1806, Goethe writes to F. A. Wolf:—"I have had first General Victor, then Marshals Lannes and Augereau, in the house with their adjutants and suite."—Tr.

³ *Aus Goethe's Leben Von einem Zeitgenossen*.—Tr.

the mother of his son, the saver of his life, ought no longer to remain without legal right to call herself his wife. Since the dangerous illness in 1801, in which Christiane had nursed him with such affection and courage, he had shown himself frequently with her in public, and during the last few years she had sat at his table as mistress of his house; all that was wanting was the ecclesiastical ceremony.

On the afternoon of October 15 Napoleon came to Weimar. He was full of wrath against Karl August, but his anger was overcome by the great heart and will of the Duchess Luise. On October 16 he commanded that the plundering should cease. On the morning of October 17 he left the little city that he had brought to the brink of destruction. If within three days¹ Karl August would leave the Prussian army, withdraw his contingent and return to Weimar, he might retain his dominions.

On that day, October 17, 1806, while all stood on the edge of fate, Goethe wrote to Günther, Chief Councillor of Consistory and Court Preacher: "During these days and nights an old purpose of mine has come to ripeness. I want to recognise fully and legally as mine my little friend who has done so much for me, and now has lived through these hours of trial with me. Tell me, worthy reverend sir and father, how to proceed that, soon as possible, Sunday or earlier, we may be married. What steps have to be taken? Could you not perform the ceremony yourself? I should like it to take place in the sacristy of City Church. Give the answer to the messenger, if possible, I beg." On Sunday, October 19, 1806, the marriage took place in presence of August Goethe and Riemer,² but in the sacristy of the Court and Garrison Church, as Günther had no jurisdiction over the City Church. On the following day Goethe dined at Court, for the first and last time that year, with Commandant Dentzel. Next day he inquired through Riemer after the welfare of Johanna Schopenhauer, and in the evening he visited her, accompanied by his wedded wife. Foreseeing that the distinguished circle of ladies, hitherto his friends, would be embittered by his marriage, he took refuge in the generosity of the stranger,

¹ Keil, in his new book, *Goethe, Weimar und Jena im Jahre 1806* [Leipzig, 1882], p. 43, says that twenty-four hours was the time.—TR.

² Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 373.—TR.

accustomed to the life of large cities. "I received her as if I did not know who she had been hitherto," writes Johanna Schopenhauer to her son. "I saw plainly how my behaviour gladdened him. There were a few other ladies with me, who were formal and stiff at first, and who afterwards followed my example. Goethe remained almost two hours, and was more talkative and friendly than he has been for years. He has as yet introduced her in person to no one but me. He trusted that I, as a stranger and a dweller in large cities, would receive his wife as she must be received; she was indeed much confused, but I soon helped her through." Four days later Johanna paid her return visit. Goethe felt a mountain lifted from his breast, saddened as he was by the condition of the city, plundered, and filled with sick and wounded. He was more affectionate in intercourse with his friends, more sympathetic, more gentle, than he had ever been. In the welfare of his Jena friends he showed especial interest at this time.¹ He did not yet venture to visit Charlotte von Stein. In the evenings he often went to Johanna Schopenhauer's. There, too, Heinrich Meyer, who had lost everything in the recent troubles, and a pupil of Meyer's in whom Goethe was interested, a young but plain-featured painter, Caroline Bardua of Ballenstedt, were frequent visitors.

To calm himself he began work on the *Farbenlehre*, whose printing had been broken off by the misfortune of Jena. By the end of October Weimar had quieted down a good deal; and the Duchess Amalia soon returned. During the sack of Weimar, poor Kraus, Goethe's fellow-townsmen and old friend, received such ill treatment that he died of it. He was buried on November 9, 1806, and though Goethe disliked attending funerals, he was present. Heinrich Meyer now became Director of the Drawing Academy. On November 10, Johanna Schopenhauer dined at Goethe's; there were present also Meyer, Knebel, Bertuch and Bertuch's wife. Johanna was lost in admiration of Goethe. On one occasion she writes of him:—

¹ On October 18, Goethe dictated to Riemer a circular addressed to twelve Jena friends, inquiring after their welfare, and describing the state of Weimar. He then procured a pass from Commandant Dentzel, and sent a messenger who went round to the houses of the friends addressed in the circular. Among the friends were Hegel, Knebel, and Frommann.
—TR.

"He is the most perfect being that I know, in externals also. A tall handsome form held erect, very carefully attired, always black or completely in dark blue, his hair tastefully dressed and powdered as becomes his age—and an absolutely splendid face, with two clear, brown eyes, at once mild and penetrating." The sound of his voice was music to her: On the evening of November 11, Goethe was at Johanna Schopenhauer's, with Meyer, Fernow, Riedel, and the poet, Dr. Stephan Schütze. He was in the gayest mood, and declared himself prepared to come regularly to Johanna's receptions, which, as now arranged, should take place on Sunday and Thursday evenings. Tea only was drunk at them. He was the soul of these assemblies, where a table with drawing materials always stood ready for him.

Now at length Goethe ventured to visit Charlotte von Stein, who had suffered a great deal during the sack of the city. But his marriage with Christiane had incensed Charlotte: there was a barrier dividing them, she was besides full of bitterness because of her misfortunes, and he did not ask her to his wife's house as he did Charlotte von Schiller. He occasionally visited the Duchess Amalia's, where he used to draw and talk at the same time as in other places. But nowhere was he more friendly and cheery than at the house of Johanna Schopenhauer, whose kindly reception of his wife had filled him with warm gratitude.

On December 15, 1806, Weimar was compelled, under the Peace of Posen, to join the *Rheinbund*, and to pay an indemnity of 2,200,000 francs. Meanwhile, since even after the grimmest fall we must seek to rise again, Goethe caused the theatre to open on the 26th of December. By the 13th of December he had finished the didactic part of the *Farbenlehre*, and turned to the passionate polemic section. He laboured also in preparing material for fresh volumes of his *Works*, especially in completing and connecting the parts of *Faust*, which he promised himself would make a deep impression in its new form.

In the new year (1807) Goethe was often very poorly. The friendship with Johanna Schopenhauer maintained all its intimacy. His wife occasionally was one of the company, and her Thuringian *naïveté* passed without especial remark. Goethe derived great pleasure from the experiment of the actors

Wolff and wife, who, of their own accord, set about bringing *Tasso* on the stage. They surprised him one day with a rehearsal which he thought so good that he did not oppose the public presentation of the play. This took place on February 16, 1807, and was very successful. There was great applause at the beginning, because Goethe had a bust of Wieland instead of one of Ariosto, crowned by Leonore. The actors' lessons in reading still went on.

Soon after this the little state had fresh cause for general grief. The good Duchess Amalia died on April 10, 1807. In three days Goethe composed a short account of her life and influence, and at the solemn service in honour of her memory on April 19, this was read aloud from all the pulpits in the country.

On April 1, 1807, Goethe had begun to hold Wednesday receptions again.¹ At the first of them he lectured on the geographical distribution of plants, with reference to a work which Alexander von Humboldt had lately dedicated to him. In the third (April 15, 1807), the philologist, F. A. Wolf, then in Weimar, gave a short address on the ancients, and Goethe exhibited some flowers, and made some important remarks upon them. In the night between April 16 and 17 an extraordinarily violent attack of the old complaint occurred, its proximate causes being the lowness of the barometer and over-exertion. On the 1st of May 1807 we find him once more with the Duchess at tea; Wieland and Charlotte von Stein were there too. Some days later he had another Wednesday reception.

Now Goethe was to have one of the strangest experiences of all his life, the passionate obtrusiveness of Bettine Brentano. She was the youngest daughter of Goethe's Max Brentano, of Ehrenbreitstein and Frankfurt memory, the grand-daughter of Sophie von Laroche, who had died a short time since (in February 1807). Bettine was now just turned twenty-two. Almost five years ago she had sent word to Goethe by Charlotte von Kalb that she burned with love for him, as Mignon for Wilhelm Meister. This Mignon fantasy grew wilder and wilder in her. She was a daily visitor of Goethe's mother, and amused her a great deal, but plagued her too. Sometimes Bettine declared to the Frau Rath that she would run off in

¹ See pp. 555, 556.—TR.

boy's dress to Weimar.¹ She now came in the company of her brother-in-law and her sister. Goethe received the enthusiastic daughter of Max, the friend of his mother, with affectionate kindness, but had to repress her stormy ebullition of feeling. He called her, as he would call other young ladies, his "child," his "pretty, good maiden," "dear heart,"² but was amazed by her eccentricity. She came to the evening circle of Johanna Schopenhauer, and there drew attention by her droll, fantastic behaviour. "A cheery, good-hearted kobold seemed to speak from her whole nature, and at the same time an enthusiasm for music lifted her into the world of souls," writes Stephan Schütze.

A surprise of another kind that Goethe had about this time was a letter from Madame de Staël, who, having heard from Frau von Schardt of his illness, entreated him to come to Coppet. Goethe perceived her intention, and politely excused himself. The Weimar Theatre closed earlier than usual this year. The actors went first to Leipzig, where their season was opened (May 24, 1807) with the recitation by Madame Wolff of an excellent prologue by Goethe. Goethe had commended the company to the kindness of his friend, Friedrich Rochlitz.³

Soon after the middle of May 1807 Goethe went to Jena. Before leaving he had sent every volume of his *Works*, except one, to the printer. The change in the little University city that had once been so flourishing saddened him, and he soon went on with Riemer to Karlsbad.⁴ The use of the waters in the ordinary way at first made him very much worse, but when he followed the directions of Dr. Kapp of Leipzig, he improved rapidly.⁵ On August 10, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein: "During the last ten weeks I have had several epochs in my quiet life. First, I dictated short romantic stories" (these he had had a long time in mind), "then there

¹ See in Keil's *Frau Rath* a letter from the Frau Rath to Christiane, dated May 16, 1807, that is, after Bettine had seen Goethe. (*Frau Rath*, p. 364).—TR.

² See Bettine's letter to Goethe, Cassel, June 15 [1807], in Loeper's *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz, April 3 and May 12, 1807.—TR.

⁴ At the close of May 1807. See No. 279 in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit Knebel*. Düntzer has pointed out that this letter is clearly dated incorrectly, Jena, March 24, 1807. It should be Jena, May 24, 1807.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Zelter, July 27, 1807.—TR.

was sketching, then the kingdom of stone and rock had its turn, and now I have returned again to the region of the freer fantasy, the region where we always finally find ourselves happiest." His elucidation of Joseph Müller's collection of specimens of Karlsbad rock was printed in Karlsbad. In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1807 Goethe speaks of the value of a watering-place in bringing together many important persons, acquaintance with whom enriches and varies life. Among those met by Goethe on this visit were the French Resident, Karl Friedrich Reinhard, with whom he became intimate,¹ and the Chief Court Preacher, F. V. Reinhard, from Dresden. Goethe found with pleasure that, in questions of ethics, his opinion coincided with that of F. V. Reinhard. Towards the end of his stay in Karlsbad he was joined by August, whom he had sent for, wishing him to see the place talked of so often at home.²

The peace concluded between France and Prussia in July 1807 seemed to promise at least a temporary calm. The return of the Crown-Princess in the company of her husband was celebrated with great rejoicing in Weimar. She was welcomed to Weimar Theatre by the remarkable *Fore-piece*,³ which Goethe composed within eight days. The thought of this little lyric dialogue is: True patriotism consists in every man's labouring diligently in his own place; in so doing he best learns to further the general good. This was the rule by which Goethe himself diligently strove to shape his life. Many things claimed his time and thought. As an officer of state it lay upon him to give his best attention to the academic institutions of Jena, to foster and develop the theatre in Weimar; at the same time he was striving to build up a new theory of colour, and to bring to recognition a real vivid notion of the simple laws of development that Nature follows in all her departments.⁴ (So early as Easter 1807 in the Fair Catalogue, an

¹ See the important correspondence of Goethe and Reinhard, from 1807 to 1832, published by Cotta in 1850.—TR.

² Goethe returned to Weimar in the beginning of September 1807.—TR.

³ *Vorspiel zu Eröffnung des Weimarischen Theaters am 19 September 1807.* Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 88-100.—TR.

⁴ This project was in Goethe's mind during part of 1806. See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1807, and Goethe to Knebel, October 29, 1806; Goethe to Zelter, December 26, 1806. See Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil xxxiii, Seite ix, x.—TR.

essay by him had been announced, *Ideen über organische Bildung*¹). In a silent, regular, consequent activity, Goethe put all his hope, and to his mood the eternal mining and countermining of politics seemed worse than futile, likely only to bring fresh trouble on the nation, nay, perhaps lead in the end to its overthrow.

¹ See in Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil xxxiii. S. 3-14, the essay called *Bildung und Umbildung organischer Naturen*.—**TR.**

CHAPTER II.

BETTINE—ZACHARIAS WERNER—SONNETS—MINCHEN HERZLIEB
—THE *WAHLVERWANDTSCHAFTEN*—THE *WANDERJAHRE*
—*PANDORA*—PUBLICATION OF *FAUST*—DEATH OF FRAU
RATH—NAPOLEON AND GOETHE.

OCTOBER 1807—NOVEMBER 1808.

GOETHE had now drawn near to the Court again. On Tuesday mornings he visited the Princess Caroline, and, "without delivering a formal lecture, he explained in a very charming way highly intellectual things."¹ Then, in the evenings he frequently read aloud to a small circle in the Duchess's apartments; the Crown-Princess, Princess Caroline, Charlotte von Stein, and the wives of the two Stewards of the Household, would be of the gathering, seldom any men. More delightful evenings, Charlotte remarks, than those spent in the eternal card-playing. Goethe's hearers were charmed with the new scenes of *Faust* (the new edition of the drama was at the time in the printer's hands). At his own house there were little concerts every Sunday. There were indeed hardly ever more than four voices;² still he hoped to develop it further. The fragment of an *Achilleïs*, which was now at length to appear in the new edition of his *Works*, needed a new revisal; and his designed *Pandora* must be executed, since he had promised it to Leo von Seckendorf for the magazine *Prometheus*, which Seckendorf was about to edit in partnership with a son of the famous physician Stoll.

During the first ten days of November 1807 Goethe was

¹ Charlotte von Stein to her son Fritz, November 11, 1807. Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 273-4.—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, Jena, December 16, 1807.—TR.

teased with the importunate enthusiasm of Bettine, who, with her sisters and brother, had come to Weimar again. Four months before she had opened her heart to him in a dithyrambic letter:¹ without his love, what is most beautiful, most holy, would be gone from her life. Goethe was very friendly to the "pretty child," but continued to baffle her intrusiveness with smiling, pleasant humour. One morning Bettine lamented to Riemer that Goethe behaved so strangely² towards her. He freely gave her leave to write to him, but she was to write especially about Frankfurt and his mother.

On November 11, 1807, Goethe went with Riemer to Jena, where the polemic part of the *Farbenlehre* was being printed. On the way Goethe expounded to Riemer the whole conception of *Pandora* in detail.³ By November 19 he could read to Riemer the beginning of the drama, and on November 29 he dictated some of it aloud. On November 29, Advent Sunday, he dined with a large company at the house of the bookseller Frommann. Minchen Herzlieb had unfolded an exquisite youthful beauty, heightened by a singular reserve of manner, that indicated depth of spirit and feeling. She made a powerful impression on Goethe's mind, but only roused a fleeting gust of passionate excitement. Thus we find him calmly continuing to dictate *Pandora* during the following days. On December 1, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein:—"I spend frequent evenings with Knebel, where many things are read and talked over. On the whole, with an external remarkable quietness, there is at bottom much activity. Cultivated men, and those who labour in the culture of others, spend a noiseless life. The dark days and long evenings are indeed almost unconquerable here."

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, December 1, 1807, the post-car bore into Jena the author of the play *Martin Luther*, which had been lately⁴ acted with great effect, in an abbreviated form, on the Berlin stage.

¹ Loeper, *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettine Brentano*, 1879, pp. 147-157. The letter is reprinted from the original manuscript, and the version given by Bettine in *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* is also printed, in order to allow comparison. The date of the original manuscript is June 15. Bettine changed this to May 15.—TR.

² "So wunderbar und sonderbar." Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 32.—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, ii. 596.—TR.

⁴ Iffland first brought it on the stage in June 1806.—TR.

Zacharias Werner, who held himself to be Schiller's appointed successor, was born in Königsberg in November 1768. Ere the time at which we are now arrived he had put himself in communication with Goethe, who recognised his dramatic power, but felt that great immaturity was evidenced by the "unpleasant oppositions" to be found in his pieces, which were all strongly tinged with mystic sentiment. However, he was now in such a cheery mood that he found it easy to overlook what was repellent in Werner's personal presence for the sake of the genuine poetic fire in him. Thus, on the morning of December 2, 1807, when "Dr. Luther," as Goethe humorously calls him, came, easily introducing himself, he was well received. On the evening of December 2 Goethe and Werner were at Knebel's. On the following evening they formed part of a considerable gathering at Frommann's hospitable house, and Werner read aloud some sonnets with wonderful depth of feeling. On the days following Werner was much with Goethe, and spoke to him of a new, nearly-finished drama, *Wanda*. Werner bubbled over with sonnets, and Goethe caught the sonnet fever from him. He read many German and Italian sonnets, and meditated on the nature of this form of verse. Finally he began to compose himself. At Knebel's, on the evening of December 6, 1807, he read aloud his first sonnet. It is that which stands fourth in the *Sonnette* in Goethe's *Works*, and is the utterance of a maiden in love. Between December 6 and 18, 1807, arose a group of sonnets, two of which are personally addressed to Minchen Herzlieb, but precisely these show no sign of genuine passion. If he had felt passion the sonnet form would not have been his choice; it seemed to him only suitable for poetically refined love-sentiment. It was the amusement and excitement of emulation that drew him to spend his time thus, leaving *Pandora* unfinished. Werner's *Wanda* seemed so important a production of its kind, that Goethe resolved to have it played on the coming birthday of the Duchess.

On December 18, 1807, Goethe returned to Weimar in the best spirits. The preparations for *Wanda* began at once, otherwise his life went on as usual. At Christmas he sent sweets to Minchen, accompanied by a gallant sonnet.¹ Frau

¹ The sonnet *Christgeschenk*. Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, iii, 247, 264. On Goethe and the Sonnet, see note 2, p. 511.—TR,

Frommann surprised him with the gift of a beautiful letter-case that she had worked for him. August Goethe's birthday, December 25, was celebrated with a little piece by the friendly actors. On Wednesdays Werner read aloud at Goethe's house to a select circle of ladies, among whom were the Duchess and the Princess. He read his play, *Das Kreuz an der Ostsee*,¹ first, then his *Attila*. Notwithstanding his external repulsiveness, he made a huge impression on the ladies; indeed he had an uncommon adaptability and power of winning people to his side; even the Duke was interested by this very extraordinary saint.²

On January 16, 1808, Goethe came with his wife to Jena for a couple of days, in order to attend the ball at *The Rose*; he wished to introduce Christiane as his wife to his sincere friend Frau Frommann, and the whole Jena circle. He had just taken unpretentious lodgings near the Castle of Jena, having been compelled, by the projected restoration of the Castle, to abandon for the present his old quarters there.³ At the Frommanns' he read aloud, not sonnets, but part of *Hackert's Leben*.

Wanda, Queen of the Sarmatae, was admirably played on January 30, 1808. The scenery and dresses were very good. It made a great impression on many hearers. "The plot is indeed simple, the situation natural and explicable, but the execution is infinitely tender, and in many places loses itself in the region of mystery," writes Goethe, on February 1, to

¹ *The Cross on the Baltic*.—Tr.

² Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz, December 31, 1807, of Werner:—"When reading, he turns his eyes frequently in a very rapt way to heaven, reads pleasantly when not too violent, and feels a call, as he says, to propound to the world, Love in its thousand differing forms. He has an intellectual expression, often seems to one ugly, and often good-looking, but odd enough. He is a favourite of Goethe's; they became acquainted in Jena. They were at Knebel's one evening; Knebel's wife was pouring out tea, their little boy was playing with toys, and Werner was in the height of declamation. Suddenly the boy said: 'The man is crazy!' Knebel cried: 'Hold your tongue, sir!' The mother was horrified. Goethe nearly laughed himself to death. 'Let him off,' said he. 'The lad has half a world in him.' (And in truth a poet cannot be like other men.) But the boy maintained: 'How could he talk like that if he wasn't crazy!' But it did not disturb Werner."—Tr.

³ Goethe to Frau Frommann, December 26, 1807. *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], p. 42.—Tr.

Nikolaus Meyer. The Duke gave Werner sixty ducats. It was impossible to provide him with any regular appointment in Weimar. And ere long the immorality of the life of this "*Liebesgesell*"¹ was discovered.

Meanwhile Goethe had been working on *Pandora*, and had sent the beginning of it to the printer. Moreover, in January 1808 he dictated to Riemer that gay, charming ballad, *Wirkung in die Ferne*. In the latter part of February he became unwell, and had to spend about a fortnight indoors. On March 17 he went to Jena for a few days, to care for the many things that claimed him. At the close of March Werner departed; in good time, while all was still pleasant; he was full of Goethe's greatness as a man and as a poet.

In the beginning of April 1808 August Goethe went to the University of Heidelberg, to spend two years there in the study of jurisprudence. This was a sad parting for Goethe, who was still poorly. "The black-eyed, brown-curled youth"² was received in Frankfurt with joy by Frau Aja and Bettine. (Bettine had leave to write to Goethe.³ When he sent her a letter in January 1808, she had been "beside herself with joy."⁴) "Let his father's city become a paternal city, so that he may feel among his own people," wrote Goethe to Bettine. "Introduce him to your dear brothers and sisters and relatives, and when you are friendly to him, be mindful of me."⁵ The Prince Primate of the Rhine, whom we have known as Statthalter Dalberg,⁶ now lord of Frankfurt, gave a banquet in honour of August and of Goethe's mother. Goethe was pleased, and sent his thanks to Dalberg through Bettine.⁷

Meanwhile he had begun a sequel to *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*. At Schiller's suggestion, allusions to a sequel had

¹ This was a title assumed by Werner himself. See the book *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], p. 88.—TR.

² Goethe to Bettine, April 3, 1808. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, pp. 164-166.—TR.

³ Frau Rath to Goethe, September 8, 1807. Keil, *Frau Rath*, p. 368.—TR.

⁴ Frau Rath to Goethe, January 15, 1808. Keil, *Frau Rath*, p. 375.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Bettine, April 3, 1808.—TR.

⁶ See pp. 249, 310, 385, 394, 434.—TR.

⁷ Goethe to Bettine, May 4, 1808. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, pp. 170-171.—TR.

been inserted in the Eighth Book of the *Lehrjahre*. In this sequel Goethe meant to incorporate a series of tales which he had had by him in an unfinished state many years. He had planned to start for Jena about April 11, 1808, but an attack of the old disorder came on, and he spent his Easter in Weimar. But he was well enough on Easter Monday, April 18, to visit the Greek Church to hear the beautiful singing of some Russians who were going to Paris. After this we find him reading aloud from *Meister's Wanderjahre* one day, at Charlotte von Stein's, to a circle of ladies; another evening he reads in the Duchess's apartments, Charlotte being present.¹ Goethe and Charlotte had become good friends again. After a short visit to Jena, he left Weimar for Karlsbad on May 12, 1808, intending to make a long stay on this occasion. During his absence Madame de Staël came to Weimar chiefly for his sake; and though the Court treated her in the friendliest manner, she remained only nine days,² since he would not return from Karlsbad to see her.

Meanwhile Karlsbad was doing him a great deal of good. He now carried *Pandora* forward to a certain point of section;³ and he began *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. This novel is the development of what had been at first conceived as a short tale, like those bedded in *Meister's Wanderjahre*. In it this truth receives prominence, that the most painful renunciation is the penalty of any wrong done to the sanctity of marriage, even in thought.⁴ Of how many painful acts of renunciation was

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 286, for interesting details.—TR.

² June 11-19.—TR.

³ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, July 2, 1808.—TR.

⁴ I collect a few of Goethe's own utterances on this novel:—*Eckermann*, May 6, 1827:—"The only work of considerable length in which I am conscious of having striven to set forth an idea is probably my *Wahlverwandtschaften*." And what was this leading thought or idea? Goethe to J. St. Zauper, Eger, September 7, 1821:—"Die *Wahlverwandtschaften*: The very simple text of this discursive little book is Christ's words:—'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.'" Goethe to Zelter, January 29, 1830 [v. 381]:—"The text the sixth commandment. *Eckermann*, January 21, 1827:—"I do not quarrel with Solger because he cannot endure Edward. I myself cannot endure him." See also: Goethe to Reinhard, December 31, 1809; Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, ii. 607; *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1809 (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 186); *Eckermann*, March 30, 1824; Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary, October 5, 1815 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 289).—TR.

Goethe himself conscious, that had left wounds often opening and smarting anew!¹ Only a few traits of the Otilie of the book are taken from Minchen Herzlieb.²

Very delightful were the weeks spent by Goethe at Karlsbad, in the Ziegesar circle, enlarged for the time by the accession of a Frau von Seckendorf from Dresden, and of the amiable Pauline Gotter (daughter of the poet Gotter, whom Goethe had first met long ago at Wetzlar, and who was now dead). And even when their Drakendorf friends left Karlsbad for Franzensbrunn, Goethe and Riemer maintained the alliance with Frau von Seckendorf and Pauline. Goethe was very friendly towards Pauline; in the evenings, at tea, he would read little poems to her; gave her lessons in botany in the early morning (he had won back all the allegiance of the Weimar ladies this spring with his explanations of plant structure);³ and used to take her on long walks. On July 11, 1808, he went on a short trip to Franzensbrunn,⁴ where the Ziegesar family were still staying, as he knew. He became much interested in the geology of the Kammerberg, a hill near Eger. On his return to Karlsbad, he was glad to find two painters there—his old true friend Bury, who came with the Crown-Princess of Hessen-Cassel, and the landscape painter, Kaaz of Dresden. Kaaz took Goethe's amateur sketches and altered them until they looked tolerable, and by his mode of doing so brought Goethe from his fantastic

¹ The best that has been written in English on *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* has been written by Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in the article *Goethe and Minna Herzlieb*, in the *Contemporary Review* for January 1876. (*Contemporary Review*, vol. xxvii. See especially the good presentation of matters on pp. 214-215.) The best general account of the book is as usual that by Düntzer in the series, *Erläuterungen zu den Deutschen Klassikern* [Wartig, Leipzig].—TR.

² It may not be amiss to warn English readers that the account of Goethe and Minna Herzlieb in the last edition of Mr. Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, derived from Adolf Stahr's book, *Goethe's Frauengestalten*, is thoroughly incorrect. See Mr. Hamilton's article in the *Contemporary* for January 1876, and the little book *Das Frommannsche Haus und seine Freunde* [Jena, 1870]. See also an article by Hermann Frommann, *Stahr's Aufsatz über Minna Herzlieb*, published in *Westermann's Monatshefte* for September 1870.—TR.

³ See in Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 286, the quotation from Charlotte's letter to Fritz, April 22, 1808.—TR.

⁴ July 11-21. (The letter to Frau von Eybenberg, July 17, 1808, is incorrectly dated "Karlsbad.")—TR.

scrawling to a purer treatment. Good news of the late edition of his works came at this time. It had sold so fast that a new issue was necessary, and for this Cotta voluntarily paid him a further 705 thalers. At Easter 1808 the final six volumes had appeared, and the First Part of *Faust*, now at length complete, had attracted great attention and admiration, mingled with astonishment. On Goethe's fifty-ninth birthday, August 28, 1808,¹ he made up his mind, at Riemer's solicitation, to write an account of his life, as an elucidation of his works. Thus he formed new plans continually, even while occupied in the execution of former ones; and how many were never executed! Two days later he went to Franzensbrunn again,² where he sketched his Essay on the Kammerberg, in which he endeavours to prove the hill to be of volcanic formation. How light-hearted he was on the journey back to Weimar, the bright little lyric *Der Goldschmiedsgesell*, written at Hof, September 12, 1808, is a witness.

But very sad news met him in Weimar. On September 13, 1808, the Frau Rath died, after a short illness. Goethe always knew well what a mother he had; to prepare a pleasure for her had been his own greatest pleasure; her praise had continually inspired him. And now no word more from her for ever! whatever his successes and joys in time to come, his dear mother would not be gladdened by them.³ It was too sacred a sorrow to find expression in words, and he avoided mention of his irreparable loss. There is a letter to Silvie von Ziegesar which shows how deep his emotion was.⁴ Karl von

¹ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 611.—Tr.

² He stayed a fortnight in Franzensbrunn on this occasion, though the Ziegesars had gone home.—Tr.

³ I give extracts from the two last letters she wrote to Goethe. June 3, 1808:—"Thy letter of the 9th May has refreshed me and gladdened me exceedingly. Ay, ay, 'Thou shalt yet plant vines on the mountains of Samaria—plant shalt thou, and pipe also' [see p. 83; compare also: Goethe to his mother, August 9, 1779, and December 7, 1783]. So often as I hear something good concerning thee, all the promises stored in my heart live again. He! keepeth truth for ever, Hallelujah!!! He! will also bless Karlsbad this time, and cause me ever to hear good news of thee." July 1, 1808:—"Thy dear little letter of the 22d June was to me as usual a valued, cherished, glorious appearance. God! bless the watering-place still more, and cause the old illness to disappear altogether."—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Silvie von Ziegesar, September 21, 1808. When Pro-

Stein, with whom Goethe had long been on cold terms, relates that at this time Goethe met him one day, and asked with sadness and affection: "Dear Karl, haven't you one kindly little word for me?" For some time he meditated a special tribute to his mother's memory.¹

For the arrangement of matters connected with the inheritance, Christiane was sent to Frankfurt by Goethe. She had a bright, charming, lovable companion in Caroline Ulrich, an orphan who had found a refuge in Goethe's house. Caroline was a valued aid and friend to Christiane, over whom she had a good influence. Goethe, too, found much pleasure in her delightful presence in his home.² In Frankfurt Christiane met August, who had come over from Heidelberg. They stopped in the house of the widow of the Sheriff Hieronymus Schlosser; her son, City Councillor (*Stadtgerichtsrath*) Johann Friedrich Heinrich Schlosser, aided Christiane by his advice. She fulfilled admirably Goethe's commission to dispose of the matter "easily and magnanimously."³ The property had diminished a great deal through the hardness of the times and the generous mode of life of the Frau Rath. Goethe inherited something over 20,000 gulden in taxable property, which remained in Frankfurt. Henriette Schlosser, the daughter of J. G. Schlosser, writes of Christiane:—"We all like her thoroughly; and feeling this, she is grateful and glad, and returns it, and was quite frank, and of the fullest confidence in us. Her outer being has something common—not so her inner. Her behaviour at the division of the inheritance was liberal and fine, an occasion certain to betray, if anything impure were in her. We are all glad to know her, and to judge her after her deservings, and to be able to defend her with others, for an untold quantity of injustice is done her." Of August Goethe Henriette writes:—"He is a very dear, good lad, sensible, warm-hearted, true. He does not, like his father, belong to the order of geniuses. Also, he is enormously fessor Düntzer wrote, only four of Goethe's letters to Silvie had been printed. But the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (1880, p. 243, and 1882, pp. 191-198) has since given us eleven more.—TR.

¹ In autumn 1831 he told Riemer that he thought of calling the book *Aristeia*. Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 726.—TR.

² Caroline Ulrich was afterwards Riemer's wife.—TR.

³ "Auf eine glatte und noble Weise." See Goethe to Knebel, November 25, 1808.—TR.

glad that his *mother* is now his *father's wife*; he does not seem to love the same things as his father, and will certainly be an honest citizen man of business, yet without being dry; he is extremely lively and light-hearted, and takes pleasure in literature, clings, childlike, to his parents, and is confiding towards us all; and we are thoroughly charmed with him."¹

Almost at the same time with the news of his mother's death, Goethe had heard of the approaching meeting of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, which was now a French city. Poor little Weimar, already groaning beneath its burthens, was to be the Emperor Alexander's headquarters, and had to meet huge additional expenses. On the evening of September 25 Alexander came, many other royal personages having arrived before him. Karl August had gone to meet Napoleon at Eisenach, to invite him to Weimar, and to shoot deer at the Ettersberg; Napoleon, intending the bitterest humiliation to Prussia, ordered that there should also be an inspection of the battlefield of Jena, and a—hare-hunt!

On September 27 Alexander left Weimar for Erfurt. Napoleon met him midway, at a little hamlet called Münchenholzen, and they embraced; in the evening they entered Erfurt together. On September 29, 1808, Karl August summoned Goethe to Erfurt. Here he saw the *Andromaque* of Racine played by the actors of the *Théâtre Français*. On September 30 Karl August gave a great dinner, and in the evening Goethe saw Racine's *Britannicus*. On October 1 Napoleon held a *levée*. On the morning of October 2, 1808, at about eleven, Goethe was summoned to an audience with Napoleon. He found the Emperor at breakfast,² in the cabinet so familiar to Goethe in old Dalberg times. Napoleon looked at Goethe attentively, and then spoke in just and memorable words the full impression: "Voilà un homme!"³ After Goethe's age and health and

¹ These letters of Henriette Schlosser's are reprinted in the appendix to the book entitled *Briefe von Goethe an Johanna Fahlmer, herausgegeben von L. Urlichs* [Leipzig, 1875].—TR.

² Talleyrand, Berthier, and Savary were present when Goethe entered; Daru came in shortly after.—TR.

³ This is according to Chancellor von Müller, in his *Erinnerungen aus den Kriegszeit*, 1806-1813. Goethe, in his *Biographische Einzelheiten*, has it: "Vous êtes un homme." Reinhard writes to Goethe, November 24, 1808:—"Von Ihnen soll der Kaiser gesagt haben: 'Voilà un homme!'" Müller makes Napoleon say it to Berthier and

tragedies had been touched on, Daru mentioned that Goethe had translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*. Napoleon said: "It is not a good piece,"¹ and proceeded to explain his view. Then the conversation turned upon *Werther*. After several just remarks, Napoleon found fault with the mixture of motives in *Werther*; the suicide is not prompted by unhappy love alone, disappointed ambition is another motive. On this Goethe ventured to remark that he had a certain effect to produce, and needed a special agency. (The same objection had been raised before by Herder and by Madame de Staël; but Goethe had removed all that could be justly blamed when revising *Werther*, in 1786, for publication in Göschen's edition.²) After this Napoleon spoke with impatience of the Fate Tragedies of the day. "What would they with Fate now?" he said; "Policy is Fate!" Then Napoleon talked with Daru for a time. Then Marshal Soult entered, and the Emperor asked him about the troubles in Poland. Meanwhile Goethe observed the changes in the familiar room. Then Napoleon came towards him, and by a kind of manoeuvre excluded the other persons in the room from the conversation between Goethe and himself. He asked Goethe sympathetically, in a lowered voice, about his personal circumstances. During the whole interview, the variety of Napoleon's expressions of assent was admirable; for he seldom listened without nodding or saying "Oui," or "C'est bien," or something to that effect. When he had himself made any remarks, he would usually add: "Q'en dit Mr. Göt?" Goethe at length, having consulted the chamberlain by signs, slipped away without further ceremony.

Since the French actors were to play in Weimar in a few days, Goethe had a great deal of consultation with them (October 3). On October 4 he returned to Weimar in order to see the theatre made ready. On October 6, at noon, the Emperors left Erfurt; Karl August met them at Stedten, and conducted them to a large and handsome shooting stand that

Daru when Goethe was leaving. Probably the Emperor said: "Vous êtes un homme," to Goethe when he entered, and also said: "Voilà un homme!" to Berthier and Daru when Goethe was leaving.—Tr.

¹ Cp. Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary, August 8, 1815. *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 265.—Tr.

² But Napoleon knew *Werther* by a translation of the *first* edition; and so, I suppose, did Madame de Staël.—Tr.

had been put up in an open place near the Castle of Ettersburg. There already the kings and princes were gathered before them. By four o'clock in the afternoon the slaying of forty-seven stags was at an end; then all went to Weimar Castle, where at six o'clock a great banquet began. At the Emperors' table sixteen covers were laid; there was a long table of marshals; altogether five hundred and fifty persons were feasted on this memorable day in Weimar Castle. About seven o'clock they set out for the theatre. In front of the Castle an obelisk sixty feet high blazed in clear flames. There was a Latin inscription ending with a chronodistichon. The inscription was by Voigt and ran thus:—"The very auspicious arrival of the Emperors, Kings, and Princes, the consolation of the distressed [*afflictae*] Fatherland, Karl August, Duke of Sachsen, has here indicated." A permanent obelisk was to be executed in stone.

The play given that evening was Voltaire's *Mort de César*. As in Erfurt, the front part of the pit was occupied by the emperors and kings. After the play there was a ball at Court. Here Napoleon spoke several times with Goethe, and finally, after graciously dismissing old Wieland, and before his own retirement at one o'clock, talked at length and very earnestly. He took pains to show that *La mort de César* was not a good play. He called on Goethe to treat the subject in a larger manner, to show the world how Cæsar would have made the fortune of mankind had he not been murdered ere he could carry out his vast plans.¹ (It was thus that Goethe had viewed the subject in his youth.)² "Come to Paris," said Napoleon finally, "I desire it of you. There you will find a wider circle for your spirit of observation; there you will find enormous material for poetic creations."

Next morning (October 7), at nine o'clock, the Emperors went to inspect the field of the battle of Jena; there was to be a hare-hunt at Apolda afterwards. Goethe avoided being

¹ After the representation Napoleon had said to the Duchess Luise:—*Étrange pièce, ce César! Pièce républicaine! J'espère que cela ne fera aucun effet ici.* (From *Knebel's Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester Henriette*, edited by Düntzer.) For notes and references on the sources as to the intercourse of Napoleon and Goethe, see Biedermann's edition of Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 553-556.—TR.

² See p. 192.—TR.

present at this humiliating inspection and hunt ;¹ on that day he gave a breakfast in honour of his guest, Napoleon's Secretary of State, Maret, and of Marshal Lannes.² After the hunt, the Emperors returned to Erfurt, without delaying in Weimar. On October 12 Napoleon granted the Cross of the Legion of Honour to Goethe and Wieland. The letters notifying this, composed in the most flattering terms, were communicated by Maret to the Weimar ambassador, Privy Councillor von Müller. On the same day Napoleon, beside making allotments for the Catholic church in Jena, and towards indemnifying the town for its losses, assigned to the University of Jena a property in the seigniorie (*Herrschaft*) of Blankenhain. Goethe had invited Talma and the intellectual Madame Talma to his house, and talked on many subjects with the great actor with the most intimate interchange of thought. On October 14, 1808, Alexander of Russia returned to Weimar, and Goethe on this and the following day dined at Court. In the evenings there were balls ; at that of October 15 Goethe and Wieland appeared decorated with the Russian Order of St. Anne. On October 16 Alexander left Weimar.

The greatness of Napoleon had not prevented Goethe from resenting his deliberate endeavour to wound German pride, and from bitterly regretting the terrible cost of this festive show and splendour, in a land already overburthened by the results of war. But Goethe recognised in this dæmonic³ hero a born ruler of the world, one of those who find happiness only in rule and command, one who, always himself, a match for every moment and for every situation, diverted by nothing from his aim, reposed steadfast and secure on himself and his clear fixed will. Opposed to this man, all the emperors, kings, generals, of the day seemed of trifling moment.

¹ Karl August excused himself from joining the hunt by the plea of illness. Luise Seidler's *Erinnerungen*, p. 42.—TR.

² Marshal Lannes had stopped at Goethe's house in October 1806. See p. 561 (footnote).—TR.

³ Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, March 2, 1831.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE CONGRESS OF ERFURT TO THE RETREAT
FROM MOSCOW.

NOVEMBER 1808—DECEMBER 1812.

DURING the four years that follow we shall find Goethe engaged in the same manful endeavour, amid the dreary external circumstance of the national lot, and in defiance of bodily suffering, to develop a useful official activity, to satisfy the ideal claims of his higher nature, to labour with beneficial result, whether in a wider or narrower circle.

In December 1808 he felt very poorly. In the spring of 1809 (after a year's interval), another attack of his old disorder came on. This was the more serious because a speedy repetition of it must be dreaded, while the hostile relations between France and Austria prevented a visit to Karlsbad. (Besides, the intense desire to complete in solitude and calm a work which had taken so painful a hold on him as *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, would restrain him from visiting the gay, distracting watering-place.) A new attack came before autumn 1809, and the very worst was feared, and afterwards his former vigour would not return. In May 1810 he became extremely ill; it was necessary to make haste to get to Karlsbad, and thence tolerably restored he went to Teplitz. Again, in 1811, a short visit to Karlsbad was attended with a great deal of benefit. But in the March of 1812, the dangerous political situation agitated him to illness, he fled to Jena, and there such a longing for his fountain of health, Karlsbad, came upon him, that he set out thither (May 1). At Karlsbad an attack of especial violence came on June 26; afterwards, when tolerably restored, he went to Teplitz (July 14).

After a month's stay there, he returned to Karlsbad to perfect the cure.

Let us now consider his domestic circumstances. His son was a source of great joy. In Heidelberg August had maintained close friendship with the Voss household, especially with Heinrich Voss.¹ Another old Jena friend of Goethe's, Professor Thibaut, was now a kind friend to August, of whom he had good hopes, but he feared that there was something "hectic" in the youth's nature. At the end of September 1809, after having seen the Rhine as far as Coblenz, August returned to Weimar, travelling all the way from Würzburg on foot. A month later he went to Jena to study Finance, a subject in which he felt great interest. He took his meals at the house of Commandant Hendrich. Knebel, whom, however, he did not visit often, being generally engaged with younger friends, was much pleased with him; and says of him, that he has something positive, reasonable, characteristic about him; that he is of an honest, modest nature; and, moreover, grave, and attentive to his business. On February 2, 1810, there was a very brilliant masquerade² at the City Hall of Weimar. The various personages of the procession were explained by two of their number, a Bard and a Minnesinger, who, introduced by a herald, were led to a place beside the illustrious spectators. August Goethe represented the Bard, President K. W. von Fritsch the Minnesinger. Charlotte von Stein was pleased with the exceedingly fine voice of August, which she thought very like his father's. The betrothal and marriage in this year of Princess Caroline were each the occasion of a series of balls and festivities. August was present at these with his mother. In October 1810 August received from the Duke the title of *Kammerassessor*; however, he spent the winter in Jena. On January 1, 1811, he was at the Ducal table without his father for the first time, and this occurred often afterwards. In the spring of 1811 he went to study agriculture at Capellendorf, a village about five English miles from Weimar. Christiane excited general remark at this time by her excessive abandonment to her delight in dancing; the Jena students permitted themselves shameful practical jokes on her, to the grief and humiliation of August. He seems to have become very much

¹ Heinrich Voss had joined his father in Heidelberg in the end of 1806.
—TR. ² See *Die romantische Poesie*, Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 304-313.—TR.

more retiring, and thus came to be called "The Monk." Of a positive practical nature, we find him moving his father to transfer to Weimar the property which stood in Frankfurt in his name, and which was there subject to heavy taxation. In March 1812, August writes to Fritz Schlosser on the subject. His father by his habits of thought can give little attention to such matters, but August holds it a duty to undertake the affair. If memorialised by his father, the Prince Primate will probably remit the ten per cent transfer tax. And August is prepared to come to Frankfurt and Aschaffenburg to look after things in person. Schlosser endeavoured to manage the business through the Minister of Finance. The Prince Primate resolved to pay the tax himself, and to have a medal struck in Goethe's honour. But these kindly intentions were frustrated by occurrences which set the Prince aside.

It was Goethe's desire to introduce his wife into the circle of ladies of high rank. And when she came back from Frankfurt in 1808, after having acted so well in the division of the inheritance, he made a special effort to improve her position. He turned to Frau von Wolzogen, who declared herself willing to enter into social relations with Christiane. Accordingly, on November 17, 1808, we find Goethe gratefully inviting Frau von Wolzogen to tea that evening, and begging her to persuade Charlotte von Stein and Charlotte Schiller to be friendly also. The two ladies seem to have yielded. Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz :—"It is not indeed pleasant to me to go into company ; however, as he loves the little creature extremely, I can perhaps do so for once to give him pleasure."¹ We find Frau von Schardt inviting Christiane and Charlotte von Stein to spend the evening of January 10, 1809, with her. But there was no nearer intimacy, though once more Goethe, on May 10, 1810, before starting for Karlsbad, writes to Charlotte :—"Would you do me a kindness ! then during my absence show some goodwill towards my wife and son, whom I am again leaving for a longer time than is fitting."

With Bettine he had at first greater success in his efforts on Christiane's behalf. Bettine, who had not been in Frankfurt at the time of Christiane's stay there, now sent her pretty presents, and was at last invited by her to Weimar. Goethe

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 301-2. Charlotte von Stein could not go to this tea-party because engaged for another.—TR,

responded to Bettine's letters, presents, and other courtesies with grateful friendliness. On November 3, 1809, he writes to her:—"One cannot, dear Bettine, attempt to emulate you; you surpass your friends in word and deed, in courtesies and gifts, in affection and in entertainment, so there is nothing for it but to yield, and be content with devoting to you in return as much love as possible, though it be but in silence. Your letters give me great pleasure; they remind me of the time when I was perhaps as foolish as you, but certainly happier and better than I am now."¹ In the beginning of 1810 Bettine gave great pleasure to Christiane by sending her a masquerade dress, of which she had been in need, as it turned out, and which called forth from her a letter of thanks. Before going to Karlsbad in May 1810, Goethe writes asking Bettine, then in Landshut, for a "sign of life." Her letters are travelling with him to Karlsbad.² His letter was sealed with a little Cupid. When in Teplitz, at the end of the summer, he was surprised by her arrival; her strange being shimmered in the most various hues. She left with him the fantastic diary that recorded her love-craze. In reply to a letter which she wrote to him when on her journey of departure he writes:—"Your letters, dear Bettine, are such that every time the last seems the most interesting. So it was with the papers which you had brought with you, and which, on the morning of your departure, I read diligently, and read again. But now your latest has come, that surpasses the rest. If you can so continue to surpass yourself, do it. You have taken away so much with you that it is very fitting to send something from the distance. May all go well with you."³ Her brilliant flashes of intellect and wit stirred and interested him remarkably.

While Goethe was away in Karlsbad, the marriage of Princess Caroline (July 1810) had, as already mentioned, set going balls on the largest scale, and for these Christiane, like many others, took lessons in dancing. She abandoned herself wholly to her delight in this amusement. (When, in January 1810, the bridegroom, the Crown-Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin accompanied by his brother, had come to Weimar for

¹ Loeper, *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano* [Berlin 1879], p. 182.—TR.

² Goethe to Bettine, Jena, May 10, 1810. Loeper, p. 189.—TR.

³ This letter is not dated. See Loeper, p. 191.—TR.

the betrothal, Christiane had learned to know them in her own house as intellectual, cultivated men;¹ it is needless to say that they had not been wanting in respect for Goethe's wife.) Hardly were the marriage festivities at an end when Christiane hastened with her gay young companion Caroline Ulrich to Lauchstedt, where there would be many dancing-parties during the summer season. Goethe gladly allowed her full indulgence in the cheerful, unrestrained enjoyment in which alone the demands of her simple, childlike nature found satisfaction. Her natural imperturbable high spirits, her roguish chatter, her warm-hearted benevolence, and her anxious, disinterested affection gave him joy; even her little weaknesses amused and cheered him.

After Goethe's return from Karlsbad and Teplitz in the autumn of 1810, he tried to give Bettine's wayward, will-o'-the-wisp fancies a definite direction. "I will confess to you that I am about to write my confessions, whence may result a novel or a history; as to that we cannot be sure beforehand; but in any case I need your help. My good mother is gone, and so are many others who could recall the past to me, which I have for the most part forgotten. Now you have lived a happy time with my dear mother, have heard again and again her tales and anecdotes, and you bear them with you and cherish them all in a memory that makes them live afresh continually. So do sit down and write down what has reference to me and mine, and you will give me much pleasure, and lay me under obligation."² Bettine made many important communications, though she had an unconquerable tendency to ornament and trim facts according to the imaginings of her own fantastic little head. She soon came to Weimar in person, and was received as a dear friend by Goethe and his family. The young painter Luise Seidler met Bettine at Goethe's house during this visit. (We have seen Luise, the playmate of August Goethe, in the Castle-yard at Jena, fourteen years ago.³ Goethe had felt warm interest in her since September 1810, when he had found her copying in the Dresden Gallery.)⁴ She describes Bettine

¹ See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, July 5, 1810.—Tr.

² Goethe to Bettine, Weimar, October 25, 1810. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, 192-3.—Tr.

³ See page 483.—Tr.

⁴ Luise Seidler had had a great sorrow in 1810. Her lover Geoffroy had died of fever in a military hospital in Spain. It was on her birthday,

seated on a low footstool chatting, roguish and gay, one little boot green, and the other red.¹

Luise Seidler stayed for some time at Goethe's house, as he permitted her to practise at her art by painting his portrait. To her we owe some knowledge of the daily life of the household. She tells us that dinner was served in a small room, adorned with drawings by great old masters. There were never more than eight guests. The food was good and simple; the drink excellent Burgundy. At dessert Christiane and Caroline Ulrich used to withdraw, and at this time August also would seek his own occupations. Luise had permission to remain; this she could do, because there were hardly ever any ladies guests at dinner. Then Goethe generally would produce some object to form a starting-point and subject for conversation, a small bronze *Moses* of Michael Angelo, Cornelius's drawings for *Faust*, and so on. Interesting, instructive talk whiled away the time, and the evening would come ere they were aware, and with it new pleasures, for they generally went to the theatre on the three nights of the week on which it was open. Riemer and Meyer used to accompany Goethe, and sometimes the ladies went too. In the theatre, in the enclosed box below the Ducal box, cakes and wine were handed round between the acts. Often the evening scene

May 15, 1810, that full confirmation of the sad news reached her. She sank into a kind of brooding gloom for a time. To rouse her from this a friend visiting Dresden took her there. She went to the Gallery; a new world opened before her. She formed a clear, steady resolve to be a painter, and in Professor Vogel she found a kind and able teacher. In August 1810 she paid a short visit to Teplitz, and met Goethe there; but no remarkable friendship formed yet. It was perhaps on September 17, 1810, that Goethe came into the Gallery where Luise was painting. There was great excitement. Many ran to speak to him; but Luise hid in a window-recess. She could perceive by the voices that Goethe was drawing near, and at length stood still before her easel. "This is really an exquisite piece, this St. Cecilia after Carlo Dolce," she heard him say; "whose is it?" Luise's name was mentioned; when he heard it he looked round the corner and saw her in her hiding-place. Her face blazed as he offered her his hand and in a friendly, paternal way said how glad he was to meet her, and to find her the possessor of a talent that he had not known of hitherto. The delicate kindness of Goethe's after-treatment of her cannot be compressed into this note; I hope that the reader will seek it in Luise's own narrative.—TR.

¹ It was in the beginning of 1811 that Luise met Bettine at Goethe's. Compare pages 58 and 59 of Luise's book,—TR.

at home was patriarchal, when, for instance, Goethe, his wife, and Caroline Ulrich, would play a game of dummy whist, the accompaniment of punch in little glasses not being omitted.

Christiane's harmless delight in gaiety embittered the Weimar ladies more and more against her. They were especially annoyed when, in May 1811, Goethe took her and her companion Caroline Ulrich to Karlsbad. Even Charlotte von Schiller is capable of writing that in Karlsbad Goethe has wisely placed his stouter half under the guardianship of Frau von der Recke and the Princess of Hohenzollern,



FIG. 35. Bettine von Arnim.
From an engraving of the time.

beneath whose ægis her dignity and fame have remained excellent; whereas in Weimar she had only had a certain Russian courier and secretary (Levandofsky) for cicisbeo, who has often visited her in her box, and gone with her to the shooting-place.

But the bitterest outburst of feeling against poor Christiane had not yet come. In September 1811 Bettine, now Bettine von Arnim, came to Weimar with her husband. She was often at Goethe's

house, and with his wife, towards whom, however, she felt a certain secret jealousy. Then she of course felt vividly how far beneath her the intellectual inferiority of Christiane was. One day, when the two women were at the exhibition of pictures, Bettine dismissed with contempt some criticism uttered by Christiane. The latter resented the contemptuous tone, and the refined Baroness von Arnim allowed herself to call Goethe's wife a "blood-pudding." To this Christiane replied, as was fitting, by forbidding Bettine to enter her house. Goethe confirmed Christiane's order without the least shadow of swerving. The Weimar ladies thought Goethe wrong in taking the part of the "globular form of the *Frau Geheimerä-*

thin,"¹ found no fault in Bettine's insolence, and in all their endeavours to recover favour for her with Goethe, never thought of the one hopeful way indicated by the good Meyer, that Bettine should apologise to Christiane. In 1812 Goethe went to Karlsbad, it will be remembered, in the beginning of May; about the middle of June he had his wife and son to him. They returned about the middle of August, bringing with them a letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which Goethe writes: "The bearers will be able to tell you that up to the present many good things, with evils interspersed, have befallen us." (This letter is not in the familiar handwriting of Riemer. On this occasion Goethe was accompanied by a new secretary, little J. John, not by Riemer, who, on becoming a professor at the *Gymnasium* at Easter-time, had left his house.)

At his Wednesday receptions in the beginning of the winter 1808-9, Goethe read aloud from the *Nibelungenlied*, with which many years' acquaintance had made him familiar. He used to explain all that made it hard to understand, and would expound with luminousness and enthusiastic insight his own general view of the poem and of the circumstances and conceptions to which it owes its genesis. One day in January 1809 a cold made reading difficult for him, and he asked Riemer to take his place. The inferiority was extraordinary, for though when Goethe read, the disadvantage of having lost some of the front teeth became apparent, his voice was of incomparable quality. In the latter part of January 1809 Goethe brought a remarkable visitor to a Wednesday reception. It was the somewhat cynical Scandinavian traveller and antiquary, Martin Friedrich Arendt of Altona, who stopped in Weimar for a short time, just then. They had from him an account of his travels, of Iceland, and of the Eddas. Arendt's external appearance resembled that of a beggar. He usually dined in Goethe's house, and his manners were so unpleasant that he was not generally regretted when he left.²

Zacharias Werner had come to Weimar again in the end of 1808; he stayed a few months, but attended none of the gatherings for reading aloud. Werner was sinking deeper and

¹ This is one of Charlotte Schiller's expressions. See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 352.

² Riemer (*Mittheilungen*, i. 412-414) gives an amusing account of Arendt's eccentricities and of Goethe's serene politeness.—TR.

deeper in mysticism. This annoyed Goethe. One day, at a pretty large dinner-party at his own house, Goethe declared distinct opposition to this squint religiosity, he would never support it, and would always exclude it from the stage.

After reading the *Nibelungenlied*, the Wednesday assemblies were occupied with the old heroic poems, *Fierabras*, *King Rother*, *Tristan and Isolde*. In the winter of 1809-10, instead of Goethe's Wednesday receptions, there were Wednesday breakfasts in the Princess Caroline's room with the bay-window. Goethe was generally present.

A very great delight of this part of Goethe's life was the little singing concert that took place regularly in his house. The leader of the little company was young Karl Eberwein. Goethe had sent Eberwein to Zelter in February 1809:—"Receive him kindly and help him on with counsel, doctrine, and example."¹ Eberwein came back in the autumn. The rehearsal for each little concert took place on Thursday evening, when a frugal supper was served. The concerts were given on Sunday mornings, a select audience for them being always invited to breakfast. This little company for house-concerts appeared a few times in the theatre; a performance of Goethe's ballad *Johanna Sebus* to Zelter's music was especially successful. But by the beginning of 1811 Fräulein Jagemann had sown discord among the members of the company. Goethe let the winter 1811-12 pass without concerts, and only revived them again in December 1812.

On April 14, 1809, the Duchess held the first of a series of Friday evening gatherings, at which Goethe constantly attended. At these gatherings the beginning of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, the tale called *Die neue Melusine*, and parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were read aloud, and were received with ardent pleasure. We must also think of Goethe as frequently present at a ladies' gathering (*Damenkränzchen*), held on Monday mornings, and at Johanna Schopenhauer's evening assemblies.

On February 7, 1812, St. Aignan, Napoleon's accredited representative at all Saxon courts, was introduced at the Court of Weimar. Grave, simple, dignified, of many-sided culture, melancholy, an evident sufferer, he attracted Goethe, who, in

¹ Goethe to Zelter, February 16, 1809.—TR.

spite of the prevalent belief that St. Aignan was a spy, invited him to come on Sunday mornings to his house to examine works of art, and invited for the same occasions the circle of ladies who had honoured the Wednesday morning gatherings with their presence.

During the first two years of the period treated in this chapter Goethe seldom appeared at table at Court. He was probably present at the masquerade given on February 3, 1809. August was the astrologer, Christiane was one of the country-folk, and the verses spoken by August were written by Goethe.¹ On February 2, 1810, a very important masquerade composed by Goethe was acted;² when it was repeated on February 16, 1810, Goethe himself appeared as one of the masks. After October 5, 1810, we find him very frequently at the Court table. At that time the Duke gave him a pair of Polish carriage horses, with the right to free fodder for them, and gave August the title of *Kammerassessor*.

The visits to the Bohemian baths were an immense pleasure to Goethe. At Teplitz in 1810 he made a very interesting acquaintance in Louis, the late King of Holland. "Louis," said Goethe, "is the impersonation of graciousness and affability, as his brother Napoleon of power and force."³ Altogether Goethe was impressed and charmed by the exquisitely unmingled moral nature of Louis, which was incapable of obeying any guide but its own gentle instincts. In June 1810, a short time before this meeting with Louis, the citizens of Karlsbad as they awaited the arrival of their young Empress,⁴ asked the great poet who was staying among them to write a poem of greeting on their behalf, and soon after asked for another poem to inscribe on her drinking glass. Goethe complied with great pleasure, and when a pretty spot in the neighbourhood was named after the Empress, he wrote a third poem. The Empress was charming, and intellectual, and graciously friendly to Goethe. On her

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 373-4.—TR.

² *Die romantische Poesie*. See p. 583.—TR.

³ Falk, *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1832. The account of Goethe's opinion of Louis of Holland is according to Riemer [i. 23] one of the few thoroughly trustworthy parts of Falk's book. See also: Goethe to Knebel, Teplitz, August 30, 1810, and Goethe to Marianne von Willemer, September 9, 1823.—TR.

⁴ Marie Louise, the third wife of Franz I. of Austria.—TR.

departure she asked him to say a good word to all in her name, which he did with exquisite skill.¹

Two years later, in July 1812, she came to Karlsbad again, accompanied by the Emperor and his daughter the Empress of the French. Again Goethe, at the request of the citizens, willingly agreed to furnish poetic addresses, though he had not yet quite recovered from an attack of his disorder. And it might well seem difficult to greet and congratulate the Empress of the French side by side with her father. But Goethe solved the difficulty skilfully, by writing a separate poem in which he hailed the daughter of Hapsburg as one who having, as it were, been already a bringer of peace by her mediation, would be so again, since through her influence her husband, who could will all, would now will peace. Beside these two poems he wrote, of his own accord, one that relates to his beloved Empress of Austria, which might be considered an introduction to the two others.² The Empress, who felt very poorly, went on to Teplitz. Shortly after she indicated to Goethe through Karl August³ her wish that he would come to Teplitz also. He did come thither on July 14, 1812. "In the neighbourhood of the Empress more happiness and good fortune have fallen to me than I deserve. . . . The notion of this extraordinary lady, which in the space of four weeks I have been able to thoroughly form, is a rich gain for my whole life. . . . To have an experience like this near the end of one's days, gives such a pleasant feeling, as though one died at sunrise with the perfect assurance through both inner and outer senses, that Nature is eternally productive, penetrated with Divine vitality to its farthest centre, faithful to its types, subject to no old age."⁴ Between Goethe and the Empress there was the most beautiful cordial human relation. He read aloud a good deal in her presence. When *Tasso* was acted, Goethe wrote an epilogue stanza, which puts into the mouth of the Leonora of *Tasso* a short acknowledgment of the

¹ The four poems are to be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 403-408. They are dated : June 6, June 10, June 19, June 22, 1810.—TR.

² Goethe to Reinhard, September 20, 1812. The three poems will be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 408-413.—TR.

³ See No. 269 in the 1873 Vienna edition of Goethe's Correspondence with Karl August. 1810 is certainly a misdating of this letter, obvious on reading it.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Reinhard, Karlsbad, August 14, 1812.—TR.

incomparable worth of the Empress.¹ At her wish he composed in two days, on a subject proposed by her, a little comedy² which was acted by the ladies and gentlemen of her suite.

If the personality of the Empress seemed wonderfully attractive to Goethe, that of the great Beethoven was repellent. Yet he felt that Beethoven's brusqueness and irritability had great excuse in his deafness. "I made the acquaintance of Beethoven in Teplitz. His talent has astonished me, but he is unfortunately an altogether unsubdued personality, who is not wrong, indeed, in finding the world detestable, but in finding it so makes it a better place neither for himself nor for others."³ The Master of Sounds prided himself on his bluff violation of forms of courtesy: thus when he met the Empress he compelled her to make the first salutation; he thought it right by such means to keep grand people at their distance, so should they learn, that it was not in them to create those great spirits that tower above the common beings of the earth.⁴ This theory of action and its blustering exposition could of course but move Goethe to smile.

We now turn to Goethe's official activity. And first the Theatre. Precisely in the affairs of the theatre he had, towards the close of 1808, one of his most bitter experiences. Caroline Jagemann, in confederacy with the bass singer Stromeyer, had already brought him many annoyances, and when, in November 1808 the Duke, by his angry treatment of the singer Morhard, regardlessly compromised the commission of the theatre, Goethe asked to be relieved from the management, since his position in Weimar, in other respects desirable and one to be thankful for, was rendered a hell by his connection with the theatre.⁵ The resignation was provisionally accepted, without the Duke's making any attempt at reconciliation. Goethe was glad to be free of a service so unpleasant, in which (beside that he

¹ See the lines *Gräfin O'Donel als Eleonore*. Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 415.—Tr. •

² *Die Wette (The Wager)*. See Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 617, for dates.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Zelter, Karlsbad, September 2, 1812.—Tr.

⁴ See in *Beethoven's Letters*, edited by Nohl (translated by Lady Wallace), Beethoven to Bettine von Arnim, August 1812.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Karl August, November 10, 1808. Reprinted in the Appendix vi. to Otto Jahn's *Goethes Briefe an Christian Gottlob von Voigt*, Hirzel, Leipzig, 1868.—Tr.

worked with inadequate means) he could no longer hope to do anything for art. Yet at length the Duke felt how great a loss Goethe would be, and how hasty and passionate was his own conduct. Meyer was chosen as mediator, probably at Voigt's suggestion. But Goethe, who saw the affair to be "in truth merely played behind the cloak,"¹ insisted that his honour forbade his having anything to do with a merely apparent management, he must have the direct influence needful and discipline; he did not want to inconvenience Fräulein Jagemann, who should, as heretofore, act in what parts she liked and when she liked;² moreover, if it was desired to separate the Opera from the management, he had no objection. The way in which the Duke carried on the matter after this, with a sort of haughty obliviousness to all that he owed to the greatest poet of the time, and the faithfullest friend to him, affected Goethe very painfully, and at length Voigt had to call the attention of the strangely changed Karl August to the fact that Goethe was growing ill in body and mind through the affair, and Voigt suggested that the Duke should let matters rest for the present.³ It was then proposed that Goethe should after Easter submit a design of a Constitution for the Theatre, and should from time to time report by word of mouth on such measures as might be needful for the preservation of the whole. Voigt had sketched the note which the Duke was to address to Goethe. The Duke altered it unfavourably at the conclusion. Goethe had probably seen the first draft, and when the altered note was put before him, he became stubborn again. "It is a very noble thing, doubtless," he said, "to spare others, but on this occasion I have every reason to think of myself."⁴ Yet he was glad to have the affair tempor-

¹ This is in a short note from Goethe to Voigt, December 11, 1808. See page 522 of Jahn's book.—TR.

² This is in Voigt's letter to the Duke of November 30, 1808, conveying the results of Meyer's negotiation; the letter ends thus:—"Ueberhaupt sehe er durchaus keine Persönlichkeit, sondern es sey ihm bloss um die Sache zu thun."—TR.

³ This was on December 18, 1808. See *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, pp. 529-530. It is interesting to note throughout the correspondence what a power Goethe had become in Germany. Kirms and Voigt warn the Duke that if Goethe is dismissed, it will be much talked of everywhere, and the theatre will suffer.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Voigt, December 27, 1808. *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, p. 532.—TR.

arily settled : he had at any rate preserved his dignity, and had not swerved by a hair's-breadth from his claim to conduct that part of the manager's business which deals with the æsthetic alone and uncontrolled.

Talma and the French drama had not been without influence on Goethe ; *whatever was good* in the French he would fain introduce in Weimar,¹ and the actor Wolff, who had been a great deal with Talma, strove to adopt these excellences. For the rest, Goethe was more than ever intent on bringing out the most various dramatic forms on the Weimar stage, on founding, as it were, a World Theatre (this is a counterpart to his endeavour after a World Literature), and in general on furthering ideal dramatic art. But, unfortunately, as hitherto, the means needful for great performance were not. The Opera lay in great measure in the hands of Fräulein Jagemann. (In 1809 this lady was made Baroness von Heygendorf by the Duke, and in 1812, to the general scandal, she took up her abode in the *Palais*, where five years ago the Duchess Amalia had died.) On January 30, 1809, the birthday of the Duchess, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, in the adaptation of Goethe's friend, Friedrich Rochlitz of Leipzig, was acted with very charming effect. The actors were in Greek costume. Wolff, as first leader of the chorus, and Frau Wolff as Antigone, won a great triumph.² To what excellence the art of acting had attained was strikingly manifested by the performance of *Tasso*, February 14, 1810. "It would be tempting Providence," said Goethe, "to desire that the piece should ever be played so well again." On the birthday of the Crown-Princess, Voltaire's *Zaïre* was admirably acted. Zacharias Werner's gruesome play, *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, followed on February 24, 1810, its own day ! Werner had of late been in favour with the Duke and Fräulein Jagemann. *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* had been written at Goethe's desire that Werner would for once attempt a purely human piece, working by simple effects. The performance was the highest attainable in this style ; "the dreadful-

¹ Cp. Goethe to Frau von Eybenberg (Marianne Meyer), December 4, 1808.—Tr.

² See Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz, February 1, 1809. Goethe's letters to Rochlitz are collected in Otto Jahn's *Goethe's Briefe an Leipziger Freunde*.—Tr.

of the material was forgotten in the purity and security of the performance.”¹ Goethe confessed to the actors that they had now arrived at the perfection he desired, nature and art were joined as close as was possible. Schiller’s memory was worthily honoured on the anniversary of his death by the performance of detached scenes from his pieces, and of the *Lied von der Glocke*, with Goethe’s *Epilog*. Goethe had added to the *Epilog* a stanza² to the purport that even those who at an earlier time were unwilling to acknowledge Schiller’s greatness, now joined gladly in honouring his name. In September 1810 Iffland came to Weimar for the third time. The playing of the great master of the realistic in acting had as before a stimulating effect on all who saw him. On January 30, 1811, a whole new province, as Goethe says, was conquered for the stage when the Duchess’s birthday was celebrated by a performance of Calderon’s comedy, *El principe constante* (*The Constant Prince*). Goethe had shunned no pains in the labour which he devoted to the rehearsal of this play; and its performance proved so affecting that Goethe, and Charlotte Schiller, who sat beside him, wept aloud. After this, the Weimar Theatre ventured on the *Pygmalion* of J. J. Rousseau, and the *Saul* of Alfieri.³ In the summer of 1811 the Weimar company played in Halle, the University Church there having been fitted up as a theatre; and the first performance was opened with a prologue written by Goethe.⁴ In 1812 Shakespeare’s tragedy of passion, *Romeo and Juliet*, with certain alterations for stage purposes by Goethe, made a deep impression, and notwithstanding many objectors, held its own.⁵ After this came Calderon’s remarkable *La vida es sueño* (*Life’s a dream*), then some pieces by the young Theodor Körner, who was just becoming known. Goethe gave great care to Körner’s plays. Finally the year 1812 closed with a visit from Iffland,⁶

¹ Goethe’s *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1810.—TR.

² The second last as the *Epilog* now stands. Hempel’s *Goethe*, xi. 237.—TR.

³ *Saul* in the translation of Knebel.—TR.

⁴ Dated: Halle, den 6, August 1811. Hempel’s *Goethe*, xi. 244.—TR.

⁵ *Romeo and Juliet* was first acted in Weimar on January 31, 1812.—TR.

⁶ This was Iffland’s last “*Gastspiel*” in Weimar. There were in all four: one in 1796, one in 1798, one in 1810, and one in 1812. Iffland died in 1814.—TR.

important both to Weimar audiences and actors. Thus Goethe laboured to elevate the actor's art, and set high aims in view and proscribed all carelessness and laziness that would fain call itself naturalism.

Apart from the Theatre, Goethe's official activity, when not claimed by some special commission of the Duke's, was concentrated on institutions that had to do with Science and Art. The University of Jena had declined sadly, still Goethe did not desist from striving, with clear-thoughted, large judgment, to attain the best that was possible. In the hope of better times, he held it to be his duty to give all his care to the scientific institutions. In the first instance it was planned to refit the first story of the Castle at Jena for museums, yet Goethe purposely lingered in this, fearing that the restored rooms would be taken for military purposes. In 1808 an Osteologic-Zoological Cabinet was founded; two years later the Mineralogical Cabinet was increased by the purchase of the geological collection of *Bergrath Voigt*; ¹ the Anatomical Cabinet was improved. In 1811 the chemical laboratory of Döbereiner, that proved so valuable, was fitted up. In 1812 an Observatory was instituted in the house that had once been Schiller's; and the Cabinet of Physical Science received a permanent strengthening in a subsidy from the Crown-Princess of Weimar. The Drawing Academy of Weimar was brought into close connection with the Library. Goethe's effort to unite all the institutions in Jena and Weimar that had to do with science and art under a single central authority called the Superintendence (*Oberaufsicht*), was not successful. ²

During the years treated in this chapter Goethe wrote and published much that was important for literature and science. The Poems of Occasion already mentioned ³ may be passed over. *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* was published in the beginning of the period, ⁴ a novel remarkable for depth of feeling,

¹ This is Johann Karl Wilhelm Voigt of Ilmenau. See on his collection Goethe to C. G. Voigt, January 10, 1810.—TR.

² See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1809, and Goethe to Voigt, July 22, 1809.—TR.

³ See pp. 591-2.—TR.

⁴ We have seen how Goethe began *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* in the summer of 1808 at Karlsbad (p. 574), and how he read aloud the earlier part of it at the Friday evening receptions of the Duchess in the spring of 1809 (p. 590). The interest excited inspired him to resume work on it,

wealth of penetrative knowledge of the world and of man, and artistic perfection; a masterpiece of its kind, though it has not escaped manifold misinterpretation. The first two volumes of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were published during this time.¹ Viewing all from the lofty vantage of a noble old age, Goethe's gaze is clear and penetrating, and the perfect art of the presentation makes his youthful days live again with rare vividness. The book did much to bring the great poet near to the hearts of his German people. By the close of 1812 the Third Part had been begun. The early portion of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* and of the tale *Das nussbraune Mädchen* that belongs to it were written in the years 1809 and 1810, and were published in Cotta's *Pocket-Book for Ladies*.² Further, it must be recorded that during the four years under review there was an abundant blossoming of fresh lyric poetry, song, ballad, and cantata.³

Goethe appeared as a writer on geology during this period, in his essay *Der Kammerberg bei Eger* published⁴ in Leonhardt's *Taschenbuch für die Mineralogie*. But the world was astonished when the great poet sent forth in two fine volumes with elucidatory tables, his book on light and colour, *Zur Farbenlehre*, the product of twenty years of faithful methodical observation, of infinite industry, a model of happy exposition. The printing of it, begun in 1806, before the battle of Jena, was only finished in May 1810. It is true that science and many important philosophers have rejected Goethe's Theory

and he completed it during the summer of 1809. It went to the printer at the end of July, and on October 3, 1809, he read the last proof sheets of it.—TR.

¹ The First Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was published in 1811. On October 23, 1812, Goethe sends the Second Part to Knebel.—TR.

² Goethe did not return to the *Wanderjahre* after this until 1820.—TR.

³ The beautiful dramatic ballad *Johanna Sebus*, founded on a real incident, was written in May 1809. To 1810 belong *Rechenschaft* and *Ergo bibamus* (see the *Gesellige Lieder*), *Katzenpastete* (a satire on Newton, see *Parabolisch*), the erotic poem, *Das Tagebuch* (not yet included in Goethe's *Works*, published first in separate form in 1861, 3d edition, 1868, Berlin), and the well-known *Genialisch Treiben* ("So wälz' ich ohne Unterlass, Wie Sankt Diogenes mein Fass"). In 1811 was written the cantata *Rinaldo*. In 1812 the lovely *Mailied* ("Zwischen Weizen und Korn, Zwischen Hecken und Dorn"). See, for further information, Diintzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 303-313.—TR.

⁴ In 1809.—TR.

of Colour, and refused to recognise the correctness of his tenets in physics, still by the first part (*Physiologische Farben*) he is the founder of a new science, Physiological Optics, a fact generally recognised even among his contemporaries, and as for the *History of the Theory of Colour*, opponents of the speculative part of Goethe's work praise it as a masterpiece. Further, many isolated fine observations have a permanent value, and in the skill of arrangement and of exposition this noble book remains unsurpassed. The opposition which his theory encountered brought him many bad hours; still in his belief that he had found the one true and fruitful conception of the matter, in his purpose to faithfully and steadfastly work on in that conception, he found an aid to rising superior to that opposition; and he never repented having given so much time to this important part of Natural Science. But it was a real pity that the mistrust of Goethe as a man of science evoked by the *Farbenlehre* operated against his theories of organic structure which were published afterwards, and prevented for a long time their receiving the recognition they deserved.

Study of the other branches of Natural Science had slackened during this period. Schelling's acute book, *Memorial on the Work: "Concerning Divine Things,"* was called forth by an essay *Concerning Divine Things and their Manifestation*, in which Jacobi attacked the Identity system of the Nature Philosophy. In Schelling's book Goethe found his own philosophy of Nature reasoned out and supplied with a firm basis. He was "terrified and troubled" on Jacobi's account (Jacobi was absolutely crushed by Schelling), but he was "edified" also.¹ "On the whole gratitude is due to Jacobi, since he has called Schelling forth from his stronghold. For me his work is of the greatest significance, because Schelling has never spoken so plainly before; and for me precisely in my present every minute's acting and thinking, it is important to see with thorough clearness into the *statum controversiæ* between the "Nature" men and the "Freedom" men, that according to the measure of this insight I may pursue my activity in various departments."² To Jacobi, whose abuse of the Nature Philosophy had made Goethe feel very bitter, he wrote:—"I for my part, with the manifold

¹ Goethe to Knebel, March 25, 1812.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, April 8, 1812.—TR.

tendencies of my being, do not find *one* mode of thinking sufficient; as a poet and artist I am a Polytheist; on the contrary, as a searcher into Nature I am a Pantheist, and one as distinctly as the other; if I have need of a God for my personality, as a moral human being, that has been provided for also."¹

Nor did Goethe's interest in ancient and modern art flag during these four years; only a little on the subject, however, was published. Many a matter was discussed and arranged with Heinrich Meyer. Several important painters, such as Friedrich, Kaaz, Kügelgen, and Runge,² entered into communication with him. Tischbein, who had drawn near to Goethe in 1806 again, had soon after relapsed into silence.³ The Dresden Gallery attracted Goethe repeatedly. Moreover we find him during this period again trying his skill in landscape-sketching.

A very important friendship was that with Sulpiz Boisserée. Boisserée, the son of a wealthy merchant of Köln, was born in 1783. With his brother Melchior, his junior by almost three years, he had collected a large number of old German pictures, which the spoliation of churches and monasteries, and the ruin of families, had dispersed; and further had applied himself to the minutest study of the Cathedral of Köln as the most perfect product of Gothic Art.⁴ He had a number of drawings

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, January 6, 1813. (See also Goethe to Jacobi, May 10, 1812.)—Tr.

² Kaspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) sent drawings to Weimar in 1808; Karl Friedrich Kaaz (1776-1810) was in Weimar in 1809, (and see page 575); Franz Gerhard von Kügelgen (1772-1820) came in December 1808 to Weimar, painted a portrait of Goethe, left Weimar in February 1809; Philipp Otto Runge (1777-1810).—Tr.

³ Goethe's opinion of Tischbein's character had changed very much even before he left Italy. And what may on the whole be regarded as his final judgment of Tischbein will be found in his letter to Herder of March 2, 1789:—"With all his good qualities, Tischbein is a queer animal, a sort of hare-brain (*Hasenfuss*), lazy, unreliable, since the Italians have taught him to dabble in the *métier* of falseness, word-breaking and contract-breaking. . . . He thinks that he is of subtle discernment, and is only paltry; he thinks that he can intrigue, and the most he can do is confuse people." For an account of the relation between Goethe and Tischbein, see Düntzer's *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise* (Braunschweig, 1868), pp. 215-253.—Tr.

⁴ Boisserée was brought near to the Romantic School by the friendship of Friedrich Schlegel (who left Köln in 1808). In March 1810 Boisserée

of the Cathedral prepared with the purpose of publishing a description and history of it. He sent a selection from these drawings to Goethe in 1810. (The introduction had been brought about by Reinhard.) Fully as Goethe recognised the value of the drawings, he regarded Boisserée's extraordinary admiration of the Gothic as a mistake, and in Boisserée's endeavour to win him for the cause, he only saw prudent calculation of ways and means. He did not hold out hope of aid in the matter.¹ Yet Boisserée visited Goethe in May 1811, intent with all the force of conviction on winning him to his side. Goethe soon saw that his visitor really had the matter at heart, and was no empty-headed visionary; and he was the more easily gained over by all that Boisserée had to tell of Low German Art, since the young fellow was careful to show himself just to Greek Art.² He invited Boisserée to come and dine next day (May 4), and they were soon good friends. Boisserée thought that already he had persuaded the old gentleman over to his views—he did not know how far he was from penetration into Goethe's real mind. He did not know that the signs of emotion, which he took for signs of conviction, were the expression of Goethe's delight in his own thorough worth, in his fresh enthusiastic youthful personality,³ and that Goethe continued to hold Gothic architecture simply as a stage in development necessary at its time and in its place, but not to be compared with the perfectness of the architecture of the Greeks. Still Goethe promised to publicly commend Boisserée's costly enterprise, only not in a daily

and his brother went to live in Heidelberg. The influence of Friedrich Schlegel would of course tend to make Boisserée averse to the "heathen" Goethe. But this found an ample counterbalance in the influence of a very remarkable friend called Bertram. I think that the reader will find great pleasure in an estimate of Goethe in Bertram's letter to Boisserée, July 15, 1811 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 142-3).—TR.

¹ See Goethe to Reinhard, Jena, May 14, 1810, and : Karlsbad, July 22, 1810.—TR.

² The account in Boisserée's Letters to his brother (May 1811) of Goethe's coldness at first, and of his gradual thaw, is very interesting. See the very important volumes called *Sulpiz Boisserée* (Stuttgart, 1862). Volume i. contains Boisserée's fragment of an autobiography, his diaries, and his correspondence with all his friends except Goethe. Volume ii. contains his correspondence with Goethe.—TR.

³ See Düntzer's essay on Goethe's relation to Sulpiz Boisserée, *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, 304-5.—TR.

paper. He acknowledged freely that he was in accord with the general tendency of Boisserée's mind, and that Boisserée's special study was one that he loved and cared to learn about from others, since he was prevented by circumstance from occupying himself with it directly.

But Boisserée felt hurt when a year passed by and Goethe's promise to commend the design of publishing plans of the Cathedral seemed forgotten. How joyfully surprised was he then, in the autumn of 1812, when he found that in the second part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Goethe, after describing his own youthful endeavours to comprehend Strassburg Cathedral, had thus written ;—"Here I must single out for praise the admirable Sulpiz Boisserée, who with unwearied zeal labours to exhibit the Cathedral of Köln, in a splendid series of engravings, as the highest example of those mighty conceptions whose intention, Babel-like, would soar into the heavens, and which were so much beyond earthly powers that of necessity they stood still in their execution." And a little farther on Goethe expresses a hope that "our active young friend" will not content himself with the monograph on the Cathedral, but will follow out the history of the architecture of the Middle Ages in Germany in detail. Thus Goethe had been won to a full acknowledgment of the nobleness of Gothic Art, when the burning of Moscow turned the world's goings on into new paths.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIBERATION OF GERMANY.

DECEMBER 1812—JULY 1814.

ON December 15, 1812, the flying sleigh bore Napoleon fast through Weimar, so fast that his ambassador St. Aignan only overtook him at Erfurt. St. Aignan brought to Goethe friendly greeting from the "Emperor of the Night," as Karl August called Napoleon. Karl August had long nourished hatred for the French oppressor in secret. Accordingly he had summoned von Müffling as District Vice-President to Weimar,¹ which became the central point of schemes for the freeing of Germany. Of these schemes Goethe and Voigt knew nothing, for they did not believe that any good could come of opposing Napoleon. Painful as the suspense was with which Goethe now looked to the development of events, he did his best to drive away gloomy thoughts, and to mould a cheerful daily home life. Fräulein Engels, of Berlin, who had belonged to Weimar Theatre since 1805, a particular friend of Christiane's, now frequently gave Goethe great pleasure by singing while at table to the guitar. On the evening after Twelfth Night (January 7, 1813) there was again² a concert at his house, and at this concert his *Song of the Three Kings*³ was sung to Zelter's music. Next day Goethe dined at Court, as already he had, four days before. Immediately after he had a fit of illness, from the consequences of which he suffered for a long time. Still ill-health did not prevent him from

¹ This was in 1809. On Müffling, see Otto Jahn's Introduction to *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, 95-97.—TR.

² It will be remembered that the concerts had been discontinued. See p. 590.—TR.

³ See p. 316.—TR.

devoting himself with great interest to the Theatre, especially to the approaching Court festivities. For precisely in such gloomy times it was needful to maintain a deliberate cheerfulness!

On January 20, 1813, a heavy blow in his ailing condition fell upon him in the death of the good old Wieland, who succumbed beneath repeated strokes of paralysis. Goethe was not fit to attend the funeral, and he sent August in his place. We find him seeking comfort in his old friend Charlotte von Stein, as he had done after the death of Schiller. Yet he soon roused himself, and in spite of bodily suffering turned to fresh labours. He composed an idyll¹ for the festivities of the evening of the Duchess's birthday, January 30, 1813, and the address *In Memory of Wieland* belongs to this period. It was Goethe who conducted the festivities on the birthday of the Crown-Princess. The Princess was at the time full of painful anxiety: for her brother, the Czar, had advanced into Germany, and was plainly determined on driving Napoleon to bay. Goethe was the more ardent in making the celebration of her birthday a brilliant one. Tableaux after pictures were presented, and the fourth tableau, a representation of Arcadia, with nymphs and fauns and river-gods, and Apollo and the Muses, was designed by Goethe himself.² Although he had been ill in bed only a short time before, he was present at the chief rehearsal of these tableaux, and at their representation on February 16, 1813. Two days later Goethe delivered in a very impressive way the address *In Memory of Wieland* at the Lodge of Mourning (*Trauerloge*). At the beginning of February 1813 the Duke appointed August to be Court Page in the suite of the Crown-Prince; the appointment seems to have given Goethe a good deal of pleasure.³

During the end of February and the beginning of March, 1813, the dreary remnants of the Grand Army moving homewards from Russia brought contagious disorders into Weimar. All the signs of the time indicated a new fearful war, and poor Weimar would suffer again as in the "Jena" days seven years ago! Meanwhile Goethe was daily thinking over the

¹ See the cantata called *Idylle*; Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 310.—TR.

² Goethe to Heinrich Meyer, February 9, 1813.—TR.

³ See his letter of thanks to the Duke, February 6, 1813.—TR.

Third Part of his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.¹ It was his hope to complete it in the coming summer. But the aspect of things grew more and more threatening; the confusion of the relations of princes and states was great; friends were dreaded as much as foes. The Crown-Princess fled from Weimar on April 7, 1813. Five days later a flying party of Prussian horse entered Weimar, and made prisoners of the Weimar Contingent. The continual excitement told badly on Goethe, and he grew so feverish and wretched that his family urged him to start for Teplitz without leave-taking.² Christiane came to Charlotte von Stein to say farewell in his name.

Shortly before this it had become necessary to decide on closing the mines at Ilmenau altogether. Goethe was deeply moved to think that such an expenditure of strength, time, and money had brought no fruit! But he recollected with gratitude what a good influence on his life working in conjunction with Voigt had been.³

An old Prussian pass enabled Goethe to procure right of way through the disturbed country for himself and his secretary John. In Meissen he met a company of Black Jägers on the march to Leipzig. Among them was the author of *Undine*, a tale of which Goethe had a very high opinion. Goethe was muffled in a Russian general's cloak, with a red collar, and had a military cap pressed down deep over his face, yet Fouqué knew him. How he greeted Goethe with a military salute, how the company presented arms and cried: "Long live Goethe, the poet of poets!" how, finally, Goethe pronounced upon their cutlasses and muskets the blessing they craved, Fouqué himself has told us. In Dresden Goethe saw the entry of the King of Prussia and the Czar, but at the same time heard that on April 18 the French had driven the Prussian hussars out of Weimar. In the Dresden Gallery he found much to interest him, though what was best had been removed for safety. At the house of Körner, whose son had joined Lützow's volunteers, he met the great statesman Stein and his friend Arndt. Their sure hope of victory roused Goethe to

¹ Goethe to Knebel, March 10, 1813.—Tr.

² He left Weimar on April 17, 1813.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Voigt, April 11, 1813. It will be remembered that in 1798 mining had been given up, the shafts and drifts only being still kept open. See p. 501.—Tr.

vigorous expression of disbelief in it. "Ay, you may shake your chains! the man is too great for you! you will not burst them, but urge them deeper into your flesh!" On April 26, 1813, he arrived in Teplitz, where he met the Crown-Princess.

From Teplitz Goethe writes, six weeks later, June 11, 1813, to Fritz Schlosser: "On May 6 relieved as to the fate of Weimar. Then the war drew near to us. Some said they heard the thunder of cannon, but all saw the fiery sign by night among the clouds. Russian and Prussian wounded confirmed the occurrences. . . . New fugitives arriving set all in commotion; many of the former ones went away farther into the country; and in addition to all this external trouble, the inner trouble of party-feeling!"¹

The armistice of June 4, 1813, opened free way for communication with Weimar. To Zelter Goethe writes from Teplitz, June 23, 1813: "My dear ones are well, and bear up resolutely through it all. I am well, and can work. What more do I desire?" (Since, in November 1812, Zelter had written a pathetic account of the suicide of his promising eldest son to Goethe, the latter had addressed his friend with the brotherly *Du*, which not even Heinrich Meyer or Schiller had drawn from him.) He found an especially delightful refuge from the noise and troubles of the time in the portrayal of his own past life.² In the early part of this summer stay in Teplitz, Goethe even wrote some ballads;³ such work lightened the burthen of the time. It was a great inconvenience when, in the middle of his work, his secretary John became ill. Karl August came to Teplitz at the end of June 1813; from him Goethe learned many things about the political situation that by no means tended to quiet his fears. His studies of natural science did not remain fruitless. An excursion, attended with some danger, to Zinnwalde and Altenberg, yielded him the greatest profit.⁴

¹ See Frese's *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, p. 51.—TR.

² He mentions to Zelter, in the letter already quoted, that he is working on the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and that he hopes to have it published by Michaelmas 1813.—TR.

³ *Die wandelnde Glocke; Der getreue Eckart; Der Todtentanz*, all sent to Riemer on June 6, 1813. (Düntzer notes that "Juli," Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 548, is a printer's error for "Juni.")—TR.

⁴ Goethe has written an especial account of this excursion, which occupied three days, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of July 1813. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 357: *Ausflug nach Zinnwald und Altenberg*.—TR.

Austria having declared war against France, Goethe left Teplitz, where, during the latter part of his stay, in great quiet, he had brought the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to a close. In Dresden he "spent extremely stirring and tempestuous days."¹ In Weimar he found his family well. Thence, in the latter part of August, he went to join the Duke in Ilmenau, where he had not been since 1796. He spent seven happy days there in gracious memories of the old time, which was now so distant that only what was actually fruitful in it remained for the imagination.² His birthday was merrily celebrated at Ilmenau. During the stay Geology resumed its old fascinating power.

The victories of Blücher at the Katzbach, and of the allies at Kulm, roused the hopes of the Germans; but Goethe considered the issue of the war still doubtful. And then, even the victory of Germans (in alliance with Cossacks and Baschkirs!), might bring great trouble to Weimar by driving the conquered French through the city on their retreat. However, sometimes a cheery mood set in, such as that in which he composed the gay, bright verses *Offene Tafel*,³ now to be found in his *Gesellige Lieder*. His chief preoccupation was with Geology, particularly with his collection of tin-formations. But the theatre made its demands also; thus, on the very days of the battle of Leipzig, at the wish of the actress Frau Wolff, he wrote for the *Essex* of Banks and Dyk a noble epilogue, in which there is a passage that might seem to indicate the fall of Napoleon.⁴

¹ Goethe to Fritz Schlosser, Weimar, September 5, 1813.—"Bis den 18ten August verlebte ich ruhige Tage in Teplitz, dann sehr lebhafte und stürmische in Dresden, und befinde mich seit dem 19ten hier." "18ten August" is plainly a misprint for "13ten August" or "10ten August." See Goethe's lines to Peucer, dated Dresden, August 15, 1813.—Tr.

² Goethe to Knebel, September (5), 1813. We shall find Goethe visiting Ilmenau only once more, in August 1831.—Tr.

³ *Offene Tafel* was dictated to Fräulein Ulrich on October 12, 1813. Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, ii. 209.—Tr.

⁴ The lines :—

"Der Mensch erfährt, er sei auch, wer er mag,
Ein letztes Glück und einen letzten Tag."

Goethe put this version of Ovid's *Nemo ante obitum beatus* among his poems in 1815 [see Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 328]; and in 1824, in speaking of Rochlitz's *Diary of the Battle of Leipzig*, he calls attention to the

The 21st of October 1813 was a day of terror for Weimar. Not only did the little city suffer by the conflict between the Allies and the French rear-guard, and by the cannons of the French, but her very deliverers plundered her. Goethe did not escape threats.¹ But the many interesting acquaintances that he made in the following days (among them were Metternich and his own Leipzig fellow-student Hardenberg), were considered by him ample amends for whatever misfortune befell him.

Amid the confusion and distraction of the time, he took refuge in the study of China and her affairs. In this he was very much aided by the presence in Weimar of the Orientalist, *Hofrath* Julius Klaproth.² Moreover, he found solace in arranging his works of art, especially the engravings. He began to distribute them in various schools, and to unite the collections of different times.³ In the revision of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, he was supported by Riemer, whom he would gladly have had an inmate of his house again. Weimar continued to suffer very much by the war. It was fixed on as the situation of two head lazareths, and it was the centre to which all companies of recruits were sent, thence to be distributed to their permanent regiments. Every one expected to see the Duke soon go over to the Allies openly. On November 13, 1813, *Essex* was acted. Eight days later there was a concert at Goethe's house again.

Meanwhile, enthusiasm for the sacred cause of Fatherland had moved a number of men, older and younger, to join in the war of liberation as volunteers. Among them was Kieser, the Professor Extraordinary of Medicine at Jena. "I have been at Goethe's house for half an hour," writes Kieser, on November 24; "he spoke well (*brav*); wished that I would

strange fact that these lines were written during that battle [Forty Volume Edition of Goethe's *Works*, xxxii. 337].—*Strehlke's note in Hempel's Goethe*, xi. 251. (See also Goethe to Knebel, November 4, 1813; Goethe to W. von Humboldt, November 4, 1813.)—TR.

¹ See in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit Knebel* the interesting account of Goethe's troubles with the Cossacks, quoted from Heinke.—TR.

² See Goethe to Knebel, November 10, 1813.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, November 13 1813. "It is opium for the present times," he said to Luise Seidler. See p. 98 of her *Recollections*, the editor's footnote.—TR

stay in Weimar, instead of going with the army.”¹ Goethe and Voigt were of opinion that officials could do greater service by remaining at their posts than by joining in the war; and in Weimar medical help was sadly needed to deal with the malignant nervous fevers that prevailed. On November 26, 1813, Kieser supped with Goethe, and in a two hours’ conversation discussed the world’s affairs; they agreed in thinking that France, in a conflict with England, must be beaten, because the sea was more living and mighty than the rigid land. That Goethe was deeply moved by the great ideas, Freedom, People, Fatherland, and that he was firmly convinced that Germany had a great future, is proved by the well-known conversation with Luden.² August Goethe had not as yet subscribed among the volunteers; his father’s opposition made him hesitate. Meanwhile, the Duke had left the Confederation of the Rhine, and issued an appeal to volunteers.

Goethe continued his effort to bear up bravely during the dreaded December weather. We find him writing a couple of satiric poems³ and detached *Spruchverse*; and looking up unprinted poems among his papers, since at Easter 1814 he would have the right to publish a new edition of his works. On the Duchess’s Friday evenings he read aloud from the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. (He appeared twice at the Duchess’s table, and on December 18, 1813, at that of the Duke, who was just back from Frankfurt.) No distractions, however, could prevent a painful agitation that arose from the enormous tension of expectation, and his fear that the Allies would fail. On the evening of December 12, 1813, Kieser found him in strange excitement. “In the closest confidence he communicated *great plans* to me, and called on me for co-operation. . . . I never saw him so fearfully agitated, violent, wrathful; his eye glowed, often words failed

¹ The letters of Kieser to Luise Seidler will be found in the book already referred to, *Erinnerungen und Leben der Malerin Louise Seidler*, Berlin, 1875.—TR.

² In November 1813, Luden wishing to start a periodical, opposed to Napoleon and the French, to be called *Nemesis*, went to Goethe. Goethe endeavoured to dissuade him. Luden, *Rückblicke in mein Leben*, Jena, 1847. (Cp. Goethe’s defence, Eckermann, March 14, 1830.)—TR.

³ *Regen und Regenbogen* (the third of the *Drei Palinodien*), and *Pfaffenspiel*.—See the division *Parabolisch* in Goethe’s Poems.—TR.

him, and then his countenance swelled, and the eyes glowed, and the whole gesticulation had to make up for the word that was wanting. I understood his words and his plans, but not himself. . . . He talked about his life, his deeds, his worth, with a frankness and distinctness that I did not understand. Was it that the great plan, which I can only tell you of by word of mouth, took such a hold upon him? Then I must esteem him still more, and honour his trust in me." It is probable that Goethe had for the moment been seized with the thought of persuading Napoleon, with whom he stood so well, to confine his pretensions to France before the Allies crossed the Rhine.

Another very serious conversation about Napoleon is recorded by Friedrich Rochlitz, who, at this time, for three weeks, enjoyed the friendliest intercourse with Goethe. At the end of the conversation, Rochlitz, much affected, exclaimed: "There, I think that is enough for to-day. Only let us not omit to give God the honour, and acknowledge his moral government of the world." They had been walking up and down talking. Goethe suddenly stopped and said solemnly:—"Acknowledge it! who can help acknowledging it? But I for my part in silence!" "In silence? why in silence?" asked Rochlitz. Goethe replied, "Who can express it save for himself? For others who? And when one knows that one cannot utter it, it is not permissible."¹

August now reported himself as a volunteer. His father hoped that the Duke, knowing how deep was his anxious dread on behalf of his only son, would prevent August from going to the war. The Duke made August the companion of *Kammerrath* Rühlmann, who was going to head-quarters in Frankfurt on commissariat business. But this did not suffice to calm Goethe. "All my wishes would be fulfilled if it lay in his Serene Highness's plan to keep him for the future in the career on which he has entered, and which is thoroughly suitable to his nature and peculiarities, in order that, sooner or later, he may count himself one of those physicians who are called to heal the wounds inflicted by the war. At the same time he would have it in his power to be helpful to

¹ Rochlitz gave an account of this conversation in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Band 60. His account is quoted in Biedermann's *Goethe in Leipzig*. Rochlitz's stay in Weimar ended on December 21, 1813.—TR.

me in the little circle of my home and affairs, where a hereditary familiar assistance is needed, since the endeavour to appropriate others to that end is not always successful,¹ and one is left anew unprovided."² The petition (which he communicated on December 30, 1813, to Voigt also) betrays a spirit untuned by painful agitation. On the following evening Kieser supped at Goethe's; "He was very low spirited, soft,³ as he said, and did not come to table."

The combat with this strong agitation was bravely continued during the early part of the year of final deliverance, 1814. On January 7, 1814, we find Goethe at table at Court. After this the Duke, as Commander-in-Chief of the Saxon Army, went to the Netherlands. At this time Kieser was frequently at Goethe's house, one of the servants there having taken the nervous fever. "The condition of our Goethe does not at all please me," writes Kieser on January 18, 1814. "Yesterday evening he was again so excitable, so serious, so soft, that I was dreadfully anxious. He was gathering all his old engravings together for the sake of occupation, is very cheerful, but after such a peculiar fashion! I fear very much for his life." Yet Goethe dined several times at Court, once upon the arrival of the Empress of Russia, on January 28, and again on the birthday of the Duchess, to whom he dedicated a little poem of congratulation. So too he wrote a very good concluding scene⁴ for *Wallensteins Lager*, which was given as a farewell piece before the *Jäger* volunteers marched out of Weimar to join the war.⁵

We find Goethe at this time bitterly annoyed by the insidious intrusion of an empty mysticism⁶ into life and literature. Poetry as poetry he thought would have no success for a long time, since men only craved the effects due to the *material* of literature. At this time he seems to have begun to pay more attention to von Hammer's translation of the *Divan* of the Persian poet Hafis, which had come into his

¹ This is an allusion to Riemer and John.—TR.

² See Goethe's *Briefe an Voigt*, 308-9.—TR.

³ "*Weich*."—TR. ⁴ Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 207-9.—TR.

⁵ Herr Düntzer thinks that there must have been two "marches out" of volunteers from Weimar in January 1814, one on January 11, the other on January 31. See Goethe to Knebel, January 12, 1814, and Kieser to Luise Seidler, January 31, 1814.—TR.

⁶ Goethe to Knebel, January 19, 1814.—TR.

hands in the spring of 1813; he was glad to fly to the refuge of this strange world, so strange—and yet so like as a scene of political turmoil. In February he had to go to table at Court frequently. He began to feel calmer. On February 14 he wrote the cheerful verses *Kriegsglück*. The Jena institutions continually claimed his attention.

Meanwhile August had come back from Frankfurt, where he had proved very useful. In March 1814 great anxiety was caused by the news of the temporary retreat to which the wonderful generalship of Napoleon compelled the Allies. The return of harsh wintry weather now leads Goethe back again “to the indoors of house and of mind.”¹ He was already far on with the Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, but the account of the breaking off with Lili seemed a delicate matter to treat while she still lived, and accordingly he stayed his advance and leaped over immediately to the Italian journey, and completed the account of it as far as Venice.² The new edition of his *Works* also occupied him. Goethe was at this time looking forward with much interest to the arrival of *Hofrath* Sartorius of Göttingen, whose political judgment he valued extremely. Sartorius, at the wish of the Princess Katharina, had been putting together his thoughts on a new constitution for the Empire.

When on April 9, 1814, word came that the Allies had entered Paris, and all Weimar broke forth in rejoicing, Goethe was suffering from violent rheumatic attacks which prevented him from leaving the house. He felt the reorganisation of the Empire on a durable basis to be of immense importance; he was oppressed with anxiety lest the union of the victorious powers should not last; and he foresaw what a measureless demand for freedom would now be made by the friends of the People which had hurled itself into the war with such enthusiasm. On the morning of April 15, 1814, news came that Napoleon had abdicated. By this time Goethe was enjoying the presence of Sartorius, with whom he earnestly discussed the future of Germany. He avoided all other political discussion, and accordingly seemed cold in the midst of the glad excitement of those days. But from him not a whit less than from others a heavy burthen had been

¹ Goethe to Knebel, March 9, 1814.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, March 30, 1814.—TR.

lifted, anxious as he felt concerning the future development of affairs.

Lying on the Ilm a few miles above Weimar is the little town of Berka. The sulphur spa there had been rising into repute; indeed, Goethe took much interest in it, and did his best to make it known as a health resort. Early in the spring of 1814 he had proposed to himself to try whether the sulphur of Berka would not be good for the rheumatism that tormented him. But it was not until May 13, 1814, that he could get away from Weimar to take up quarters in the top story of the so-called *Edelhof*. In the beginning of this stay he was occupied with a fore-piece for the opening of the summer performances of this year at Halle. The good physician, Professor Reil, who had done a great deal for the baths and theatre of Halle, had fallen a victim to the hospital fever during the past winter. Goethe meant that his fore-piece should not only serve to introduce his company at Halle, but should be a memorial to the good physician. On May 17, 1814, a proposal came from Iffland that Goethe should write for the Berlin stage a fore-piece to celebrate the return of the King of Prussia, who was expected to enter Berlin with the Czar in about four weeks. At first Goethe thought the interval too short for any composition worthy of the occasion,¹ but next day² a suitable conception occurred to him. On May 24, 1814, he sent to Iffland the programme of *Des Epimenides Erwachen*. The sleep of Epimenides was to symbolise Goethe's own aloofness from the great cause of Fatherland, the result of want of faith in the miraculous power that resides in an enthusiastic outbreak of patriotic feeling. The passionate, rapid composition of the piece must be ascribed to the desire that Goethe felt to expiate his fault so far as penitent confession might, not to any ambition for the honour of celebrating the triumph of the Prussian capital.

Just at this time Goethe was rendered very anxious by an affair of honour between August and *Rittmeister* von Werthern. A good friend interposed. Privy Councillor von Müller, who

¹ Goethe to Kirms, May 18, 1814.—Tr.

² Goethe to Kirms, "May 20," 1814. See Goethe's letters to Kirms, reprinted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 274-5. The letter is misdated "May 20;" it should be "May 19." Professor Düntzer calls attention to the words "*gestrigen Briefes*," which prove this clearly.—Tr.

during the late troubled times had become so important a person for Weimar, and who in 1808 was admitted to warm, friendly intercourse with Goethe, came to visit him at Whitsuntide, and found him in great distress about the impending duel. Müller at his wish undertook to compose the affair, and succeeded.¹

On receiving word from Iffland that the Berlin fore-piece must be performed between July 20 and 24, 1814, Goethe set Riemer to work to complete the fore-piece for Halle, and laboured with such zeal on the other that, although he had a cheery ten-days' visit from his friend F. A. Wolf, he was able to send off the whole piece on June 15, 1814, with only a few gaps, that could be easily filled. This done, he at last felt perfectly free, and full of new life. This happier mood found expression in blithe poems;² even some of the earlier *Divan* lyrics, in imitation of Hafis, being written at this time. He had a visit from Zelter, who met at his lodgings the Berlin *Capellmeister* Weber, sent by Iffland to discuss more carefully various passages of *Epimenides*. Goethe was wishing at this time to go to Wiesbaden for the summer,³ but his doctors advised the Bohemian baths. He returned to Weimar in Zelter's companionship.

Weimar was looking forward to the coming of Karl August; she was preparing to deck herself after the gayest fashion to welcome him. Goethe went from street to street, measuring and reckoning, advising and instructing, encouraging and praising, or humorously scolding. He meant that Karl August should have a literary welcome, and he collected a number of poems by Weimar and Jena friends, under the title *Willkommen*;⁴ several poems of his own were added. But the nosegays and garlands withered; the much-desired one came not, but went to the Aachen baths. And, notwith-

¹ Müller came to Berka on Saturday evening, May 28, 1814, and spent Whit-Sunday with Goethe and Riemer. In the forenoon of Monday, Müller went to Weimar, and was able to return in time for dinner with the good news. *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit Müller*, Stuttgart, 1870.—TR.

² *Die Weisen und die Leute, Vergebliche Mühe*, are two written at this time. The first *Divan* lyric, "Hans Adam war ein Erdenkloss," was written at Berka, June 21, 1814.—See Düntzer's *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, i. 324, and Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, 22.—TR.

³ See his letter to Fritz Schlosser, Berka, June 20, 1814.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe's letter to Knebel, Weimar, July 9, 1814.—TR.

standing his doctors, Goethe now resisted no longer the strong impulse that urged him to the banks of the river of the Germans. There, in his native air, among his own people, he trusted to find healing virtue, though in his native city, now again restored to her old freedom, the loving gladness of his good mother would welcome him no more.

BOOK IX.

NEW LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE RHINE AND MAIN JOURNEYS—MARIANNE WILLEMER—
THE *WESTÖSTLICHER DIVAN*.

JULY 1814—MAY 1816.

ON July 25, 1814, Goethe, accompanied by a servant, started for the Rhine. The journey that followed is remarkable for its wealth of song. In the night of July 27¹ he arrived in Frankfurt. Goethe thought the city much altered since he had last seen it, seventeen years ago.² He alighted in the inn, and wandered through the streets alone, without visiting any of his friends or relatives.³ The drive to Wiesbaden on the warm night of July 29, 1814, has its monument in the beautiful poem *All-Leben*.⁴ In Wiesbaden Goethe found his friend Zelter, who had been there since July 12. In delightful weather, in the society of old and new friends, he began to use the "cure" after the most regular and careful fashion. He only interrupted it on Sundays, to spend the day in Biberich

¹ Düntzer corrects the misprint "dem 25stn" in Goethe's *Resumé* of the journey. The *Resumé* will be found reprinted in Bernays' edition of Goethe's letters to Friedrich August Wolf.—TR.

² He had seen Frankfurt last on August 25, 1797, see p. 492. The change that Goethe perceived was for the better. It will be remembered how he had in former years lamented the decline of Frankfurt. See the footnote, p. 1.—TR.

³ In the two days that followed he saw only some of them. See Goethe to Fritz Schlosser, Wiesbaden, August 1, 1814.—TR.

⁴ *Westöstlicher Divan* (Loeper's edition), i. 16, "Staub ist eins der Elemente." Hempel's *Goethe*, iv. 23.—TR.

with the Duke of Nassau-Usingen. One of his new friends was the eminent mineralogist, *Oberberggrath* Cramer of Wiesbaden.

Not long after Goethe's arrival in Wiesbaden,¹ Zelter handed to him a letter from *Staatsrath* Schultz of Berlin, a man who had long been his sincere admirer. In June 1814 Goethe had given to Zelter a copy of the *Propyläen* to send to Schultz, and the letter now received was in the first instance one of thanks for this gift. But Schultz went on to tell how great was his interest in Goethe's *Theory of Colour*, and how he had been studying and making experiments, with the purpose of developing that part of the theory which deals with the physiology of colour. This was the beginning of an interesting friendship, though letters between Goethe and Schultz did not become frequent until the year 1816.

On August 16, 1814, Goethe, Zelter, and Cramer went to see the festival of St. Rochus at Bingen, which had been suppressed during the French occupation. Goethe has written an interesting account of the festival; one feels reminded of his pilgrimage to the *Odilienberg* in the old Strassburg days. On August 22, 1814, Karl August, who, it will be remembered, had gone to Aachen for the baths, arrived in Mainz on his return journey. Goethe went to Mainz to meet him, and then went with him to visit the minister Stein in Nassau; and then, with Wiesbaden as centre, the two made excursions to Schlangenbad and other places. August 28, 1814, Goethe's birthday, was a Sunday. He spent it, as he spent other Sundays, at Biberich. From September 1 to 8 Goethe stayed at the country-house of Franz Brentano, at Winkel. The first five days were occupied with a series of the most delightful excursions into the Rheingau.² On September 8, 1814, he returned to Wiesbaden. To the time we have reviewed belong many songs afterwards dispersed in the *Westöstlicher Divan*³ and the sketch of the *Festival of St. Rochus*.

¹ Goethe has noted on Schultz's letter in his own handwriting that he received it on August 5. It is dated July 29, 1814. See the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Schultz* [Dyk, Leipzig], edited by Düntzer, with a valuable Life of Schultz.—TR.

² Goethe has written the history of these pleasant days.—See *Im Rheingau Herbsttage*.—TR.

³ See Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, 25-29.—TR.

Goethe did not stay long in Wiesbaden after this, but returned to Frankfurt,¹ where he yielded himself to the pleasure of coming into nearer contact with his dear fellow-citizens. By the reiterated invitation of Fritz Schlosser, he stayed in the house of Schlosser's mother, the widow of Hieronymus Schlosser, whose thoughtfulness and sympathy removed from Goethe's mind the feeling of strangeness in Frankfurt that he had felt ever since his mother's death, and that had made him avoid the city.²

During this visit to Frankfurt, Goethe formed one of the most important friendships of his life. He had long been acquainted with the *Geheimerath* von Willemer, a man of wide and generous culture and sympathy. Willemer was born March 1760, and was thus more than ten years younger than Goethe. He had been married twice, and was soon to marry for the third time. The name of the woman who became his third wife was Maria Anna Jung. She was born November 20, 1784, and accordingly, when Goethe made her acquaintance, she was nearly thirty. Her native place was Linz on the Danube. She had been an actress, and a bewitching one. While she was still very young, Willemer had removed her from the temptations of the stage, and received her into his house among his daughters,³ where he continually saw more and more reason to esteem and love her. This was the lady whom Goethe now first learned to know.

At this time Sulpiz Boisserée arrived in Frankfurt. He writes to his brother on September 19, 1814, that Goethe is

¹ On September 9, 1814, Goethe writes to Fritz Schlosser that he hopes to arrive at Schlosser's house in Frankfurt on the evening of Monday, September 12; Creizenach in his book *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, p. 33, says that Goethe arrived on September 10 in Frankfurt, I do not know on what evidence.—TR.

² See Goethe's letter to Hieronymus Peter Schlosser's widow, Weimar, December 30, 1814. *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, pp. 104-5. Among the old friends whom Goethe met were Riese, Kehr (p. 40), and Georg Schütz (pp. 375 and 409). The last gave lessons in drawing to Marianne Jung.—TR.

³ This was in 1800. The whole story of Marianne von Willemer is well told in Creizenach's Introduction to the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*. But Düntzer's paper in *Westermann's Monats-Hefte* for September 1870, and Hüffer's in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1878 should be consulted also.—TR.

"friendly, loving, and confidential, from the very depth of his heart;" soon, accompanied by Christian Schlosser, he will come to Heidelberg. Goethe stayed with the brothers Boisserée, in Heidelberg, from September 24 to October 9, 1814, enjoying the happiest days in the companionship of new friends, and of old friends once known in Jena, among whom were Paulus, Thibaut, and Voss. The glorious collection of paintings of the Boisserées filled Goethe with rapture. He planned to write, with the aid of the possessors, a treatise on this collection, and on the importance of Old German Painting and Architecture in general, and next Easter he would return to Heidelberg and have this treatise printed there.¹ From Heidelberg Mannheim was visited,² and on the return to Frankfurt Goethe was accompanied by Sulpiz Boisserée to Darmstadt on Sunday, October 9.³ The time in Frankfurt was again spent delightfully in a large circle of friends. During his absence in Heidelberg Willemer had married Marianne. Goethe was their very frequent and welcome guest. On October 18, 1814, many beacon-fires, commemorating the battle of Leipzig, blazed on the hills round Frankfurt. From a tower in Willemer's vineyard Goethe and his two friends saw the spectacle.⁴ On October 19, Frankfurt was illuminated. Next day Goethe left his native city, rich in memories of happy friendship. Neither the Senate nor the Directors of the Theatre, however, had thought of taking any notice of the presence of their great fellow-townsmen. The good Willemer, feeling immense exasperation at this, had relieved himself by writing a description, spun from his brain, of a splendid performance of *Tasso* in Goethe's honour. This

¹ See Düntzer, *Sulpiz Boisserée. Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, pp. 323, 324.—Tr.

² On Sunday, October 2, 1814. See the book called *Sulpiz Boisserée*, vol. i. p. 225—the extract from Boisserée's Diary.—Tr.

³ They there succeeded in obtaining a drawing of the sketch of Köln Cathedral, that had lately been found in an attic; it was in the possession of a man named Moller. Goethe left Darmstadt for Frankfurt on October 10, 1814, though it had been his intention to stay until the 11th. Thus Goethe's *Resumé* of his journey is certainly wrong in placing his return to Frankfurt on October 13. Probably 13 is a misprint for 10. See Sulpiz Boisserée's letters to his brother Melchior, October 10, and October 11, 1814.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe was remarkably impressed by the wide prospect of flame tipped hills: he refers to it often in letters afterwards.—Tr.

description he forwarded to the *Morgenblatt*, which printed it and shamed the Directors.¹

Goethe returned to Weimar on October 27, 1814. Here he was at first completely occupied by business. During his absence the theatre had been opened with a performance of Müllner's *Schuld*, the only one among the modern genuinely poetic dramas that promised to be valuable as an acting piece.² Goethe now zealously urged on rehearsals of his monodrama *Proserpina*, in which he meant that Frau Wolff should enjoy a great triumph. The new scene-painter Beuther, an excellent artist, was a great help to Goethe in the representation, in which all the resources of scenic art were skilfully united. It was arranged that Calderon's *Zenobia* should be played on the birthday of the Duchess. In the apartments of the Duchess, Goethe used to read aloud to a select circle every Friday evening something—his own or another's. The first readings were from an account of the journey just terminated.

Goethe writes to Zelter on October 31, 1814:—"Infinite treasures of observation and of instruction have been mine, from the Granite on to the labours of Phidias,³ and from that backward to our own times;" but the resulting distraction was a hindrance to consequent scientific or literary occupation, and the only steady work that he did was the study of the East, and the preparation of the new edition of his *Works*. For this edition, which was estimated to run to twenty volumes, Cotta gave him 16,000 thalers, though the exclusive right to publish was only to last eight years. In the December of 1814 Goethe went to Jena to stay some time, as he had so frequently done before, and to look after the scientific institutions there. He found all in good order, and only had to regret the want of unity among the professors.⁴ After his return he became absorbed in the study of the East. He would need the minutest knowledge of the East for his *Westöstlicher*

¹ The report was soon challenged, and Willemer being called on for an explanation, was easily able to make his peace with the editor. But the account of the performance had been already copied by other papers, and the contradiction did not prevent many a *Life of Goethe* from adopting the story.—TR.

² Compare Goethe's remarks in the early paragraphs of the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1814.—TR.

³ This will refer chiefly to the visit to Mannheim on October 2.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Voigt, December 13, 1814.—TR.

Divan, a work that had already begun to hover before his mind as a whole. And so he read a great deal in the Persian poets. But he was aware of the danger of yielding taste and imagination to the luxuriant charm of Hafis, and every day strengthened himself on the eternal nature and truth of Homer.¹ He moreover continued to prepare a largely augmented collection of his poems for the new edition of his *Works*. And he had again begun to work on the diaries and letters that he had sent long ago to Charlotte von Stein and Herder from Italy.²

The unfavourable reports that Goethe received through a secret channel of the progress of negotiations at the Congress of Vienna filled him with bitterness and regret. But his old resource for times of oppression and disgust—a steady consequent activity deliberately pursued—proved of good avail.³

A little later, Christiane's terrible attacks of cramp (in the night before February 5, 1815, she was thought to be dead) brought him into dire distress.⁴ It was evident that her recovery could only be temporary. Goethe's life and thoughts were at this time altogether in the East. In February 1815 he composed a series of Hafis lyrics. At the Friday evenings of the Duchess, he read aloud from Persian and Arabian poems. Even the first news of Napoleon's return from Elba, and a terrible cold caught in the beginning of March 1815, were in combination insufficient to check his Hafis poetry. It was not until after the middle of March that the verses ceased to flow, and he then began to work at the letters which describe his first sojourn in Rome from October 1786 to February 1787.

Goethe's *Epimenides* was at length acted in Berlin on March 30, 1815, the most unfavourable time possible, for the despot whose downfall it celebrated was again free. Goethe's

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, January 2, 1815 :—"Täglich wird eine Pericope aus dem Homer und dem Hafis gelesen, wie denn die persischen Dichter gegenwärtig an der Tagesordnung sind." See also Goethe to Knebel, January 11, 1815.—TR.

² Goethe to Eichstädt, January 29, 1815. See above, p. 612.—TR.

³ Goethe's letter to Knebel, February 8, 1815, will be found an interesting reference here.—TR.

⁴ Goethe writes to Willemer, April 3, 1815 :—"I have been suffering a great deal : my good wife was but two finger-breadths from death. Now she is up and about, while a terrible cold has been my companion for four weeks."—TR.

mental and physical condition was so far from health that in the beginning of April 1815, instead of going himself to inspect the institutions in Jena, he sent his son August. But he sketched the Report relative to this inspection himself; also an Instruction for the custodian of the Jena museums. The first four volumes of the new edition were now sent off. Though his mood was the most bitter one, he could not bear to omit solemnising the close of the second lustrum that had elapsed since Schiller's death. And he resolved to seize the occasion to do honour to the memory of Iffland also. The great actor had died in September 1814. So now *Regierungs-rath* Peucer was set to work on an after-piece to Iffland's play, *Die Hagestolzen*. The after-piece closed with an epilogue on the great actor. It was preceded by Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke*, with Goethe's epilogue again enlarged,¹ and the two last acts of *Die Hagestolzen*. The performance, on the anniversary of Schiller's death, proved very effective.

Meanwhile Goethe continued so poorly that all his friends urged him to go away to a summer watering-place, and the Duchess herself added a kind of command.² The doctors, who had advised the Bohemian baths in 1814, were now in favour of Wiesbaden. Thus Goethe, who had this time little inclination to leave his home at the season of the year when it was most delightful, was sent forth, one might say, by forces outside his own will, to find in his native Rhine-land not only a wonderful renewal of physical health and strength, but that noble and beautiful love which brought completeness to his fragmentary *Divan*, and to which is due its most exquisite fragrance.

He left Weimar on May 24, 1815. From the beginning the journey was rich in *Divan* lyrics. On the evening of May 27 Goethe left Frankfurt for Wiesbaden, where he arrived late at night. In Wiesbaden all awaited the issue of the new war in painful excitement. The first rumour of Waterloo (June 18) that reached Wiesbaden represented it as a defeat of the Allies; it may then be imagined with what great joy the truth was heard. It was a pleasant surprise to the poet, when the Emperor of Austria conferred on him the Cross of the Order of Leopold,

¹ See page 596.—Tr.

² Goethe to Knebel, May 10, 1815; Goethe to Voigt, May 10, 1815.—Tr.

while about the same time August was appointed *Kammerrath* by the Duke of Weimar. In the last week of July 1815 Goethe was with the minister Stein a great deal. Stein had sent him a friendly invitation to Nassau. Goethe converted the journey to Nassau into a mountain excursion, and was accompanied on it by the mineralogist Cramer. Stein persuaded Goethe to go on with him to Köln, in order to learn the state of the literary and scientific institutions of the city, and to ascertain clearly the wishes of the inhabitants. On Tuesday, July 25, 1815, Goethe and Stein drove to Coblenz, and then sailed in a large boat down to Köln. There they viewed the Cathedral within and without, visited private art-collections, paid visits, drove round the city, in short, saw everything of importance, and talked over all questions with able and well-informed men.

By Bonn, Andernach, Niedermendig (where Goethe could not detect any trace of volcanic action), Coblenz, Nassau, he returned to Wiesbaden again.¹ Stein had called on him to send to Hardenberg a memoir on Art and Antiquities in the Rhine-land, and Goethe, wishing to take counsel with Boisserée, then in Schlangenbad, wrote urging him to come to Wiesbaden. Boisserée came, August 2, 1815.² It was arranged that Boisserée should make a sketch of the memoir, and Goethe would execute it himself. They spent more than a week in delightful intercourse. On the morning of August 11, 1815, they drove to Mainz; on Saturday, August 12, they arrived in Frankfurt. Boisserée alighted at an inn, while Goethe went on to Willemer's country-house, the so-called *Gerbermühle*, on the south bank of the Main, between Offenbach and Frankfurt.

The four weeks now spent with his dear friends were very happy. Marianne's brightness and grace, her singing, the disinterested sympathy in his pursuits (even in his *Farbenlehre*) of which she was capable, her talent for life shown in her power of planning and executing details with decision and self-con-

¹ He reached Wiesbaden, July 31, 1815. Our knowledge of the days spent by Stein and Goethe in Köln is partly derived from Arndt's book *Meine Wanderungen mit Stein*. There is also a diary by Goethe, giving a brief note of the events of each day. *Sulpiz Boisserée*, ii. 65.—Tr.

² Boisserée has left a remarkably full diary of the time that he now spent with Goethe. See *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 249-294.—Tr.

fidence, above all, her tender, ardent affection, and her thorough understanding of his nature, drew Goethe irresistibly to her. She showed especial pleasure in his *Divan*, from which, by his own preference, he read many poems. But not only Marianne made his stay delightful; there was Willemer himself, and Willemer's daughter Rosette Städel, a refined, cultivated woman, who, since her husband's death in 1802, had lived in her



Marianne Willemer.

FIG. 36. From a miniature on ivory of the year 1819, reproduced in the second edition of Creizenach's *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*.

father's house; both of them showed cordial affection for the poet, and joy in his presence.¹ His birthday was kept with all honour. Among other gifts having connection with the *Divan*, he received a turban of the finest muslin, wreathed with laurel; this was a reference to his song: "Komm, Liebchen, komm, umwinde mir die Mütze."² Marianne and Rosette vied, indeed, in amusing him by roguish allusions to the *Divan* and his Persian beloved.

On Friday, September 8, 1815, Goethe went to live in Frankfurt in Willemer's town-house. Now began an exchange of bright lyrics between the old poet and the Suleika of the *Gerbermühle* who had grown so dear. On September 12, he sent her the lovely poem:—"Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe." Marianne replied immediately with the admirable

¹ Beside Rosette, Willemer had three children; two daughters, both married, and a son, known as Brammy in the family.—TR.

² *Westöstlicher Divan* (Loeper's edition), viii. 14. Hempel's *Goethe*, iv. 130.—TR.

verses beginning :—"Hochbeglückt in deiner Liebe." From Frankfurt Goethe also sent her a leaf of the eastern plant *Gingo biloba* as a symbol of cordial friendship. One day amid the tumult of the fair,¹ Marianne was overjoyed to meet her beloved poet on the arm of her husband. With Boisserée Goethe went to see many collections of paintings, and enjoyed the society of old friends. On Wednesday, September 13, he announced to the delighted Boisserée that he would go to Heidelberg with him on the following Monday.

He returned to the *Gerbermühle* on Friday, September 15,² and gave Marianne a shawl bought at the fair, while in exchange she gave him a Turkish Order with Sun and Moon, roguishly protesting that a Turkish merchant had given it to her for the great poet. During the following Saturday and Sunday, she filled Goethe with delight by her "beautiful and sympathetic"³ rendering of some of his poems, of many pretty *Volkslieder*, and of the aria from *Don Giovanni* :—"Gib mir die Hand mein Leben."⁴ In the dialogue between Suleika and Hatem beginning :—"Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte," Goethe gave exquisite expression to his feeling that these days could never be forgotten. That Sunday evening (September 17⁵) on which the aria from *Don Giovanni* was sung was the last of Goethe's and Boisserée's stay at the *Gerbermühle*. They were all very gay: those pleasant familiar jokes that are sure to come into existence when people are

¹ See Marianne to Goethe, April 27, 1824.—TR.

² During his stay in Frankfurt he had paid Rahel that visit which she calls her "Adelsdiplom." It was nearly three weeks earlier, August 20, 1815, that she caught sight of Goethe in a carriage with the Willemers and Rosette, and ran towards the carriage crying, "Da ist Goethe!" Goethe had met her, I think, but once before—in July 1795, at Karlsbad. See p. 476.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, Weimar, October 29, 1815 ;—"Von öffentlicher Musik habe ich auf meiner Reise nichts erfreuliches gehört. Einzelne lebenswürdige Stimmen zu Clavier und Guitarre sind mir sehr anmuthig gekommen. *Gott und die Bajadere hort' ich vortragen, so schön und innig als nur denkbar.*"—TR.

⁴ She sang this with such bewitching charm that Goethe said she was herself a little Don Juan, whereupon all present laughed heartily, and she hid her face in the music.—*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 280-1.—TR.

⁵ Observe that in Boisserée's Diary there is a date omitted after September 16, which puts the subsequent dating until September 23 wrong by one. There is no September 17. *Düntzer on Goethe's Westöstlicher Divan*, 1878, p. 59.—TR.

happy were reiterated with especial enjoyment. Then Marianne put on her turban and wrapped herself in the Turkish shawl, and all sat listening while Goethe read aloud Persian love poems, perhaps some of his own *Divan* songs.¹ On the afternoon of Monday, September 18, 1815, Goethe started for Heidelberg with Boisserée. Willemer had promised to come to Heidelberg with Marianne and his daughter.

The memoir for Hardenberg, which was to be called *Von Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main*, had now grown to a book of manuscript a finger thick.² Goethe and Boisserée drove to Darmstadt as their first stage, through woods where beautiful lights from the afternoon sun played on the tree-stems and the grass. Tuesday, September 19, was spent in Darmstadt, and at noon, on the 20th, they arrived in Heidelberg. During the next few days Goethe saw a great deal of his old Jena friend Paulus; they vied with each other in imitating the complex Arabian characters,³ and he exchanged many a pleasant jest with Paulus's merry little wife, who made fun of their efforts. On this visit to the Boisserées, Goethe devoted special attention to the study of the Cathedral of Köln; and he had the sketches of the Cathedral towers hung up in his room. He wrote some beautiful lyrics to the absent Marianne at the old Castle, and he wrote or scratched her cipher on the fountain near the terrace.⁴

Meanwhile the Willemers had set out to pay the promised visit. On the morning of Saturday, September 23, 1815, Marianne wrote at Darmstadt⁵ the noble song of yearning addressed to the East Wind.⁶ At noon, on the same day, the

¹ *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 281:—"We remained together until one o'clock. It was a beautiful moonlight night. Goethe detains me with him for a while in his room; we chat, then it occurs to him to show me the experiment of the coloured shadow; we step out on the balcony with a wax taper, and are watched from a window by the little woman." Hermann Grimm long after saw with Marianne a comical sketch of Goethe, holding a light out of the window in order to see the moon more clearly.—TR.

² See *Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary*, September 10, 1815.—TR.

³ See Goethe to Knebel, October 21, 1815.—TR.

⁴ See the dialogue:—"An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand." Loeper's edition of the *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 34.—TR.

⁵ See Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 64.—TR.

⁶ *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 39:—

"Was bedeutet die Bewegung?

Bringt der Ostwind frohe Kunde?"—TR.

travellers surprised Boisserée and Goethe in Heidelberg.¹ Between this and the afternoon of September 26, when the friends from the *Gerbermühle* left, several *Divan* lyrics were written. One of them was the beautiful *Wiederfinden*,² a glorious utterance of the joy of reunion. When they went to the Castle for the last time Goethe pulled a leaf of *Gingo biloba* for Marianne, and he pressed a kiss on her forehead. A noisy crew of Russian soldiers rushed in and interrupted them as they sat and talked.³ A memorial inscription has lately been placed on the spot which this rare love-scene has rendered memorable. Before parting finally, Goethe and Marianne planned to write to each other in cypher. Each had a copy of Hammer's translation of the *Divan* of Hafis. By sending to each other the numbers of certain pages, and of a certain line on each page, they could make letters.⁴ They moreover promised to think of each other when full moon came round again.⁵ It had been full moon during Marianne's stay in Heidelberg. On Tuesday, September 26, 1815, the Willemer party left for home. A few hours later, Marianne wrote at Darmstadt the beautiful song to the West Wind.⁶ Goethe and Marianne never met again.

Some weeks before Karl August had written from Baden to Goethe that he would be in Heidelberg soon after September 20. At length, on Thursday, September 28, he arrived.⁷ On Friday he went to see the Boisserées' collection of paintings. On Saturday, September 30, Goethe and he went to

¹ Boisserée had written to Willemer to come on Monday (the 25th). Hence the surprise.—TR.

² "Ist es möglich! Stern der Sterne." Loeper's edition of the *Divan*, viii. 43.—TR.

³ This was in the so-called *Stückgarten*. Forty-five years later, in 1860, Marianne, on a visit to the Castle, gave these details to a sympathetic friend. See the little book by Frau Emilie Kellner (*née* Andrea), *Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika*, pp. 43-48.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe's notes to his *Divan*, article *Chiffer*.—TR.

⁵ See the *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 44; *Vollmondnacht*.—TR.

⁶ *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 42:—

"Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen,
West, wie sehr ich dich beneide!"

Frau Emilie Kellner (p. 30) tells a story of the great emotion with which Marianne once heard Jenny Lind sing these verses.—TR.

⁷ This is established by Goethe's letter to Voigt, Heidelberg, October 1, 1815.—TR.

Mannheim, and on October 1 Goethe returned alone to Heidelberg. The composition of beautiful Suleika lyrics went on during these days. Monday, October 2, was spent in resting, and on Tuesday the 3d he drove with Boisserée to Karlsruhe.¹

On Goethe's return to Heidelberg he found awaiting him an invitation from Madame Jagemann-Heygendorf, who was at Mannheim in the Duke's company, to come and see tableaux and what-not at the festivities there. Goethe disliked Caroline Jagemann very much. It was a hateful summons from the free, simple life in the companionship of kindred souls that he had been leading for some months; the artificial society of princes and actors seemed very base and mean in comparison. He fell into a state of painful nervousness; he feared every moment to receive a letter from Karl August supporting the invitation. Flight was his thought. He started on October 7, 1815, taking the sketch of the Cathedral with him. Boisserée dared not let him travel alone in his vexed state of mind and body, and went with him. But he recovered as the chance of being overtaken by the Duke diminished; and on October 9, at Würzburg, Boisserée could see him depart for Weimar alone without apprehension. On this and the following day (October 10), although the demons ceased not to make mouths at him occasionally,² Goethe wrote two *Divan* lyrics,³ which allude to the genius for poetry of Marianne. He reached Weimar on October 11, 1815, having been absent since the 24th of May.

The days that followed his return were full of disquiet. His first trouble was the loss of Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife, his best actors, who owed so much to the culture received

¹ They returned on October 5. Boisserée's Diary is remarkably full and interesting at this point. After talking of the Cathedral of Köln and of the Willemers, Goethe mentioned how forty years before he had often gone to visit Lili in Offenbach, along the path near the *Gerbermühle*. In Karlsruhe Goethe saw Jung Stilling again (after a lapse of forty years). Jung was very cold. Goethe also met Johann Peter Hebel in Karlsruhe.—TR.

² Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, Weimar, October 23, 1815:—"Den 11 October kam ich in Weimar an, nachdem mir zuletzt die Dämonen noch einige Gesichter geschnitten hatten."—TR.

³ *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 35:—"Kaum dass ich dich wieder habe" (October 9); *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 23:—"Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarlädchen" (October 10). As to the wrong date (October 7) given to the former of these two lyrics in the quarto edition, see Düntzer *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 74.—TR.

from him. During his journey he had been communicating with Wolff, who, compelled by weak health to go to baths in the beginning of July 1815, had asked an extension of leave of absence. This Goethe, by Kirms' advice, had at first refused, but had afterwards granted it on pressing repetitions of the request. The Wolffs were meanwhile offered very good terms by the Direction of the Theatre of Berlin. The hostility of Kirms, the uncertainty of affairs in Weimar, where Goethe's resignation of the managership was always to be feared, and the general inferiority of the position there, made the Wolffs determine on accepting the offer from the capital. In a letter addressed to Goethe, dated September 28, 1815, they announced their intention of leaving Weimar next Easter, when their contract would expire. They gratefully acknowledged how great was their debt to the master. But Goethe was pained to find that Wolff could take a step of this kind without speaking a word to him. Any attempt to have such a formal notice repealed seemed to Goethe unworthy of the dignity of the Commission of the Theatre, as he declared to the Hereditary Prince, who wished him to sound the Wolffs to discover on what terms they would stay. Finally Karl August left the affair to the Commission. Goethe moved Voigt to make a last attempt, but it was no use. Wolff considered it right to adhere to his resolve; he longed for a wider circle of activity.

Goethe was moreover disquieted about his own future, since in the imminent re-adjustment of the Ministry his functions and his rank would come in question. Not having been asked for advice, he held altogether in the background. The greater accordingly was his pleasure when on November 30, 1815, he heard through Voigt that, retaining his present duties, he was appointed First Minister, with a salary of 3000 thalers and an allowance for an equipage. The appointment of the Ministry was completed on the following day. Soon after, in December 1815, Goethe went to inspect the scientific institutions in Jena, where indeed he had already spent a week in the previous month.

Meanwhile, the essay *Von Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* had advanced, notwithstanding manifold hindrances, the *Divan* had been growing richer and richer, and the friendship with Willemer and Marianne had been fostered by an interchange of letters and poems, which were the beginning of

one of the most interesting and charming among Goethe's correspondences. Towards the end of 1815 Goethe was again very poorly. As for the Theatre, pretty nearly all pleasure in it was gone, what with the approaching loss of his best pupils, and the complaining and nagging of Kirms about costume belonging to the Theatre, which he said Frau Wolff was bound to restore to the management. Moreover, the actors were on bad terms amongst themselves. Still, when they appeared on the stage, the audience felt that their power of acting together was remarkable. Such, for instance, was the feeling on the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, when *Epimenides Erwachen* was acted (though with all the beauty and effectiveness of detail, the piece as a whole was hard to comprehend). This was the first appearance of the play in Weimar; some alterations had been made. Karl August, who had the advancement of the study of Natural Science at heart, began to show great zeal for improving the scientific institutions of Jena, and accordingly a good deal of Goethe's attention was devoted to them. And the Duke also took lively interest in the meteorological observations begun by Goethe in 1815.¹

On the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, the Order of the White Falcon of Watchfulness was solemnly revived, and the Grand Cross of the Order given to Goethe and Voigt. *Vigilando ascendimus*—nothing could be nearer the heart of Goethe's belief than this, the ancient Word of the Order! Voigt had composed a Prologue for the ceremony. Goethe delivered a short speech of thanks. With February 1816 the *Divan* poetry ceased, but the songs were now arranged and revised, the study of the East was continued, and in the middle of February an announcement of the *West-östlicher Divan* was sent to the *Morgenblatt*. By the beginning of March the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* was printed. In this Goethe considered that he had performed a duty towards his Fatherland, though, what with the German "many-mindedness" (*Vielmeinerei*), he did not expect much result from it.²

¹ See *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1815, Goethe to Karl August, January 17, 1816, and *Wolkengestalt nach Howard in Zur Meteorologie*.—TR.

² Compare Goethe to S. Boisseree, June 8, 1816:—"Leider aber wird bei dieser verworrenen und gleichgültigen Weltverfassung das Gemeine: *was nicht hilft, wenn's nur nicht schadet!* schon einige Beruhigung geben können."—TR.

The Grand Duke had promised a constitution to his people more liberal than that given seven years before. The ceremony of sanction of the Constitution was appointed to



FIG. 37. Goethe with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon. Drawn by Ferdinand Jagemann. From an engraving by C. Müller.

take place on April 7, 1816, when Goethe and Voigt were to stand on the right of the throne. "On the 2d of April," writes Goethe, "I was attacked by curious, not dangerous, but severe rheumatic illness, and had to go to bed. So far

as I could judge, it would be impossible to be in my place on the 7th. Then fortunately a Napoleonic saying came into memory—*L'Empereur ne connaît autre maladie que la mort*, and I said accordingly that, if not dead, I would appear at Court on Sunday at twelve o'clock. It appears as though the doctor and Nature took to heart this tyrannic saying, for I stood on Sunday, at the right hour, in my place on the right hand next the throne. And at table, too, I was able to satisfy all obligations. Afterwards I came home again, and went to bed."¹ He was very much grieved when, on April 18, 1816, the Duke told him of the death of the good Empress of Austria. The liberally-conceived Fundamental Statute of the Constitution, framed in concert with the Deputies, was published on May 5, 1816. Goethe was no friend of Freedom of the Press, nor of constitutional popular rights, which seemed to him to be hindrances to vigorous government.

¹ Goethe to Zelter, May 3, 1816.—TR.

CHAPTER II.

SEVEN YEARS ON THE HEIGHTS.

1816-1823.

GOETHE may now be considered to have reached a high table-land of life, and during the next seven years we rather picture him as traversing this table-land in assured possession of the many glorious and valuable things that it had to give, than as climbing to a goal with painful renunciation and toil. Old age had not begun, yet he had all the luminous wisdom that usually comes only when the decay of the power of enjoyment has sadly lessened the value of wisdom. We will not take all the events of these years in chronological order, but will group them under certain headings. And first we will consider—

Goethe's domestic and personal circumstances.—

The period began with one of the great sorrows of his life. Christiane was again attacked by dreadful spasms; her suffering filled him with anguish. On June 3, 1816, when sending the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum* to Fritz Schlosser, he excuses the brevity of his note by the "grievous domestic misfortune" that is his hindrance. Three days later death delivered poor Christiane from indescribable agony. Goethe has left in both verse and prose record of the deep sorrow that he felt.¹ August Goethe writes, on June 10, 1816,

¹ The lines written on the day of Christiane's death are—

"Du versuchst, O Sonne, vergebens,
Durch die düstern Wolken zu scheinen!
Der ganze Gewinn meines Lebens
Ist ihren Verlust zu beweinen."

To Zelter on June 8, 1816, he writes:—"When I tell you, sturdy, well-tryed son of old Earth, that my dear little wife has in these days left us, you

to Fritz Schlosser :—"Honoured friend, when I tell you that my dear mother is dead, it is enough to make our condition real to you. My father tries to bear up by aid of a steady activity, and I derive energy from the thought of being useful and pleasant to him in domestic and social relations."

A few days after this the poet of *Werther* met the Lotte of Wetzlar again. She came to Weimar to visit her sister, the wife of *Kammerrath* Riedel.¹ Kestner had died sixteen years ago.² Lotte still took full interest in life, and met Goethe with cordial friendliness. Dressed in white, with her slight form, her significant eyes, her fine profile, and her cultivated, intellectual personality, she made a charming impression ; only her head shook continually, as is noted by Charlotte von Schiller.

The death of Goethe's wife made him wish more than ever for an affectionate young daughter-in-law. His eye rested on Ottilie von Pogwisch, the granddaughter of an old lady whose hearty fondness for fun had made her well known in Weimar. The Countess Henckel von Donnersmark, accompanied by her daughter Henriette, the widow of a Major von Pogwisch, and two granddaughters, had arrived in the train of the Crown-Princess in 1804. Ottilie was the elder of the two granddaughters. As a child she had been used to sing at Goethe's house-concerts, and had attracted him by her grace, her friendliness, her beautiful voice, and her thorough musical knowledge. She was sympathetic and intellectual, and was an ardent enthusiast about Goethe. (This did not prevent her from delight

will understand what that means." At the close of a dictated letter to Boisserée, June 8, 1816, he writes with his own hand :—"I add that my dear little wife has in these days left us, and my dear friends will assuredly feel for me." To Luise Seidler he writes, June 12, 1816 :—"With my great loss the only way to make life endurable is to reckon up gradually all the goodness and love that is still left to me." To Alexander von Humboldt, who had sent him a copy of his book *On the Distribution of Plant-forms on the Earth*, Goethe replied on June 12, 1816, with the eight beautiful lines beginning "An Trauertagen," to be found in the division of his poems *An Personen*. When Christiane was dying, Goethe, kneeling by her bedside, broke forth in the despairing cry, "Thou wilt not leave me ! no ! no ! thou canst not leave me !" When the end drew near, and the doctor called him, saying that it was time to come if he desired to see her again, he followed sobbing. He took her hand, and caressed her brow. She opened her eyes and tried to speak, but could only make inarticulate sounds. He left the room in an agony of sorrow.—Tr.

¹ See p. 361.—Tr.

² In May 1800.—Tr.

in Jean Paul, also, between whom and Goethe there were such fundamental differences.) Her family life had been a disorganised thing; she slept at her grandmother's, and only spent a few hours every day with her mother, and then dined somewhere else! August was not averse to this bride. And so, on January 1, 1817, Goethe writes to Zelter that the betrothal has taken place. The Court and the city regarded the match with favour. Very pleasant results for society in Weimar might be expected, people thought. The grandmother and her sons had had some objection on the score of August's birth, but soon dropped it; still, malicious tongues were busy about the marriage.

Goethe roguishly advised the bride not to contradict his son, who always wished to be praised; if she wanted to scold, let her come to himself. Already August had the tendency to dissolute, sensual indulgence, that destroyed his constitution in the end. Goethe hoped that an intellectual woman like Ottilie would bring him into other ways, and that the very oppositeness of their characters would be the foundation of a genuine domestic happiness. Later, there was a fiction current in Weimar about a connection between August and an actress, one of those who fill a mute part at a theatre; this woman, the story ran, came to Goethe's box one evening, and, throwing herself before him, implored him to sanction her marriage with his son. On June 17, 1817, August and Ottilie were married in the strictest family privacy, for Goethe, as we know,¹ could not bear external ceremonies of this kind. The young pair had to content themselves with the top story of Goethe's house, which was, however, made as pretty and cosy as could be. To Ottilie it seemed heaven, Frau von Schardt recounts, to live at length on firm ground in her own house. According to the same fine observer, the two young people were happy, like children when a great deal of care has been taken for them; their new-furnished rooms were filled with the perfume of flowers, and with peace. "The papa is very fond of his daughter-in-law," writes Frau von Schardt; "when he was in Jena she had to write to him every week; so, too, he wrote to her. He shared with her all the treasures which he cherishes *con amore*, or produces."²

¹ See pp. 482 and 498.—Tr.

² In Düntzer's *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 450-1, there are long and interesting extracts from Frau von Schardt's letters,—Tr,

At this period Goethe spent most of his time in Jena, living first in the Castle, and then in the ruined gardener's house at the Botanic Gardens, where he stayed even during the winter. In the spring of 1818 he occupied the rooms on the top story of the inn *Zur Tanne* at Camsdorf, a suburb of Jena. From these rooms he had a lovely view.¹ He remained in them until the end of June 1818. It was only now and then that he came over to Weimar; as, for instance, to the masked ball of the 18th of February 1818. On this occasion he caught a cold, the effects of which lasted a long time.

On April 9, 1818, he was gladdened by news of the birth of his grandson, Walther Wolfgang. The birth was a painful one. "The poor young papa has endured a great deal," writes Charlotte von Schiller, "and I believe even more through the womankind around [Ottilie's family and Adele Schopenhauer, who were in great excitement] than through his wife's condition. His bright, troubled face has made him still dearer to me." Goethe saw his grandson first on April 14, after the christening. His joy in the birth of this grandson found expression in the humorous mineralogical *Cradle-Song*.²

The new German Constitution granted right of migration free from taxes. Goethe had accordingly withdrawn his property so far as possible from Frankfurt, and in order to escape the civic tax and other burthens, had declared through an attorney his resignation of civic rights. Many had expected that the Senate of Frankfurt would make him a freeman of the city;³ but Goethe's withdrawal of property had embittered them, and they showed their displeasure. Not only did they make a detailed note on December 9, 1817, of Goethe's retirement from citizenship, but, contrary to usage, they crossed

¹ See Goethe's letter to Zelter, February 16, 1818.—TR.

² *Wiegenlied dem jungen Mineralogen Walter von Goethe*, 21 April 1818. He had his grandson received at once into the Mineralogical Society of Jena.—TR.

³ Dalberg had this plan when Prince Prome, but the War of Liberation had removed him from power. See for fuller accounts of these negotiations that by Schlosser, *Fritz Schlossers Nachlass*, pp. 25-6, and by Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp. 95-6. Another reference given in these books is Rüppell in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1855.—TR.

out the original entry of his name, made in the autumn of 1771, when, after his return from Strassburg, he had become a citizen of Frankfurt.¹ And later, when he wanted to sell a house, they made the transaction difficult. All this did not tend to make him more anxious to visit his native city. In July 1816 he had started for Frankfurt, accompanied by Meyer, but the carriage was upset, and this omen deterred Goethe from going to the Rhine in that year. In 1817 the claims of Jena prevented it; his only pure pleasure-trip in that year was a visit on his birthday to the noble monastery ruin, Paulinzelle,² where his son surprised him with a secretly prepared banquet. And henceforth a mysterious voice prevented him from visiting his native city, notwithstanding many friendly invitations. In 1818 he went to Karlsbad again, and geology reasserted her old empire. But at the close of his stay³ a bad cold overtook him, and he was not well until some days after his return to Weimar. In October 1818 he had a visit from his dear Zelter.

Goethe's home-life was at this time extremely pleasant. In the middle of the day he dined with his family, which had been lately increased by the addition of Otilie's younger sister Ulrike, who, though weakly, gladdened the household with a bright, affectionate presence. Then there were friends who alternated in their attendance at the dinner-table, and who came pretty regularly in the evenings. The most constant of these visitors were Heinrich Meyer, Riemer, Privy Councillor von Müller,⁴ and the Countess Julie von Egloffstein. The young lady last named, then twenty-six, charmed Goethe by her intellect and grace, and a decided talent for painting. Another welcome guest was the architect Coudray. Coudray had been in the service of the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, and on its dissolution was engaged by Weimar.

At the close of 1818 the Empress-Mother of Russia visited

¹ See p. 126.—TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1817, that though he had been for forty years traversing Thüringen in all directions, he had never visited these ruins before.—TR.

³ Goethe was in Karlsbad from the close of July until the middle of September 1818.—TR.

⁴ Müller had been head of the Judiciary as Chancellor von Müller since 1815.—DÜNTZER.

Weimar. Goethe was called on for a masque, and could not refuse. In order to concentrate his thoughts he withdrew to Berka, and there in a wonderfully short time the extensive work was composed. The ladies and gentlemen who filled the various parts had to come to Berka to be drilled. The scene at the performance on December 18, 1818, was one of the highest of our poet's triumphs.¹

After this Goethe remained for a considerable time in Weimar. In the spring he suffered a painful loss. On March 22, 1819, Christian Gottlob von Voigt died. There were indeed few with whom Goethe's life had been more closely knit for many years, not merely through their relation as men of business, but as human beings in the full sense.

Voigt's death left a vacancy in the *Superintendence*² of literary and scientific institutions. August Goethe was accordingly now appointed to a place in it subordinate to his father. Twelve days before the death of Voigt another old friend had departed. Friedrich Jacobi died suddenly in München, March 10, 1819. Goethe's heart, in spite of all that had happened, had still clung to Jacobi in deep affection. His last greeting had been a letter introducing Luise Seidler when she went to München nearly two years ago (July 1817). In May 1819 Goethe sent his son and his daughter-in-law to Berlin to visit his nephew *Staatsrath* Nicolovius³ and other friends there. Soon after this August Goethe lost his best friend through the departure of Ernst Schiller, who, unable to find a permanent situation in Weimar, went to Köln as *Assessor*.

In March 1819 Goethe had an unexpected visit from Willemer, who was going to Berlin to beg mercy from the King of Prussia for the young officer who had killed his son Brammy in a duel in the summer of 1818. The friendliest relation had been kept up with the Willemers through all these years.⁴

¹ This, the most important of all Goethe's *Maskenzüge*, was also the last. See Goethe to Knebel, December 26, 1818. Goethe to Zelter, January 4, 1819.—TR.

² See pp. 597 and 650.—TR.

³ Georg Heinrich Ludwig Nicolovius married Marie Anna Luise Schlosser, Goethe's niece, the daughter of Cornelia.—TR.

⁴ It is noteworthy that nearly all Goethe's letters in the Willemer correspondence up to this point are addressed either (a) to Willemer, or (b) to Rosette Städel, or (c) to Willemer and Marianne collectively. This becomes more noteworthy when we remember how he avoided visiting Frankfurt.—TR.

Willemer promised to return from Berlin by Weimar, but was unable to do so. In July 1819 Marianne went to Baden, and thence she wrote to Goethe a letter in which she spoke ingenuously of the deep emotion that had been stirred when she recalled old memories which Willemer's visit to Weimar had in several ways wakened again with great vividness. Goethe was deeply moved by this letter. He wrote a short passionate assurance of affection, he even fell into the use of the passionate "*Du.*"¹ Marianne's silence² was hardly needed to remind him of his accustomed self-monition "Nicht weiter!" At the close of August 1819 Goethe went to Karlsbad. Before his departure he sent to Willemer a copy of the *Westöstlicher Divan*. There are poems by Marianne in it, but how much more does it owe her than those few lyrics, beautiful as they are!

There was a fine celebration of Goethe's birthday in Frankfurt in this year (1819), and his friends sent him a golden laurel-wreath with emeralds. At this time, too, some important men joined in proposing a monument to the poet at Frankfurt; it was to be a hall erected on a hill with a bust of Goethe high placed, the hall adorned with pictures whose subjects should be taken especially from *Hermann und Dorothea*.

On December 5, 1819, Friedrich Stolberg died. His death affected Goethe the more because of the violent attacks which Voss had made on Stolberg shortly before. The tenderness with which Goethe treasured all memories of the friendship that had begun when he and the Stolbergs were young together was outraged by this harshness of Voss. In this December of 1819 Goethe had a severe illness, the after results of which compelled him to strict seclusion for a while. In the previous year he had begun to hold almost altogether aloof from Court.

At this time August was growing more and more gloomy and irregular in conduct. His position in Weimar, where he was expected to play the part of son of his father, to whom he was considered an appendage, drove him to despair, and in his disgust he abandoned himself with less and less restraint to a sensual life. Towards his father he showed deep affection

¹ Goethe to Marianne von Willemer, July 26, 1819.—TR.

² She did not reply until a little later than the middle of August, when she was again in Frankfurt. Goethe had written on August 5, 1819, to Willemer:—"Nach Baden habe ich gleich geschrieben, man wird verzeihen wenn ich zu aufrichtig gewesen bin."—TR.

and faithful obedience; came every morning to receive his commissions, and, when not compelled to go to Court, dined with him; but in the evenings generally followed his own inclination. The superintendence of the cabinet of coins and the cabinet of natural history was performed by August with great care; in all things, indeed, he was a model of order. An enthusiastic admiration for Napoleon filled him; he gathered everything connected with the great conqueror that he could lay hands on.¹ His heart throbbed with the desire for genuine friendship, which he could not find. The periods of abandonment to excess always lasted but a short time. He had little feeling for plastic art, but fine appreciation of great poetry; thus he loved and admired the noble creations of his father and of Schiller. His own mind found expression in poems deep in feeling, but generally lacking in completeness of form.

In the year 1820 Goethe's visit to Karlsbad was very early, for the winter had used him ill. In Eger he made the acquaintance of Joseph Sebastian Grüner, the magistrate who examined his pass. Grüner came to return the pass in person. His reverential affection, his fondness for mineralogy and history, and his power of true observation attracted Goethe much, who promised on his return from Karlsbad to stay longer in Eger. This was on April 26, 1820; on May 28 Goethe arrived in Eger again, and spent a pleasant day with Grüner. After this a close friendship grew between them. "Goethe was of high stature," writes Grüner,² "of strong robust build, the brownish hair slightly bleached, the brow high arched, the eye still fresh and fiery, the colour white and red. The features of the countenance were strong, the chin somewhat prominent, the neck considerably fleshy. . . . Usually he wore a dark-blue over-coat that came to the ankles, at times, too, a black frock-coat and trousers of the same colour. . . . A fine white or black silk waistcoat, a white cambric scarf folded small and laid round the neck and the ends joined by a breastpin should not be omitted. On account of his full-bloodedness . . . he had used himself to wear his neck-cloth very loose."

After his return from Karlsbad business detained him in

¹ Cp. Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, January 17, 1827; March 7, 1830.—Tr.

² See the book *Briefwechsel und mündlicher Verkehr zwischen Goethe und dem Rathe Grüner*, Leipzig, 1853.—Tr.

Jena a long time ; he lived in the Botanic Garden as before. Here, in August 1820, he had the pleasure of a visit from Schultz, who was accompanied by the artists Schinkel, Tieck, and Rauch. The last two made models of Goethe's bust. On September 18, 1820, Goethe's second grandson, Wolfgang Maximilian, was born. Ottilie's sufferings had been long and severe, and there was grave fear that she would not recover. Goethe returned to Weimar before the middle of October 1820, and had a pleasant fortnight's visit from Fritz Schlosser and his wife. Their secession to the Catholic Church had not made Goethe less friendly. During this winter he did not leave his house.

In the spring of 1821 there was a renewal of the old dominion of music. Eberwein and his wife gave small and large concerts at Goethe's house. In June 1821 Goethe procured one of Streicher's pianos. Meanwhile the project of erecting a memorial to Goethe at Frankfurt had not been forgotten. In May 1821 the committee was able to report that the city had given a site, that the likeness of Goethe had been ordered, that a design of the building had been made, and that a considerable sum had been collected in Frankfurt. The committee called upon the sovereigns and the peoples of Germany for contributions; and the subscription was fixed at ten gulden. Goethe feared that the affair was planned on too large a scale ; he wished that the monument had been brought into connection with the new Library. From the beginning there was, indeed, something wrong-headed about the management of the affair ; and all, to Goethe's annoyance, ran away as it were into the sand in a strange fashion, not even the setting up of his likeness in the Library being accomplished. The subscriptions were paid back ; and when many givers refused to take theirs, the sum that remained was expended in sending to the poet regularly on his birthdays a quantity of the noble wine of his native country.

Goethe felt very unwell in the summer of 1821. At the end of July accordingly the doctors sent him to Marienbad, a new health resort dependent on the Abbey of Tepl. In Marienbad, notwithstanding the rainy weather, many stones were hammered and a good stock of specimens gathered. Goethe's "after-cure" in Karlsbad was hindered by the inundation that desolated the place on September 9, 1821. After spending

about three weeks in Eger (August 25 to September 13) he returned to Jena, where he stayed from September 15 until the close of October. On receiving word from Zelter that, accompanied by his daughter Doris and by his pupil, the wonderful pianist and composer of eleven, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, he was about to visit Goethe, the latter hastened to Weimar. The history of the vividly-spent, delightful days that followed is open to us in the accounts of it written by the wonderful boy.¹ Goethe felt extraordinary elevation of spirit, and was ready for the gayest merriment. The baths had done him so much good that the winter passed without illness, yet at length a severe cold set in and lasted a long time.

Already, as Cotta's exclusive right in the second edition of Goethe's *Works* would soon cease, Goethe was meditating a new edition, the last which he could hope to see. He set the Library secretary, Kräuter, to work, arranging his papers and letters. And he looked round him for young men who would aid in the preparation of the new edition. In the previous year he had endeavoured to gain for himself the young Karl Ernst Schubarth who by his essay, *Zur Beurtheilung Goethes*,² had proved his earnest goodwill. But Schubarth desired a State appointment. As to the study of Mineralogy Goethe found an able ally in the Petersburger Soret, who, now in his seven and twentieth year, was summoned to be the tutor of the Hereditary Prince. Soret, when four years old, had gone to live in Geneva.

The June of 1822 saw Goethe again in Marienbad. There and over the country, as far as the Fichtelgebirge, there was now a great deal of stone hammering. Goethe was glad to meet in Marienbad the well-known mineralogist Count Caspar von Sternberg. And the heart of the poet was here kindled once again. Ulrike von Levezow, a wondrously charming maiden of fifteen, who with her mother (Goethe's Pandora³) and two sisters visited the ecclesiastical watering-place, by her look, her voice, and her angelic personality, laid a strange spell

¹ English readers will find Felix's letters translated in Hensel's book *The Mendelssohn Family*. There is besides an English translation of the book *Goethe and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* [Macmillan].—TR.

² First published in 1817, and republished in 1820; Schubarth was with Goethe in Jena in September 1820. See Goethe to Schultz, October 1, 1820.—TR.

³ See p. 558.—TR.

on the poet, now seventy-two, a spell of which he only became aware when the time to part arrived.¹ On his return he wrote outside Eger the poem *Æolsharfen*, which expresses the yearning emotion of separated lovers. For a time the cheery, affectionate letters of Marianne von Willemer drew no response, and Alwine Frommann in Jena thought she could observe melancholy moments.²

Yet he soon resumed the mastery of himself, and took a gracious part in the social life of his home. As he had ceased to go to the Court, the Court came to him; the Grand-Duke Karl August one morning every week, on Tuesday mornings the Grand-Duchess Luise, on Thursday mornings the Crown-Princess, and Goethe had always something important in literature or science to lay before each. On Tuesday evenings there was generally a large assembly to tea at his house; many of the young Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, who were about in Weimar, had access. Goethe himself always appeared, at least for a short time, at this tea. On December 14, 1822, after a long interval, he had a musical evening at his house again. The severity of the winter now came hard upon him. Besides, the love of Ulrike von Levezow may have disquieted him.

On February 17, 1823, Goethe was suddenly attacked by inflammation of the pericardium, and probably of part of the heart; for a few days the worst was feared; not until February 26 was the danger over.³ His recovery of strength was slow. He had been a long time without consciousness; the use of arnica at the crisis had cured him.⁴ He was immensely gladdened when (March 22), in celebration of his recovery, his *Tasso* was acted, with a prologue having reference to the

¹ Goethe arrived in Eger from Marienbad on July 24, 1822. He made many excursions, and saw a great deal of Grüner. Sternberg, too, came to Eger. Goethe left Eger for home on August 27, 1822. See *Goethe und Grüner*, pp. 76, 119, 120 (on p. 120 read "27" for "24"), and Goethe to Sternberg, Eger, August 26, 1822.—TR.

² So Marianne learned from Alwine Frommann's brother, who was in the shop of a Frankfurt bookseller. Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 128.—TR.

³ See August Goethe's letters to Schlosser and to Zelter, February 26, 1823. *Goethe-Briefe aus Schlossers Nachlass*, p. 113; *Goethe und Zelter*, iii. 292.—TR.

⁴ Cp. *Soret* (in *Eckermann*), Tuesday, February 24, 1823.—TR.

occasion. Immediately after the successful performance, an account of it was brought to him.¹

After his recovery Goethe sent his reply to the letter of Countess Auguste von Bernstorff, once Auguste von Stolberg, the dear friend of his youth whom he had never seen. She had written to him in October 1822, exhorting him to be converted. She conjured him to depart from all in the world that is petty, vain, earthly, and not good; to turn his gaze and his heart to eternal things, and to make good, ere too late, the harm that his writings had done to the souls of others. Goethe's reply is serious and dignified: "To live long is to outlive much; beloved, hated, indifferent men; kingdoms, capitals, cities, nay, forests and trees that when young we sowed and planted. . . . All this fleeting show we accept unconcerned; we are not troubled by the evanescence of Time if the Eternal is every moment present. All my life I have meant honestly towards myself and others, and in all my earthly action have looked to the highest. You and yours have done the same. We will then continue to labour while it is day; a sun will shine for others also; they will play their part, and meanwhile for us there will be a clearer light. And so let us remain untroubled about the future. In the kingdoms of our Father are many provinces, and since here on earth He has given us such a peaceful abiding, there will be provision for us both yonder also; perhaps then we shall have the happiness hitherto withheld, and know one another face to face, and so love one another more thoroughly than before. In calm trust be mindful of me." So far Goethe had written immediately after the receipt of Auguste's letter, but he had not sent what he had written, because, by a like utterance of himself, he had once against his will wounded her brother. But after his recovery from the dreadful illness of that spring: "The page shall go to you to bring you direct evidence that the Almighty still permits me to behold the fair light of His sun; may the day to you as to me shine with friendly brightness, and may you think of me with goodness and love, as I cease not to recall those times when that still worked in union which afterwards was sundered! May all be united again in the arms of the all-loving Father!"²

¹ Cp. *Soret* (in Eckermann), Saturday, March 22, 1823.—TR.

² Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff, April 17, 1823.—TR.

In the early summer of 1821 the student Johann Peter Eckermann, then twenty-nine, had sent from Göttingen a copy of his poems, with a short account of the strange events of his life; and Goethe had replied with a few friendly lines. Moreover, Eckermann heard that he had spoken favourably of his confidant. And now, in May 1823, Goethe received the manuscript of Eckermann's *Beiträge zur Poesie*, with a request that he would recommend it to Cotta. As Goethe delayed to reply, Eckermann, longing for a decision, set out on foot for Weimar. On June 9, 1823, Goethe received Eckermann's request for an interview, and named noon on the following day. He proved very friendly. On the second day of their intercourse he said that he would be glad if Eckermann would remain in Jena all the summer, until his return from his approaching visit to Marienbad. Eckermann would not only find this a good step for his own purposes, but could further those of Goethe. Eckermann was commissioned first to hunt out Goethe's articles in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, and then to make an index to *Kunst und Alterthum*, carefully noting such subjects as might be considered not to have received their full treatment.

Before Goethe left Weimar¹ for Marienbad, in the number of *Kunst und Alterthum* that his illness had delayed, he spoke publicly his heartfelt thanks for all the kindness that he had received, both at home and from abroad, since his illness. To such strong proofs of sympathy he would endeavour to respond after the fashion in which he had won them, namely by an earnest, faithful, honest, objective activity which would benefit his Fatherland as well as foreign countries. "Since the Almighty has permitted me to emerge again from this hard fight with adequate intellectual and spiritual powers, it is my duty to think continually on the careful use of them."

He arrived in Marienbad in the early days of July 1823. Karl August had arrived shortly before. Goethe felt remarkably well; he obtained delightful lodgings; and as the other occupants of the house were all ladies,² he had quietness. Among

¹ He left Weimar on Thursday, June 26, 1823. He arrived in Eger on the evening of Sunday, June 29, and reached Marienbad on Wednesday, July 2. Goethe to Schultz, July 8, 1823. See also Grüner's book, on p. 130 of which read "Sonntag" for "Montag."—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, July 11, 1823.—TR.

these ladies were the Levezows. Ulrike's charm bewitched him anew; with her, his beloved "Stella," he spent the happiest days. When he heard her voice in the *Brunnenallee* he would seize his hat and hasten to her;¹ he missed no opportunity of being with her. Not until the beginning of August 1823 did his love reach the height of passion; all was so open and remarkable that the visitors to the baths talked of marriage. Ulrike's mother broke everything off by leaving Marienbad suddenly. When they were parting Ulrike, after a first kiss of farewell, could not help pressing one more on the poet's lips.

In the extraordinary excitability of that time Goethe was very receptive for music. The singing of the celebrated *prima donna*, Madame Milder of Berlin, moved him to tears. So, too, did the wonderful playing of the lovely Polish lady, Madame Szymanowska, the first pianist to the Empress of Russia. In these tears Goethe found himself again, found the power to bear with courage the great sorrow of renunciation, and to lift himself anew after it. In the poem *Aussöhnung*² he acknowledges the beneficial power of Madame Szymanowska's music. Now he was able not only to roguishly joke at Mlle. Wolowska, her sister, who was melancholy and had thoughts of death, but to address two stanzas³ to the good friends in Weimar, who were about to celebrate at the same time his birthday and his wonderful recovery; these stanzas were recited by his son at the banquet. On August 20, 1823, conducted by Grüner, who had come to fetch him, Goethe drove to Eger, where he wished to examine the surrounding mountains. After a few days of excursion with Grüner he set out for Karlsbad. On August 25, 1823, on the way to Karlsbad he composed, bit by bit in the carriage, writing down at each stage what he had composed, the noble *Elegie*⁴ that glorifies the difficult resolve to give up Ulrike. He spent his seventy-fourth birthday alone in Elbogen, refusing an invitation to keep it at Castle Harten-

¹ *Eckermann*, Monday, October 27, 1823.—TR.

² See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems. See also *Eckermann*, December 1, 1831.—TR.

³ The lines beginning—

"In Hygiea's Form beliebt's Armiden,
Im Waldgebirg sich Schlösser aufzubauen."—TR.

⁴ See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems. See also *Eckermann*, Sunday, November 16, 1823. Goethe's companion on the drive was J. John, his secretary. See Grüner's book, page 169.—TR.

berg with Count Auersperg. On September 7, 1823, he returned to Eger, and remained there until September 11, chiefly occupied with mineralogy.¹ He rested a few days in Jena before he ventured to return to Weimar, whither the report that he was betrothed had come. He now invited Eckermann to remain through the winter in Weimar, promising to procure lodgings not far away from himself. At midday on Wednesday, September 17, 1823, he reached his home apparently cheery and glad, but those who looked deeper could see how hard he found it to resume the old accustomed Weimar life. His bitter disgust with circumstance was uttered freely to Chancellor von Müller.²

On September 28 the arrival of *Staatsrath* Schultz gladdened Goethe. He had confessed to Schultz in a letter that in Marienbad he had loved much.³ Two days after Schultz came Count Reinhard to pay his long-promised visit. On October 2, 1823, Goethe called Müller aside and began to talk anew of a plan of evening assemblies during the winter. Goethe would first invite a number of people once for all, and they should come after that on any evening they pleased. One of the most important of the Weimar ladies must be a kind of patroness, and none would be more suitable than Frau von Fritsch. Goethe's object in this assembly was to provide some charm against the *ennui* that Weimar life had for him after the excitement of Marienbad. He confided to Müller then his relations with the Levezows. "It is an affection that will still give me plenty to do, but I will get over it. Iffland could make a charming piece of it—an old uncle who loves his young niece too ardently." In the days that followed Goethe often appeared melancholy and reserved, then again, however, he would be cheerful and communicative. On October 14, 1823, there was a large company to tea at his house, among others Savigny with his wife and daughter. Goethe was very friendly and bright, his daughter-in-law often clung to him and kissed him. Ten days later, October 24,

¹ All through the summer Goethe's servant Stadelmann had been diligently gathering mineralogical specimens for him at Marienbad and elsewhere.—Tr.

² See *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit Müller*, Tuesday, September 23, 1823.—Tr.

³ Goethe to *Staatsrath* Schultz, Eger, September 8, 1823.—Tr.

1823, he gave an evening party in honour of Madame Szymanowska. Her inspired playing charmed all hearers. On October 27, there was another party at Goethe's. Before the party in the quiet of his own room Goethe showed to Eckermann the manuscript of the *Elegie*. It was written in large Latin characters on fine vellum paper, and was fastened into a red morocco case with a silken cord. Madame Szymanowska played on two other evenings at Goethe's house. On November 5, 1823, she dined there for the last time. Goethe endeavoured to be cheery and amusing, and through it all the deep pain that the parting gave him was evident. At five o'clock the carriage came to take her to her farewell audience with the Crown-Princess. It was doubtful whether she would come again. "Then the human in Goethe was plainly revealed;" he begged Müller¹ to bring about her return to bid farewell once more. Some hours later Müller and August led her and her sister to him. The beautiful artist thanked Goethe earnestly for his goodness, and he replied with a jest, wishing to carry off matters lightly, but tears burst forth. Unable to speak, he pressed her and her sister in his arms, and his gaze followed them for a long time, as they disappeared down the series of open rooms. To this exquisite woman he did, indeed, owe his restoration to himself, but she had now involuntarily aroused in him anew the feeling of painful renunciation.

In the night preceding the 6th of November 1823 Goethe was attacked by a cough and inflammation of the chest. This did not, however, prevent him from receiving his friends. On November 12, 1823, Wilhelm von Humboldt came for a visit of several days. But the illness grew worse. On November 16 he had to begin sitting through the nights in his arm-chair, and this wearied him very much; then came pains in the kidneys, and the coughing grew convulsive. Zelter, who arrived on November 24, found him in a very critical state. Goethe found some comfort in reading to Zelter the *Elegie* that was so dear to his heart. Zelter's presence was a manifest benefit. Cough and cold yielded, sleep returned, only a pain in the right side remained. Though he gradually became quite well, there was an extreme abatement of vigour, the youthful fresh-

¹ Who tells all this story in the *Unterhaltungen*.—TR.

ness, which only a short time since had filled him with life, did not return ; Goethe had grown really old at last, and after this illness felt unfit to attempt any journey of considerable length.

Goethe's Official Labours, 1816-1823.—Goethe's most important activity in the public service was destined to a dreary termination soon after the point at which this chapter begins. Annoyed at being unable to frustrate the choice of Kotzebue's *Schutzgeist* as the piece for the birthday of the Grand-Duchess Luise (January 1817), Goethe did not interfere to prevent the performance of the piece in its whole length, and accordingly great disgust was roused. Goethe seized the occasion to declare his resignation of the managership, but Karl August persuaded him to take the reins once more, assuring him that he should have uncontrolled power in matters of æsthetics, and placing his son at his side in the Intendance of the Theatre. Goethe, earnestly intent on bringing the players, who had been growing careless, into good discipline by careful practice, brought the *Mahomet* of Voltaire on the stage again, and he took the trouble to make an abbreviated adaptation of the wretched *Schutzgeist*, and to have it very carefully rehearsed. When the play was given on March 8, 1817, "in the old Weimar fashion, with precision as well of entrance, exit, action, and grouping as of recitation and declamation,"¹ the greatest applause was gained. After this triumph he handed to the Grand-Duke a new scheme of the constitution of the Theatre. The Duke, having accepted this graciously, Goethe went, on March 20, 1817, to Jena, in order to work out in detail a number of regulations about the *Regisseurs*, the *Capellmeister*, the *Repetitor*, the *Correpetitor*, and about other matters. Then he returned to Weimar. But Caroline Heygendorf-Jagemann was not pleased with the rigid rule to which Goethe, moved by zeal for art, would fain subject the Theatre, and she used an occasion that offered for getting rid of the poet. Goethe refused to allow the actor Karsten to exhibit his dressed-up poodle performing the chief part in the *Dog of Aubry* as adapted by Karsten. Caroline Jagemann succeeded in persuading Karl August, who was passionately fond of dogs, to insist on carrying through the order for the performance. As Goethe was unable to

¹ Goethe to Zelter, March 9, 1817.—TR.

prevent it, he went to Jena, April 13, 1817. The Grand-Duke wrote to him immediately: "Dear friend, various utterances of yours which I have heard or read, have informed me that you would be glad to be freed from the vexations of the managership of the Theatre; that you would, however, willingly aid with advice or action if (as will probably often occur) you were asked by the Intendance. I willingly meet your wishes in the matter, thanking you for the great service that you have done in these very entangled and wearying affairs, begging you to retain interest in it on the art side, and hoping that the lessening of annoyance may increase your good health and lengthen your years. I enclose an official letter that has reference to this change, and wish you well to live."¹ Goethe replied with like formality, accepting the dismissal, but begged "*unterthänigst*" that his son might be relieved from the labours of the Intendance, that he might be able to give all his time to the building-work assigned him.

Goethe could now devote his entire energy in official matters to the Superintendence of the institutions of science and art. At Michaelmas 1817 he delivered a comprehensive report on the condition of the Museums at Jena. Another labour was soon afterwards provided for him. The melancholy condition of the University Library had attracted attention at Gotha. Thence came a wish that the Weimar Superintendence would take up the management of the Library, which had been hitherto in the hands of the Senate. And so Goethe was most unpleasantly surprised by receiving a Rescript, dated October 7, 1817, which indicated that he was to devote himself to the matter, and to sketch a plan immediately for rearranging the Library in the best manner. After having carried out the needful preparatory measures through Voigt, who was associated with him, he betook himself to Jena on November 7, 1817. It is impossible that we should enter on an account of Goethe's conduct of the toilsome and complicated task. It was at length for the greater part completed on November 18, 1824. And a wider scope than that of this book would be needed to describe the labours of Goethe among the many institutions that branched out of the Museums, or his activity with regard to the Meteorological Observa-

¹ This letter is dated April 13, 1817.—TR.

tions, that the Grand-Duke set on foot in 1821 in connection with the Observatory. At a late time he used often to speak with pleasure of the energy with which he had in these labours opposed the selfishness, the intrigues and pretensions of individuals.¹ Even by September 1823 he was able to boast that his Institutions at Jena were noble and in the finest order, because he had treated everything absolutely objectively, and had not appointed a single man uselessly.² At the same time Goethe was the best advocate, and the true friend of those subordinates who served him faithfully.

Goethe's Literary Activity, 1816 - 1823. — After Goethe's return from the Rhine and Main in October 1815, the *Divan* had received many additions, had been arranged and revised; its printing was completed by the end of September 1818, but the needful elucidations and illustrations were not to be done hastily, and not until the August of 1819 was the whole work, notes and all, in print. Besides the *Divan*, these years produced a rich harvest of lyrical poetry, tender, or passionate, or gay, or reflective. There were noble ballads, too, and Goethe's aphoristic vein of poetry flows during these years with no less freedom than formerly, in deep meditations on God and the World, on the destiny and fate of man, or in lighter verses expressing the mood of the moment, sometimes sociable and kindly, sometimes gravely deliberative, sometimes playful, sometimes repellent and combative. With such rare favour did the Muse of Poetry delight to honour him even in his high old age.

The work in prose of this period is also very important. The first volume of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* was formed by uniting various tales, the larger number of which had already appeared. By May 1821 this volume was printed. But now there was a delay, for Goethe was dissatisfied; he felt that the parts had not been fused into a whole, and it was impossible to continue the work on these lines. He resolved that in a new edition all hitherto done should be completely recast. But some years elapsed before he attempted this.³ In the last

¹ The reader will find it interesting to refer to Eckermann, March 15, 1830.—TR.

² *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler von Müller*, Thursday, September 18, 1823.—TR.

³ See Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe*, January 15, 1827.—TR.

chapter we saw Goethe working on the diaries and letters of his sojourn in Italy.¹ The first volume of *Die Italiänische Reise* appeared late in 1816, the printing of the second was completed in July 1817, as Goethe tells Boisserée on the 29th. These two parts brought the journey as far as the return to Rome after the excursion to Naples and Sicily. They are called on their title-page the First and Second Parts of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. The *Campaign in France* appeared in 1822, and was called oddly enough the Fifth Part of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. We have seen how Goethe had paused at the close of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, because he felt it impossible to give an account of his love for Lili while she still lived.² During the years treated in this chapter he made a couple of attempts to resume his narrative, but he found himself unable to progress satisfactorily with it.³ On the other hand, he began that annalistic summary of his life known as the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, or *Annalen*.⁴ The numbers entitled *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*, that began to appear in 1816,⁵ soon took a wider scope than at first intended or than its name indicated. The very second number contained a long-planned polemic against the "New-German, Religious-Patriotic" conception of art. The article purported to proceed from W. K. F., viz. Weimarer Kunst-Freunde (Weimar Lovers of Art), a signature that had been in use in earlier times in the *Propyläen*. It was written by Heinrich Meyer, but Goethe's own distinct view of the matter was pro-

¹ See p. 621.—TR.

² See p. 612. Lili died in 1817.—TR.

³ See *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1821, Goethe to Schultze, June 12, 1822, and Eckermann's *Conversations*, August 10, 1824. The Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was not completed until 1831.—TR.

⁴ He began it in 1820. In the preface to the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii., will be found an attempt at an account of their growth, by W. Frh. von Biedermann. The following is his table of approximate results :—

In 1820 Goethe wrote the account of	1797 and 1798.
„ 1822	„ „ 1799, 1800, 1806-9.
„ 1823	„ „ 1810, 1819-1822.
„ 1823 and 1824	„ „ 1811-1818.
„ 1825, January to May,	„ „ 1749-56.
„ June 1825, he completed the year	1802.

The other years quite uncertain.—TR.

⁵ See p. 630.—TR.

pounded with an explicitness that pained even Boisserée. The limitation implied by the latter part of the title, "*in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*" having been over-passed, these words were dropped when in 1818 the first number of a second volume was published. The work was now simply *Kunst und Alterthum*. Henceforth it was an organ through which Goethe freely communicated his thoughts, not only on plastic art and on antiquities, but on poetry; he even published in it some of his smaller poems.

Goethe and Natural Science, 1816-1823.—He provided himself with a similar organ for the results of his study of Natural Science. In 1817 the first number of the first volume appeared; it was entitled *On Natural Science in general, especially Morphology. Experience, Speculation, Deduction, deriving unity from their connection with a life's events.*¹ There were again two subordinate titles, according to which the work fell into two divisions, *Zur Morphologie* and *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt*. The second and third numbers were not published until 1820, and in 1824 the work came to an end with the completion of the second volume. It was in its numbers that Goethe first printed his old researches on the intermaxillary bone,² and in comparative anatomy.³ It was, moreover, in them that he first made public his conviction, now thirty years old, that the skull is a modification of a vertebral bone.⁴ Sixteen years later than Goethe, Oken had hit on the same conception, and in 1807 had made it public, though the method of his exposition was odd and faulty. Two years later Lamarck expounded it in his *Philosophie Zoologique*. Goethe remained silent, although urged by his friends to assert his priority in the discovery.⁵ The great importance of his

¹ *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, besonders zur Morphologie. Erfahrung, Betrachtung, Folgerung, durch Lebensereignisse verbunden.* Goethe's own commentary on the last phrase of this title will be found, as Kalischer points out (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. x. xi.), in his letter to Rochlitz, June 1, 1817.—Tr.

² See pp. 341-3.—Tr.

³ See p. 475.—Tr.

⁴ See p. 437.—Tr.

⁵ He did not announce until 1820 that he had held the theory "many years." See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 253 (*foot*). In 1823 he first related the circumstances of the discovery, *ibid.* xxvii. 353 (*foot*). The subject has been well threshed. See Lewes's *Life of Goethe*; Düntzer's *Aus Goethes Freundeskreise*, the article on Oken; and Kalischer's Introduction to the volumes of Hempel's *Goethe*, that contain Goethe's scientific writings; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. pp. cxlii.-cxliv.—Tr.

osteological researches is now universally acknowledged. In Geology, too, Goethe's Neptunic theory is gradually gaining ground, for he did not hold the crass belief that the moulding of the earth's surface is solely due to the action of the waves of the sea, he believed in the subsequent and partial operation of volcanic forces.

It was not without passion that Goethe defended his dear Theory of Colour in the pages of his new scientific journal. We find him explaining with great delight and sympathy his view of Malus's discovery, the polarisation of light; this, indeed, had occupied him so early as 1812.¹ Goethe's conclusion was that the colours which Malus called ent-optic were dependent on the sun's position in the sky. As in the *Farbenlehre* the beauty of the description of the phenomena of colour and of the series of connected experiments is acknowledged, while Goethe's explanation is rejected by science.

To the studies of Natural Science, in which we have so long seen Goethe busied, must be added in these years that of Meteorology. So early as 1816 he had been greatly interested by Luke Howard's attempt to apply a terminology to the distinction of different kinds of cloud—Cirrus, Cumulus, Stratus, Nimbus. Goethe soon found that each cloud-form is peculiar to its own atmospheric height. He finally adopted the view that all meteorological phenomena are to be explained by assuming the earth to vary in its power of attraction; when the power is great the density of the air is great and the barometer sinks; when the attraction is slight the barometer rises accordingly. He endeavoured to make real to himself this supposed variation in the earth's attractive power by the image of In-Breathing and Out-Breathing, and he called the two opposite states of the earth its Water-Negation and Water-Affirmation.² In all this Goethe departed from the mode of procedure which he had hitherto observed, viz. in every inquiry to choose from the whole subject the point as to which there is the greatest certainty, and to assume firm footing on that; and he committed all that facts seemed to

¹ Goethe tells us in the *Geschichte der entoptischen Farben*, that in August 1812 he began experimenting on the phenomena observed by Malus.—TR.

² This theory is first stated in the first part of the *Italiänische Reise* (September [9] 1786), which Goethe published in 1816.—TR.

render doubtful to time, to chance, and to the activity of other inquiring spirits. He did not, of course, deny that there must be many other co-operating meteorological influences beside his hypothetic variations of earth-attraction. Modern science recognises no such attraction, but does hold the revolution of the earth on its axis to be a factor. Goethe fortified himself by a series of observations pursued for years with zealous carefulness.

In all these studies of Natural Science which fill such a large part of the closing decades of his life he derived valuable aid from certain external agencies or influences—from the institutions that the Superintendence controlled, from a wide and fruitful intercourse with men of science, and in a very remarkable degree from the pleasant journeys of the summers and autumns. Any one who follows him through these years in his own letters and papers, and the ample records of his life and conversation left by other men, will find one feeling grow continually—simple marvel that any being should be such a fountain of vigour. The Universal Nature that surrounded him, no less than the varied thoughts and deeds and emotions of his fellows, was full of meaning to this man, and as his keen glance penetrated and analysed the strange, complex infinite, which we call the Human, so, too, he was intent on passing beyond mere contemplation of the infinite of phenomena which are not human, to the comprehension of that infinite in so far as his peculiar gifts enabled him.

BOOK X.

THE RESTLESS CLOSE.

CHAPTER I.

GOETHE'S OLD AGE—AN ALMOST UNINTERRUPTED RESIDENCE IN WEIMAR, DURING WHICH HE PREPARES A FINAL EDITION OF HIS WORKS—DEATHS OF CHARLOTTE VON STEIN, OF KARL AUGUST, OF LUISE, AND OF GOETHE'S SON — A PERIOD OF UNCEASING ACTIVITY—WIDE CORRESPONDENCE AND GREAT INFLUENCE.

1824-1830.

GOETHE considered the last years allotted to him by fate as his "testamentary" years. In them he would secure the publication of an edition of his works as complete as possible ; and would secure, moreover, an income for his heirs from the proceeds of this edition. It was accordingly needful to finish the *Annalen* (or *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*), to re-write in some measure what had been done of the second part of *Faust*, to re-shape and complete *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. His health was precarious, and the winters trying, but he had the power of quietly waiting on his good times.¹ During the earlier years of this closing period we find him looking forward to visiting his dear Marienbad, but when the time for starting comes he always feels unfit for it, his strength only sufficing for daily drives at first, and short excursions later on. The want of exercise was injurious to a man of apoplectic temperament. So much the more important to him was the lively

¹ It will be found interesting to turn to his conversation with Eckermann, March 11, 1828.—TR.

personal intercourse with the friends who continually visited him, and the guests so seldom wanting at his dinner-table. At dinner he always exhibited a careful hospitality, carving at a side-table with, one might say, sovereign dignity, pressing food and drink with friendly urgency on his guests, concerned about their favourite dishes and their general enjoyment. At his evening receptions, where he generally abstained from food, he showed himself in the most various moods, sometimes roguishly merry or ironical, or purposely contradictory and paradoxical, sometimes passionately moved, or kindly and affectionate, or gentle and sympathetic, and sometimes inclined to frank self-utterance, and the instruction of those to whom he spoke, while there were also times of silence and reserve, when something important occupied his thoughts, or he was low-spirited, and languid, and incommunicative from bodily illness. That which enabled him to endure was his consciousness that he had faithfully performed his duty as a man, as a citizen, and as a servant of the State; and that he had employed his powers for the highest purposes in literature and in science. The world at that time possessed no loftier spirit, no nobler intelligence, than the universal German poet, whose influence swayed the best minds of England, France, Italy, Poland, Russia, America, whose abode was a place of pilgrimage for critics, artists, poets, philosophers. Weimar was then, and has been since, the Kaaba of all Germany, though Menzel and Börne disowned and denied Goethe, though Heine mocked at him, in spite of the counterfeit-manufacture of the foolish parson Pustkuchen, in spite of the opposition, especially to the Theory of Colour, of many men of science, in spite of the artists in München and Rome, who held his æsthetic theories to be wrong. And Goethe himself felt that the homage done to him was simply gratitude, due because of his having employed to good purpose the talent committed by gracious Mother Nature to his keeping. By the sovereign family of Weimar he was regarded as an honoured member of their house; German kings and princes came to him to attest their reverence; in and around Weimar, when he passed, no head remained covered. Only by his own fireside that peace, which is the crown of happiness, was not. The dissension between his son and his daughter-in-law, the dissolute life of August, the moral and physical ruin which was

its result, and, finally, August's death far away, brought deep woe on the old man ; and the deeper because the two young people for whose welfare he cared so much had fine gifts ; because August, in spite of the dominance of his sensual

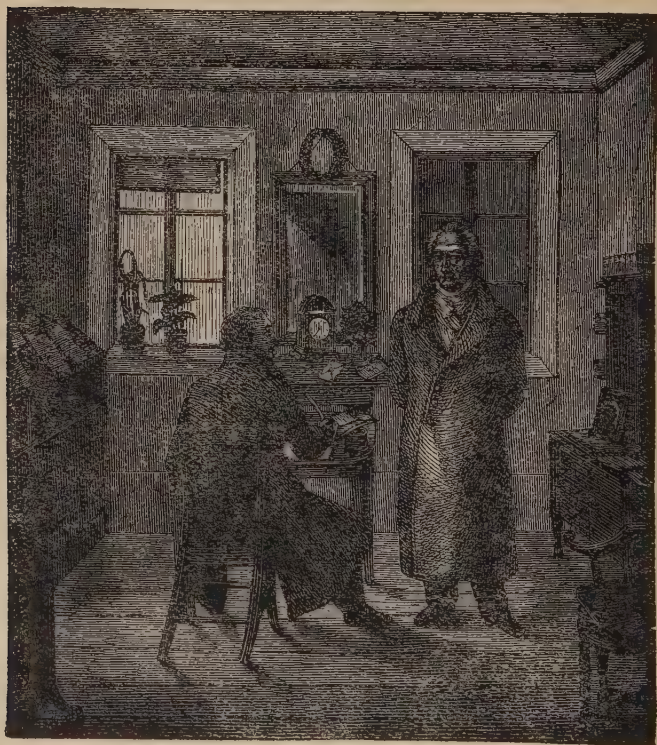


FIG. 38. Goethe in his study. From an oil-painting by J. J. Schmeller.

nature, did not succumb to that fatal callosity of soul, and selfishness, and imbecility, which in the long run are the fruits of licence. He still loved his father well, and was tenderly careful for him, and in affairs he showed clear intelligence and good sense (he was made Privy Councillor of Finance and Chamberlain), and thus this prodigal never suddenly wrenched

himself away from his father's heart, but kept continually wringing it to pain, that dulled and freshened again. And so August's death was a sharp grief. Yet Goethe bore it as he bore the deaths of Karl August and Luise, like a wise man who faces the inevitable with composure, though there were times of melancholy and bitter tears. He was upheld and made strong by his sense of duty, by the unresting, though unhasting activity of his insatiable intellect, by a lofty self-esteem that was nourished on his consciousness of great results and a world's homage, and by a certain high, serene benevolence of mood that sided always with what was good and lovely, that led him to be mild in judging the faults of men, to be glad in relieving their need, and brought with it an unspeakable consolation.

In the beginning of the year 1824 we find Ottilie and August on bad terms. Ottilie had gone to join her mother in Berlin towards the close of December 1823. In Berlin she met a young Englishman, to whom she felt a great attraction, which she was not ashamed to acknowledge. At the same time the condition of her sister Ulrike gave great anxiety to Goethe; she had fallen heavily on the back of her head, and the worst was feared. Ottilie's accounts of her Berlin life brought him much pleasure, for she had a receptive clearness which made her a good observer and narrator of external events. As for her faults, Goethe felt that he must not be hard, but must take at its worth her vivacious, excitable, charming personality.

During the earlier months of 1824 he was occupied with the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, while Eckermann was busy reading through his papers. Goethe showed the most kindly interest in Eckermann's career, and in their intercourse continually endeavoured to cultivate and elevate his conception of Art. Though during the winter he was compelled to remain quietly indoors, we find him by February 29, 1824, taking a drive before dinner with Eckermann, and on March 16, 1824,¹ his carriage brought him to his Garden in the Park, which he had not seen for a long time, and though there was sadness in the old memories that the place aroused, he visited it frequently afterwards. He brought Eckermann there on March 22, and had the little house opened, and showed Eckermann the tiny room upstairs where he had done so much work many years

¹ Chancellor von Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*.—Tr.

ago. On March 25, 1824, Karl August writes: "The day after to-morrow [Töpfer's] *Hermann und Dorothea* will be represented on this stage; it certainly will be a pleasure to you. So do come; you can conceal yourself either in my little box or in our large one." On April 14, 1824, there was a concert at Goethe's house; it was a good while since there had been one before. A choir, conducted by Eberwein, sang parts of Händel's *Messiah*. The ladies who were present joined the singers, Ottilie and her mother, the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein,¹ and Fräulein von Froriep. Goethe, sitting at a little distance absorbed in listening, spent a very happy evening: a long-cherished wish was gratified. Soon after, his true old friend, Friedrich August Wolf, came and stayed with him for about a week. Wolf was very poorly, and was now on his way from Berlin to the South of France. He was as fond of opposition as ever. Goethe gave a dinner in his honour on April 19, 1824; at this dinner there was a great deal of merry wit combat between the two. On another occasion Goethe made ironical allusions to Wolf's courtier-like submissiveness.² This was the last meeting of the friends; Wolf died at Marseilles a few months later.³

More and more definite became the plan of employing Eckermann and Riemer as *collaborateurs* in preparing the new edition of his *Works*. In April 1824 he obtained his letters to Schiller from the Schiller family. He considered these letters part of his *Remains*, and Cotta had promised to publish them. Moreover, Cotta had in general terms declared himself ready to publish the new edition.

In the summer of 1824 Ottilie went to Schlangenbad, and did not return until her father-in-law's birthday. Goethe had had thoughts of going to Marienbad, but found after all that he was unfit for travelling, and remained in Weimar. And his quiet stay-at-home life agreed with him very well. Only there were many little family misfortunes that jarred on him. Thus Ottilie was poorly, and his elder grandson, little Walther, broke his arm.⁴ During the long winter evenings Goethe, with

¹ The elder sister of the Countess Julie von Egloffstein, p. 637.—Tr.

² This was on April 21. Wolf had spent nearly all the day before with Karl August, the Duchess, and the Crown-Princess, and was dreadfully wearied by it.—Tr.

³ He died on August 8, 1824.—Tr.

⁴ Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, October 11, 1824.—Tr.

Coudray's help, sketched the plan of a new theatre for Weimar.¹ He had, moreover, talked with Coudray about the *Fürstengruft*² which Karl August built this year on the highest part of the new cemetery. For this noble prince disdained to seek a burial-place for himself and his race away from Weimar.

As Goethe desired that his new edition should bring in a good deal of money, it behoved him to endeavour to prevent piracy. So he formally petitioned the Diet of the German *Bund* to make unauthorised reprinting of his works a punishable offence within the States that composed the *Bund*.³ Moreover, he took a great deal of pains to gain powerful members of the Diet to his side.⁴ At the sitting of March 24, 1825, the matter was brought before the Diet, but there was a considerable difference of opinion. Some Governments thought that the Diet should assent to the petition, while others preferred that each Government should protect Goethe within its own territory. And there was accordingly delay, and Goethe was kept in suspense almost all that year. He had a great deal of trouble and spent much valuable time in rousing those who were indifferent by repeated appeals, and in writing letters of thanks to the several States, each letter composed to suit a special set of circumstances.⁵

On March 22, 1825, two days before that sitting of the Diet which was so important to Goethe, the Theatre of Weimar was burned to the ground. This event pained and agitated the old poet sadly; the monument of many years of cherished recollections was swept away.⁶ He slept little during the night, but lay and watched the flames rising unceasingly to the sky. Weakened by the emotion and want of rest, he stayed in bed on the 22d. When Eckermann visited him

¹ See Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, March 24, 1825.—TR.

² Literally "Princes' Vault"—a mausoleum for the royal family of Weimar.—TR.

³ Goethe's petition is dated Weimar the . . . January 1825. It is reprinted by Strehlke in his *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen* [Berlin, 1882], i. 143-5.—TR.

⁴ See in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen*, the articles *Beust*, *Baiern*, *Deutsche Bundesversammlung*, *Metternich*.—TR.

⁵ Cp. Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, December 25, 1825.—TR.

⁶ "The fire is the grave of my memories," he said to Müller, then added: "But the only means of overcoming adversities is a fresh activity, and accordingly I will hold a session with Riemer this very day."—TR.

he stretched out his hand to him. "We all have suffered a loss," he said, "but what can be done? My little Wolf¹ came to my bedside early this morning. He took my hand, and, looking at me with big eyes, he said :—'Thus it is with human things!' What more can be said!" In the first dismay Goethe had been inclined to gloomy thoughts, and had considered the fire a bad omen for the jubilee of Karl August's accession, which was to be held that year. But he soon rallied, and was zealous in urging that a new Theatre should be commenced. The design which Coudray and he had made during the winter would be useful now. And when Eckermann came to dinner on Sunday, April 10, 1825, Goethe had the good news that Karl August had approved this design, though there had been a great deal of opposition. The foundation was accordingly laid without delay, and the building advanced rapidly. But on April 29 Eckermann, on going to the site, was distressed to find that the work was stopped, and to hear that another plan, whose execution would be cheaper, had been preferred to Goethe's. Without doubt Goethe's steady opponent, the all-powerful Caroline Jagemann, had a hand in this. Goethe bore the strange rebuff with gentle composure,² and showed no irritable sensitiveness, though he was still weak from an illness.

Soon after Goethe's resolve to publish a new edition had become known through the proceedings at the Diet, offers from many publishers began to come to him. On May 5 1825, the brothers Friedrich and Heinrich Brockhaus came to Weimar to negotiate. Goethe referred them to his son, who was to be the possessor of the profits of the edition. They would give 50,000 thalers, and an agreement for twelve years at this price was sketched. Ere deciding, however, August resolved to see whether a larger sum could not be obtained. But though new bidders presented themselves, none offered more than the brothers Brockhaus. Goethe was in reality anxious to remain with Cotta. He had begun to think that Cotta was lukewarm in the matter.³ But Boisserée assured him to the contrary. Just at that time Cotta had to make some

¹ His second grandson, who was his constant companion, and who used to breakfast with him.—DÜNTZER.

² Eckermann, May 1, 1825.—TR.

³ Goethe to Boisserée, May 2, 1825.—TR.

long journeys, and these had delayed his coming to Weimar. So Goethe sent to him an exact account of the new edition, and awaited an offer which should be "the first and the last."¹ Cotta declared that he would give 10,000 thalers more than any other publisher, though by an old agreement² he had the right of preference. Goethe was very anxious to have all uncertainty brought to an end, and on August 13, 1825, he enclosed to Boisserée a memorandum to be communicated to the great publisher. The more important part of it may be thus paraphrased:—"Fifty thousand thalers Saxon money have been offered, and it has been added that when a final agreement to this effect is at length signed, a certain sum will be added to this fifty thousand. Thus Cotta, in order to outbid all other offers, as he has promised, will have to pay between sixty thousand and seventy thousand thalers Saxon money. But my son and his advisers think that the price of the exclusive right for twelve years to publish this edition in forty volumes should be at least one hundred thousand thalers." We shall return to this subject a little later.

During all this time Goethe's health was pretty good, though he did not leave Weimar. At length, on June 13, 1825, we find him driving to Belvedere with Chancellor von Müller. The weather was mild and lovely, and the desire to travel awoke in Goethe, and plans of travel were formed. Two days later the friends repeated their drive, but there is no further mention of a desire to travel; the negotiations with publishers were bringing too much anxiety.³

Among the numerous friends who greeted the old man on his seventy-sixth birthday was his oldest friend, Karl August. When Karl August asked him what new thing he had, Goethe presented his grand-nephew Alfred Nicolovius from Berlin, introducing him in royal fashion as "cousin." The Duke, who was in extremely good spirits, said to Nicolovius: "You have come by the diligence, have you not? You Prussians take only a few hours to drive through my whole Grand-Duchy." Goethe made his favourite Alfred promise to stay for the approaching jubilee of the Duke's accession, September 3, 1825.

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, May 20, 1825.—TR. ² See pp. 555, 620.—TR.

³ On June 17, 1825, Goethe writes to Marianne: "I shall probably not leave this place this summer."—TR.

There was a great stir in Weimar on that day. In the morning, before six o'clock, Goethe surprised the Duke in the "Roman House," while a cantata by Riemer was being sung outside. Goethe had slipped quietly between the columns wreathed with laurel and flowers, in order to be the first to greet his Prince, among whose servants he was the oldest and the longest in harness. He had a medal commemorative of the day to give to Karl August; it was his own design, engraved by Brandt from a drawing by Meyer. When he came into the Duke's presence he was unable to speak. But Karl August seized his hands and exclaimed: "Together till our latest breath!"¹ Then he began to recall their happy youthful time: "Oh, eighteen years and Ilmenau!" Afterwards he said: "Let us, however, be especially grateful that even on this very day that is fulfilled which once was sung to us at Tiefurt:—

' Nur Luft und Licht und Freundeslieb!
Ermüde nicht, wenn dies noch blieb! "

To which Goethe replied: "This has given me threefold what I have given!" Then Karl August embraced Goethe and drew him to the window, and they both talked in a low voice for a while. All the front of Goethe's house on the *Frauenplan*² was beautifully adorned for the day. Among other decorations there were eight pictures that had been painted at the Weimar Drawing Academy for the festal welcome of Karl August in 1814. Karl August, it will be remembered, had not come to Weimar, as expected,³ and he had never seen these pictures. Goethe's friends, who knew how they had been exhibited to public gaze on that occasion, were startled when they found him making use of them again. Goethe sent Alfred Nicolovius down to hear what the people were saying, and he was much pleased when Nicolovius brought word that they were engaged in explaining the pictures. In the evening the house was brilliantly lit up, and free welcome offered to all. Ottilie received the numerous visitors who streamed through the fine suite of rooms. The Crown-Prince of Weimar came, and several princes of other sovereign houses, and all the notabilities,

¹ *Weimar's Jubelfest* makes Goethe say this. But Herr Alfred Nicolovius told Professor Düntzer that the words belong to Karl August.—TR.

² See pp. 324 and 450.—TR.

³ See p. 614.—TR.

ambassadors, savants, citizens. Goethe stood in the middle of the room in a plain black coat, wearing the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon. Although he had risen so early that morning he did not retire until midnight, and was accordingly rather poorly next day. It may be said that he made all this sacrifice for the Duke; let those who desire assurance of the disinterested amiability of Goethe read of the affectionate warmth with which he received the good Joseph Sebastian Grüner, whom he had invited to the festival.¹ The new Theatre was opened on this gala-day, before Goethe's evening reception, with the opera *Semiramis*. The prologue for the occasion was written by Riemer; it was long since Goethe had done anything of the kind.²

While an unceasing tumult of rejoicing went on in Weimar, Goethe received Cotta's conditions through Boisserée. Cotta would give the 60,000 thalers, and if the sale went beyond a certain number Goethe should have a share in the profit. These conditions were accepted by both father and son.

Fresh rejoicings set Weimar in commotion soon after this. The Court, it is true, had instituted no festival to celebrate the golden wedding of the Duke and Duchess on October 3. Eleven days later, however, on the anniversary of the battle of Jena, the citizens presented the Duchess with a medal commemorative of the day, nineteen years ago, when her lofty courage had saved Weimar. And the jubilee of Goethe's arrival in Weimar was at hand. Karl August wished to celebrate this day as the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Goethe's service, though Goethe himself had not expected this (he thought that the festival would celebrate the fiftieth return of June since 1776, for in that month in that year he had formally entered on office). And so Court and city made great preparations to do befitting honour to the day (Nov. 7). Goethe was wakened early in the morning by soft voices singing a chorale in the garden. About nine o'clock he entered his reception-room. A cantata composed by Riemer—a morning greeting from the Ilm—was sung by a very large choir of

¹ Grüner was with Goethe from September 1 to September 10, 1825. See pp. 205-223 of his book.—TR.

² The principal source of information as to the festivities of September 3, 1825, is a little book called *Weimar's Jubelfest*, Hoffmann, Weimar, 1825.—TR.

ladies. An hour later there was a general reception in Goethe's drawing-rooms, at which the Ministers, all the higher servants of the State, the Jena professors, and others, were present. Goethe received a gold medal commemorative of the day. It bore his bust and those of Karl August and Luise, and the words: "Karl August und Luise Goethen." This gift was accompanied by a letter, in which the Duke acknowledged the unaltered fidelity, affection, and steadfastness with which the friend of his youth had followed him through all the changes of his life, and said that to his living sympathy and continually willing service was due the fortunate issue of the weightiest enterprises. And to have won him for ever "I hold to be one of the noblest graces of my reign."

The Bürgermeister, on behalf of the City Council, handed in a deed which secured the citizenship of Weimar for ever to Goethe's son, grandsons, and all their male descendants. There were deputies from the Senate of Jena University, and from each of its Faculties. The Faculties of Philosophy and Medicine created him Doctor, and the former also granted him the right of conferring the degree on two persons; he chose Eckermann and Nicolovius. The Faculty of Law deplored that he had a doctor's degree from Strassburg;¹ the Faculty of Theology presented him with a votive address in the form of a diploma, in which it was acknowledged that Goethe, "as creator of a new spirit in science, and as a sovereign in the dominion of free and powerful thoughts, had mightily advanced the true interests of the Church and of evangelical theology." The one striking absence among all these greetings was that of the Senate of Goethe's native Frankfurt. Nor did the news of the festival move them to grant him the freedom of their city. About eleven o'clock the Court visited Goethe. Frau von Heygendorf was one of those who came. Karl August showed deep emotion: a brotherly embrace spoke more than words could have done.

The Duke caused a copy of his letter to Goethe to be put up in a public place. Goethe saw all the people in the street pressing in one direction, and sent Nicolovius to find out the cause; when he heard that the Duke's letter to him had been

¹ He was only a licentiate, it will be remembered. Strassburg took no notice of Goethe on this day.—DÜNTZER.

made public, he exclaimed: "That is he!" with tears of joy. In the great hall of the Library in the later part of the forenoon, about the time when Goethe was receiving the Court, there was a distinguished assembly to hear addresses from Müller and Riemer. There was a great banquet at the *Stadthaus*; Goethe was not there, but was represented by August, who proposed the health of friend Knebel, who had brought his father to the Duke long ago. The poet had invited a charming circle of ladies to dine at his own house. In the evening *Iphigenie* was played at the Theatre. (A special reprint of the play had been published for the day.) When Goethe appeared in the Ducal box all the audience rose reverentially in their places, which moved him to tears. The prologue was by Chancellor von Müller. When the curtain rose, deafening applause greeted the scene disclosed—a hall with a laurel-crowned bust of the poet. By the advice of his physician Goethe went away after the termination of the third act. The city was illuminated, and Goethe was especially pleased by the illumination of the streets that lay between his house and the Theatre. His house was opened that evening for general hospitality as on the day of the jubilee of Karl August. And next morning, in order to utter his gratitude in the most expressive way, he sent his grandchildren from house to house to greet his true fellow-citizens in his name.

It was only by degrees that Goethe recovered strength after the exertions of this day,¹ and then the numerous letters of thanks occupied much of his time. Meanwhile many further offers from booksellers had been coming in. Brönnert of Frankfurt offered 80,000 thalers. August wished to make capital out of this increase on Cotta's offer, and his action in the matter cannot be called straightforward. His father was unable to dissuade him from some rather shuffling dealing. Boisserée behaved admirably throughout, though August almost drove Cotta to extremity. In a letter dated January 3, 1826, Boisserée communicates in plain words that Cotta has rights of property in several of Goethe's works, and cannot give them up. Both sides must yield, he goes on; you must enlarge

¹ Cp. Goethe to Zelter, November 26, 1825. Goethe to Boisserée, January 8, 1826.—TR.

the period to which you wish to limit Cotta's rights, and on the other hand the contract must be understood to apply to a fixed number of copies. When Goethe received this letter he acknowledged the goodness of Boisserée in transmitting Cotta's arguments, but he maintained that in such arrangements the publisher has a great advantage over the author, inasmuch as he is thoroughly aware of his position, while the author is not. But he expressed his great wish to come to terms with Cotta, and submitted a new scheme of agreement.¹ After this all was arranged very fast. Cotta made the following final offer. He would pay 60,000 thalers for the forty volumes containing Goethe's poetic, æsthetic, literary, critical, and historical works. The limit of twelve years should stand. For the volumes containing the scientific works an extra sum proportionate to their size and number would be paid. If the pocket edition ran to 20,000 copies, there should be a special payment for the octavo edition. Accordingly, should Cotta sell 40,000 copies he would pay Goethe 120,000 thalers. All this was communicated to Goethe by Boisserée in a letter intended for Cotta's inspection, dated January 21, 1826. In a letter dated two days later, but enclosed with the former one, Boisserée privately advised Goethe to accept this offer, for he believed that Cotta would otherwise go back to the old offer—to outbid other publishers by 10,000 thalers. August now, at any rate, saw that he must be content; but it was with emotion that Goethe recognised Boisserée's disinterested goodwill and honest and skilful dealing. On the 30th of January 1826 he replies: "Let your word be yea! yea! and accordingly 'yea and amen!'" and soon after the formal agreement was signed.

We go back here a little to observe that the death of the Emperor Alexander of Russia on December 1, 1825, had put Weimar Court in mourning, and in Goethe had roused feelings of tender personal regret.² And his oldest and dearest woman friend was now fast approaching the close of a life in which there had been so much labour and sorrow. At the time of the jubilee festivals there had been friendly greetings exchanged between Charlotte von Stein and Goethe, and Alfred

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, January 12, 1826.—TR.

² Cp. Goethe to Schultz, December 18, 1825.—TR.

Nicolovius had gone to see Charlotte at Goethe's wish.¹ During the year 1826 her little remaining strength failed, and, in the early days of 1827, the last spark of what had once been so fair and serene an existence went out.

In February and March 1826 Goethe was occupied with the announcement of the new edition. Yet his mood was an elevated one; the spirit for poetry came upon him anew, and he completed *Helena*. With this poem, which evidences such wonderful plastic power, Goethe meant to give special value to the first "Lieferung," or set of volumes of the new edition.²

The spring, as it advanced, proved unfavourable to him. He caught a cold in his garden, and suffered long from its results. In the beginning of May 1826 Ottilie fell from a horse³ and wounded her face badly, and the process of healing lasted a considerable time. Goethe would not see her until she was well, for, as he told Müller, such hateful impressions clung to him, and spoiled his remembrance ever after. Ottilie's bright presence was sadly missed by the old man, and the arrival of Boisserée on May 17, 1826, in itself a great pleasure, was the greater accordingly. Boisserée stayed until June 3, 1826. The presence of this well-trying friend, this fine and large-minded critic, was very dear to Goethe. He begged Boisserée to prolong his stay. "We shall not meet so young again; you do not know how much good your visit is doing me; all grows better and better the longer you are here; do wait a little while, do reconsider it." He was, indeed, in a very soft and melancholy mood. Boisserée thought August Goethe natural in manner and somewhat blunt (*derb*). Boisserée paid several visits to Ottilie. He went for the first time on Sunday, May 21. He found her in a room where the light fell through

¹ Fritz Stein came to Weimar at the time of the Duke's jubilee. He almost certainly visited Goethe. Düntzer (*Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 505) thinks that it may have been during this stay in Weimar that Fritz received Goethe's letters from Charlotte. Frau von Ahlefeld, who was with Charlotte so much during her latest years, is the authority for the statement that Charlotte burned all her own letters, which Goethe had given back at her request.—TR.

² Goethe to Boisserée, August 26, 1826.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, May 10, 1826; Boisserée's Diary, May 17, 1826 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 471); Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, May 17, 1826.—TR.

green blinds (*rouleaux*); her brow and nose and upper lip were covered with small bits of plaster. His impression of her was good.¹ A little earlier that day he dined with August Goethe and Ulrike von Pogwisch. From their talk Boisseree could see that the old man was completely "in the net" of the young folk. Goethe's chief delight was his second grandson, who was completely devoted to him;² while the elder, "by living and learning, had already been removed from the circle of grandfatherly affection."³ The boys' tutor was one young Rothe, a divinity student.

In the later part of June we find Goethe in his Garden. On June 24, a lovely summer afternoon, Müller found him there with a few friends listening to the city band. In July 1826 Zelter and his daughter Doris came for a fortnight's⁴ visit, and roused the desire for music afresh. Goethe's literary labour at this time was the recasting of the *Wanderjahre*, which he had taken up after completing *Helena*; moreover, he was preparing a new number of *Kunst und Alterthum*. In his later years Goethe found much delight in reading *Le Globe*, a Parisian paper remarkable for fine culture, and for vivacity and *esprit*; the notice of Stapfer's translation of his dramatic works especially pleased him.⁵

In August 1826 the porcelain painter, Ludwig Sebbbers of Brunswick, came to see Goethe, and showed him some of his work. Goethe felt so much confidence in the man, and

¹ "Frau von Goethe ist ein geistreiches, lebhaftes Wesen." The following are interesting:—"Eckermann, ein subordinirtes treues Männchen, voll hübschen Talents;" "Julie von Egloffstein, eine kolossale, malende Hofdame."—See Boisseree's *Diary*, *Sulpiz Boisseree*, i. 471-480.—Tr.

² It will be found interesting to refer to Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, March 29, 1830.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Reinhard, December 26, 1825 (*Briefwechsel*, S. 261).—Tr.

⁴ Zelter left Weimar on July 19, 1826. See Goethe to Müller, August 3, 1826 (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 236).—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Reinhard, May 12, 1826; Goethe to Zelter, August 5, 1826. As to Goethe's general interest in *Le Globe*, many references might be given. I select the following:—Goethe to Reinhard, February 27, 1826; September 20, 1826; Goethe to Sternberg, September 19, 1826; Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, June 1, 1826, October 3, 1828. In the letter of February 27 he tells Reinhard that the paper is sent to him, unordered, every post-day, the numbers since September 1824 having lately been forwarded to him, unordered also; he is spending his evenings in studying them.—Tr.

liked him so well, as to yield to his urgent request and sit to him. The portrait, painted on a cup, was extraordinarily like.¹ On the following page we give the silhouette taken from a plaster cast of Goethe's face. Sömmering received it from Froriep, a physician who had been summoned to an appointment in Weimar in 1816 (Sömmering had returned to Frankfurt in 1820, and there had been a short revival of correspondence between him and Goethe).

Goethe was at this time in a very contented, happy mood. The following passage is taken from a letter to Alfred Nicolovius, dated August 11, 1826, and as yet unprinted:—"During the last three months I have taken consolation with my good daughter-in-law, and found her a source of consolation. She has suffered a great deal and suffered unpleasantly; I have suffered much less since I have not been disturbed in that which is demanded of me, and which I myself must demand of myself."



FIG. 30. Sebbers's portrait of Goethe.
A new engraving.

In September 1826 Ernst Schiller, August Goethe's special friend, came to Weimar to arrange family affairs.² During his stay Ernst had to take part in a rather strange ceremony. In March 1826, when the so-called treasury vault (*Cassengewölbe*) at the *Jacobskirchhof* was being cleared out, the Bürgermeister Schwabe, acting on the evidence of the gravedigger, had discovered Schiller's skull. Goethe recognised it by the beautiful

¹ Goethe tells Meyer, September 27, 1826, that he sat to Sebbers probably twenty times, for hours or half hours; even after the second baking of the cup he sat for retouching.—Tr.

² Charlotte von Schiller had died in the summer of 1826 at Ernst's house in Bonn.—Tr.

horizontal setting of the teeth. It occurred to Chancellor von Müller that the skull might find a suitable resting-place inside the pedestal in the Library, on which Dannecker's bust of Schiller stood. Goethe reluctantly consented, after he had procured a cast of the skull. The ceremony took place on September 17, 1826. Ernst Schiller formally presented his father's skull to August Goethe for the Library. Goethe was not present, but a noble meditative poem is the memorial of the day.¹ The ceremony roused much unfavourable criticism. Writing to Boisserée, under date November 10,



FIG. 40. Goethe's Silhouette.
See p. 671. From the
Gedenkbücher an Goethe.

1826, Goethe says:—"The affair of the Schiller *reliques* cannot but be confessed to be in some measure open to attack, even by those who do not disapprove of what has been done, even by me, who, perceiving action to be necessary, had guided it and urged it on in quiet, and only retired when, contrary to my design, it was made a public matter. I add in confidence that for the present not only the skull, but all the bones of the skeleton, brought together by the deliberative industry of our comparative anatomists, are deposited in proper arrangement in the Grand Ducal Library, in a seemly shrine. But now my agency will again interpose, and I hope that when these precious remains are interred, as I mean to have them, the whole fable will find a pleasing *dénouement*, and the undelightful middle terms will be gladly forgotten. I am silently at one with the Schiller family, and you, my dearest, shall be among the first to know my solution of the matter; it would give me pleasure if you guessed what, to tell the truth, is very obvious." Goethe had already begun to look forward to a place of burial in the graveyard that surrounded the *Fürstengruft*. Writing on January 19, 1827, he tells Boisserée how he has planned a "seemly shrine" near the royal vault, where his remains and those of Schiller, so strangely rescued,

¹ *Bei Betrachtung von Schiller's Schädel*, "Im ernsten Beinhaus war's wo ich beschaute."—TR.

shall be placed together. His friends von Müller, Coudray, and Bürgermeister Schwabe, have undertaken to carry out this design, and all had been arranged during the presence in Weimar of Ernst Schiller, in September and October 1826.

During Ernst's presence Goethe began again to re-read for publication his correspondence with Ernst's father. Moreover, Goethe had begged back his own letters to Zelter,¹ in order to have them transcribed, and the transcripts inserted with the originals of Zelter's letters. Goethe used to read through these transcripts with Riemer in the evenings. He meant this correspondence to be published—the precious memorial of a long and beneficial friendship. Ernst Schiller left Weimar about the middle of October 1826. How deeply August Goethe felt the parting from this dear friend may be seen in the following words:—

Abschied.

Bin ich denn ganz allein?
 Ich habe Vater ja,
 Ich habe Frau,
 Ich habe Kinder auch,
 Doch keinen Freund!
 Er schied !!

Dein Goethe f.

Die Augenblicke waren theuer.

The revision of *Helena* occupied the poet a long time; it remained when all the other contents of the first four volumes were already gone. On September 30, 1826, he writes to the philologist K. W. Göttling, introducing to him "a beautiful lady." This refers of course to *Helena*. Goethe tells Göttling that Riemer and he had been going over *Helena* until they were weary. For a good while Göttling had been helping Goethe in the revision of the new edition; he used to read through all the manuscript before it went to the printer. The letter in which Goethe first asks him for this aid is dated January 10, 1825.²

¹ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1825. Observe that Riemer's preface, p. viii., is incorrect.—Tr.

² See the volume edited by Kuno Fischer, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und K. Göttling in den Jahren, 1824-1831* (München, 1880). K. W. Göttling was a professor in Jena.—Tr.

The reader will remember that, after the completion of *Hermann und Dorothea* in March 1797, Goethe planned a second epic poem, very different from his first; and in April 1797 he sketched its plot.¹ The design had never been carried out, and the papers had lain untouched for thirty years. Now that Goethe, after the dismissal of *Helena* from his attention, turned to the *Wanderjahre*, it occurred to him to work up the plot designed for an epic into a tale for the *Wanderjahre*. Accordingly, towards the close of 1826,² he began to develop the graceful and touching story which we know as *Die Novelle*.

On November 22, 1826, Goethe writes to Boisserée: "I must tell you that in these days joy and hope have descended to us from above, since our eldest princess Marie [Karl August's grandchild], has been betrothed to Prince Karl of Prussia; thus, as last winter began with death and mourning,³ this begins with life and pleasure." Moreover, in December 1826 the presence in Weimar of Alexander von Humboldt, and later of his elder brother Wilhelm von Humboldt, brought a good deal of delight and interest into Goethe's life.⁴

The year 1827 is remarkable for a splendid revival of vigour and freshness in the old man, and the reawakening of the power of song. There was an abundant blossoming of lyric verse, and it is wonderful how slight and few in all this verse are the traces of the weakness of age, and how frequent vitality and excellence. The joy of having successfully wrestled with the difficulties of *Helena*, and the thought that the group of volumes forming the first "Lieferung" of his *Works* would appear at Easter, produced a kind of mental and bodily elation. But there was sorrow too. On January 6, 1827, Charlotte von Stein died in a gentle slumber that had lasted since the previous day. In her will she had left instructions as to her burial, and, knowing the soft heart of her old friend, she had

¹ See pp. 488, 490.—Tr.

² See Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt, October 22, 1826.—Tr.

³ Because of the death of the Emperor Alexander, already noticed. See p. 668.—Tr.

⁴ Alexander von Humboldt came, I think, on December 11, 1826. See Eckermann under that date. See, on the peculiar value of visits from men like the Humboldts, Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, December 30, 1826.—Tr.

directed that the funeral procession should not take the ordinary route along the *Frauenplan*, past his house. The civic undertaker, however, declared that it was contrary to all propriety that the funeral of one of high birth should take the side way. And so, on the afternoon of January 9, 1827, the sad procession moved along the familiar street. Goethe did not attend it, but sent August, as on the occasion of Wieland's burial. His grief was silent, but not therefore the less real.¹ "The year has in truth begun, as earthly years will, with a mingling of gladness and sorrow; yet the gladness outweighs, and we must acknowledge it with gratitude."²

On February 1, 1827, the Grand Duke brought the Crown-Prince of Prussia to see Goethe,³ who was greatly pleased with him; on February 4 the Prince came again, accompanied by his brothers Wilhelm and Karl. Goethe conceived the best hopes of the successor to the Prussian throne, and spoke with admiration of his good taste in art, of his intelligence, knowledge, and vivacity. There were very gay doings in Court and city just then, that lasted until the middle of February 1827. Goethe took no part in them. At the close of January 1827 he was at last able to send *Helena* to Cotta, and about the middle of February followed the new *Zahme Xenien*, which were to conclude the fourth volume. Thus the first "Lieferung" was disposed of, and the second lay "ready to be packed up."⁴ And now he was most intent on finishing his *Wanderjahre*. But at the same time we find him attracted by Chinese literature, reading Chinese fiction and poetry in translations, and talking to Eckermann about it.⁵ The idea of a World Literature had grown more and more vivid in Goethe continually.⁶ Meanwhile the pleasant spring weather seemed

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, the year 1827. Knebel's grief was very great.—Tr.

² Goethe to Boisserée, January 19, 1827. This is the letter in which he tells Boisserée about the plan that he has formed as to his own burial. See p. 672.—Tr.

³ Eckermann, February 1, 1827. (The English reader will correct the misprint *Russia* in Mr. Oxenford's translation.)—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Boisserée, February 17, 1827.—Tr.

⁵ Eckermann, January 31, 1827. Servian poetry, too, interested Goethe just then. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 407.—Tr.

⁶ It is interesting here to look back to Herder's instruction, p. 111.—Tr.

to promise an enjoyable summer.¹ We find Goethe driving with Eckermann and observing the tender April green of the roadside cornfields.

Towards the end of April 1827 A. W. von Schlegel came to Weimar; on the evening of Tuesday, April 24, 1827, Goethe gave a large tea-party in his honour. The crowd was very great. Schlegel's fellow-traveller Lassen was also present. Eckermann relates that Schlegel was dressed with extreme neatness, and his appearance was so youthful and blooming that some of the guests present spoke of cosmetics. He was, however, quite surrounded by ladies, to whom he showed Indian curiosities. Goethe drew Eckermann to the window: "Now, how do you like him?" "Not better than I thought I should," replied Eckermann. "He is indeed," replied Goethe, "no true man; but we must bear with him a little because of his manifold learning and great merits."² Next day, April 25, 1827, Eckermann dined with Goethe and Dr. Lassen. Lassen showed great knowledge of Indian poetry, and Goethe was very glad to have the opportunity of increasing his own very imperfect knowledge.

The author of that criticism in *Le Globe* of Stapfer's *Œuvres dramatiques de Goethe*, which had given Goethe so much pleasure, was J. J. Ampère the younger. From the ripeness and largeness of mind displayed in Ampère's study of the development of Goethe's mind and art, it had been conjectured by Goethe and Eckermann that the critic must be a man of mature years. It was, therefore, a great surprise to them when, in the later part of April 1827, Stapfer and Ampère came to Weimar, and the latter turned out to be a young man of twenty-seven.³ No less surprise was it to hear that the other contributors to *Le Globe*, whose wisdom and moderation and high culture they had admired so often, were all

¹ Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, April 18, 1827.—TR.

² Eckermann and Goethe had a very interesting conversation about Schlegel on March 28. Schlegel's injustice to Molière and Euripides in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* was the occasion of the conversation. Oxenford by mistake attributes the conversation to Soret.—TR.

³ Ampère was born in 1800. Goethe makes a similar mistake about Carlyle's age, in a letter to Boisseree, September 25, 1827. Carlyle, he says, is probably middle-aged; he has made himself acquainted with German literature after a wonderfully penetrative *inner* fashion.—TR.

young like Ampère.¹ Stapfer and Ampère dined twice, May 4 and May 6, 1827, at Goethe's house. The old man listened with interest to Ampère's account of Mérimée, Alfred de Vigny, and other important talents. There was also a good deal said about Béranger, whose poetry had of late interested Goethe very much. At the second of these dinner-parties, Goethe made some valuable remarks about *Tasso* and *Faust*, and related how in 1797 he had planned an epic *Wilhelm Tell*. Just after this Karl von Holtei, whose *vaudevilles* were making a great stir, came to Weimar on his way back from Paris. He announced his arrival to Goethe, and received an invitation to dinner. His open-hearted fresh personality won the poet's liking.

On Saturday, May 12, 1827, Goethe went to visit his Garden House in the Park,² and he found the place so delightful in the fine spring weather that he decided to stay and live a while in the solitude for himself and literature, and escape the oppression of his domestic troubles. For Ottilie was sickly and out of tune, while August abandoned himself regardlessly to sensual pleasure. On May 15, 1827, Holtei went to see Goethe at the Garden, and found him in a very communicative mood, and mild, even melancholy. In the early part of this stay in the Garden Goethe began to write the Fourth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*—"at that point where Faust, descending from the antique cloud, meets his evil genius again." "Tell no one; but I confide to you that I mean to advance from this point, and fill in the blank until I reach the conclusion which has long been ready."³ (*Faust* was finished in 1831, and was published after Goethe's death.) Another product of the weeks in the Garden is the beautiful little group of lyrics called *Chinesisch-Deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten*, a free adaptation of the clear, pure, calm manner of Chinese poetry, to the utterance of the inspiration of the sweet sights and sounds of a German spring. The long beautiful days were indeed filled with many occupations. In September, Goethe, when writing to Boisseree an account of

¹ Eckermann's expression of wonder gave occasion for an exposition by Goethe, of the value to literature and poetry of the *atmosphere*, the *milieu*.—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, May 24, 1827.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, May 24, 1827.—TR.

his spring and summer, says of this time : " Thus May came, and I was tempted to move into the Garden in the Park, which was of great use to me ; for I pushed on with many an old piece of work, began some new, and won a great deal from the pure, though often interrupted quiet." One of the interruptions was a visit from his dear and honoured Princess Marie. She was soon to leave for Berlin with her husband Prince Karl. The parting was so sad to Goethe that he was unable to bid her farewell in verse.¹ The rainy weather at the close of May 1827 did not drive Goethe from the Garden, and he continued there until the first week in June was past. Soon after Count Sternberg came to Weimar, and Goethe returned to town.² With Sternberg there were many conversations on natural science. " In our cabinet of fossils he was so good as to put in order a beautiful collection of plants of the primeval world, and thus for the first time their true value was given to them."³ Goethe remained in Weimar after this, because, as he tells Zelter on July 17, 1827, he was so dependent on his literary-artistic surroundings. It had been comic to see what quantities of things had been dragged down to the Garden during the four weeks of his stay there. But such a love of the place had revived in him that every day he spent at least a few hours in it.

During July and August 1827 Goethe was occupied chiefly in enjoyment and criticism of the works of other men in art and literature, both those of Germany and of other countries. Perhaps his highest point of admiration and enthusiasm during the time was reached during the perusal of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*. (He had written a preface for an edition of Manzoni's *Opere poetiche*, that was printed in Jena.⁴) Moreover, Goethe had plenty of official work. In the Jena institutions there were many things to be cared for—appoint-

¹ See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, August 30, 1827.—TR.

² On June 9, 1827, Goethe writes to Zelter : " Now I am going back to town to be always at hand for Count Sternberg when he can get free from his obligations to society and Court." Sternberg is gone when Eckermann calls on June 20.—TR.

³ Goethe to Boisseree, October 12, 1827.—TR.

⁴ The full title is given, *Goethe und Zelter*, iv. 290. *Opere poetiche di Alessandro Manzoni, con prefazione di Goethe. Jena, per Federico Frommann, 1827.*—TR.

ments to be made, thanks to be returned, the administration to be superintended. These institutions had received generous aid from the Grand Duke and the Crown-Princess. About this time the ducal contributions in aid of the Library were greatly diminished ; Goethe thought of a plan for avoiding impoverishment. There were some private reading associations in Weimar. If the Superintendence joined these associations, it could exercise a control over the choice of books. The books would come to the Library as to a subscriber first, then they would circulate for a time among the members of the associations, and afterwards they could be purchased at half-price.¹ During this time Goethe's domestic life continued to have a good deal of trouble in it. Ottilie, who was suffering a great deal from her pregnancy, "found a slight in everything, saw defect of love and sympathy everywhere," and was in the most dreadfully nervous condition.

Goethe's birthday in the year 1827 brought a specially great pleasure. While receiving the good wishes of a circle of friends he was surprised by the entrance of the King of Bavaria, accompanied by Karl August. The king had arrived in Weimar the night before, and on that morning had declared that he came expressly for Goethe's birthday.² It is well known what a lover of art the king was, how penetrated with a feeling for the greatness of Germany. He gave Goethe the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of Bavaria, and on this and the following day had the most intimate conversation with the poet, whom he astonished by sympathetic comprehension of, and by a complete acquaintance with all the history of his life. A week later *Staatsrath* Schukowsky, the tutor of the Czarewitch, manifested his reverence for Goethe after the most touching fashion.³ Again, a little later, the architect Zahn, who had just returned from Italy, showed Goethe his tracings of Pompeian wall-paintings. Müller, visiting Goethe on the 11th of September 1827, found Zahn with him and the tracings spread out on the floor of

¹ Goethe to Karl August, July 5, 1827.—TR.

² Goethe to Boissérée, in the continuation of a letter begun on August 26, 1827 ; Goethe to Zelter, September 6, 1827. See *Sulpiz Boissérée*, ii. 478 ; *Goethe und Zelter*, iv. 368.—TR.

³ See Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, Friday, September 7, 1827.—TR.

the sitting-room. Goethe "revelled" in pleasure. "I edify myself by them," he said; "for I call it *edification* when we come on confirmation of what we hold to be right, and vouchers for it." On the morning of September 13 we find Goethe at a *déjeuner* given by the Cross-Bow Shooting Club. August proposed his toast of thanks for him.

There was indeed about this time a great revival of vigour in Goethe, and he was in the mood for enjoying things. Thus we find him taking delightful drives with Eckermann. On September 24, 1827, they started at eight o'clock on a beautiful morning along the up-hill road to Berka. A certain basket made of rushes in the bottom of the carriage attracted the good Eckermann's attention, and Goethe related how it came from Marienbad, and how useful it had been in mineralogical excursions among the Bohemian mountains. But on this occasion it contained breakfast! And after descending a little valley and crossing the simple wooden bridge which spanned the dry channel of a rain torrent, the coachman was told to stop, and a napkin was spread on a road-side heap of stones, and the good things of the basket were disclosed. After this they spent an interesting day at Berka and Tonndorf. Goethe had a great deal to communicate: he talked especially of the Second Part of *Faust*, and Eckermann expresses deep regret that his diary only contains notes of what passed in the time before breakfast. Again, on September 26, 1827, they started early for the Hottelstedt Ecke, the most western height of the Ettersberg, thence to drive to the Ettersburg Castle. The details of this drive are given at considerable length by Eckermann. When they reached the western height they alighted, and breakfast was spread out on a grassy hillock. Seated with their backs against the wind-beaten oaks of that high spot, they consumed a brace of roast partridges with new white bread, and drank good wine from a cup of gold that Goethe always carried with him. Before their eyes lay half Thüringen in the clear light of a September morning, a wide beautiful view on which Goethe had looked many a time in earlier years, and every point on the landscape was the centre of recollections. After lingering thus some time they drove on along the northern side of the Ettersberg to the Castle of Ettersburg, how bright and cheerful once, now silent and lonely. Goethe had the rooms opened, and told Eckermann

how Schiller had formerly lived for a while in one of them.¹ Afterwards he led the way along a footpath through the wood to a spot where, fifty years before, in the time of the good Duchess Amalia, they had all cut their names on a beech. Around this beech, in the beautiful summer evenings, they had played farces and been young and joyous. The spot was now damp and cheerless, being overshadowed by the growth of the trees, and the names on the old beech could only be read with difficulty.

On the day before (September 25, 1827) Goethe had had a melancholy reminder of Schiller. The King of Bavaria, who had visited the *Fürstengruft* and the Library, had been very ill content with the way in which Schiller's bones were preserved. Like opinions having reached Karl August from other quarters, we find him writing to Goethe: "I consider it advisable that they [Schiller's bones], inclusive of the head, of which first a cast should be taken, enclosed in the casket that they lie in now, should, for the present, be placed and preserved in the family vault that I have built for my race at the new graveyard here, until Schiller's family shall have provided some other disposition of them." Now Goethe had constantly borne in mind the plan of having a place of burial erected for Schiller and himself in the neighbourhood of the *Fürstengruft*. We find him writing on January 27, 1827, that Coudray is making sketches for the "Twin Monument as it is to be according to our common invention and arrangement."² It probably was Goethe who persuaded Karl August to have the bones of Schiller placed in a *coffin*. This was done on December 16, 1827. The coffin, prepared according to Goethe's directions, was of oak, stained dark, with rings and rosettes of tempered blue steel; on the front was simply the name in golden letters. It was laid at the foot of a step that was meant to receive the Duke's coffin in time to come.

On the morning of Sunday, October 7, 1827, Goethe and Eckermann set out for Jena, where they intended to stay until the evening of the following day. (It is curious to think that four whole years had passed since Goethe last visited Jena, when returning from Marienbad in September 1823.) The

¹ See page 515.—TR.

² Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, January 27, 1827.—TR.

friends arrived early, and went to see the Botanical Garden, where Goethe surveyed the shrubs and plants, and found all in beautiful order. After looking over the Mineralogical Cabinets and other scientific collections they drove to Knebel's, where they were expected to dinner. The meeting between the old friends (Knebel was eighty-three, Goethe seventy-eight) was very affectionate; Knebel in his haste almost stumbled to the door to fold Goethe in his arms. After dinner Goethe and Eckermann drove southwards up the pretty valley of the Saale. When they returned to the streets of Jena Goethe ordered the coachman to drive along the *Bachgasse* and made him stop at an unpretentious house. This was classic ground: it was the house that Voss had lived in, and Goethe conducted Eckermann through the house and among the garden fruit-trees, and talked of the pleasant evenings that he had spent there with Voss and the good Ernestine.¹ By this time it was six o'clock, and they went to their quarters at "The Bear." They had a large room, with an alcove containing two beds. They sat in the pleasant autumn twilight for a time without candles, and Goethe talked of Voss and Schiller. Soon candles and supper appeared, but Goethe's communicative companionable mood lasted, and they chatted until healthy weariness made sleep delightful. Next day (Monday, October 8, 1827) they rose early and went first to the Anatomical Cabinet. Then they drove to the Observatory, and, moreover, visited the adjacent Meteorological Cabinet. After this they went down into the garden, where Goethe had caused a little breakfast to be laid out upon a stone table in an arbour. "You hardly know what a remarkable place we are sitting in," he said to Eckermann. "It was here that Schiller lived. In this arbour, on these seats, we have often sat at this old stone table and have exchanged many a good and great word."² He was in the thirties then, I in the forties, both full of enthusiasms. That has all passed away, and I am not what I was, but the old earth remains still, and air and water and land are still the same." After Eckermann had gone upstairs and gazed on the windings of the beautiful Saale from Schiller's windows, they went to the

¹ Compare page 536.—TR.

² See page 498.—TR.

chemist Döbereiner, whom Goethe esteemed highly on account of his beautiful discoveries.¹ It was noon by this time. They resolved not to return to dine at "The Bear," but to enjoy the splendid day out of doors. There was a little inn at Burgau where they could get some fish, and they had wine in the carriage. All turned out delightfully. The drive brought them past those thickets and windings of the Saale that Eckermann had seen from Schiller's windows. The landlady at Burgau apologised for having nothing ready, but they should soon have some soup and some good fish. They waited for dinner in the sunshine on the bridge. The scene was full of cheerfulness. On the other bank was the little town of Lobeda; the river was covered with pine rafts that shot beneath the bridge, guided by noisy merry raftsmen. When their fish was ready it was served to them in the open air, and they remained chatting pleasantly over their wine until the sun, drawing near the summits of the western hills, warned them of the lapse of time. The carriage was called, they returned to Jena, and, after settling their account at "The Bear" and paying a short visit to Frommann, drove quickly back to Weimar.

Soon after Zelter came for a short visit.² Then Hegel, now a man of wide fame, came to Weimar. Goethe, with a great personal esteem for Hegel, did not want to know anything of his philosophy.³ But Hegel was a warm adherent to Goethe's Theory of Colour. We find Goethe venturing to the Theatre once more at this time. The attraction was a performance of Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte* (*Il Flauto Magico*). He tells Zelter that it yielded him little pleasure because the performance was faulty, *and* because he was not as receptive

¹ And a new kind of flue, invented by him and named after him, had interested Goethe a good deal.—DÜNTZER.

² Zelter left on October 18. There was a tea-party in honour of Hegel at Goethe's house. Eckermann tells us that in the midst of the cheerful talk Zelter rose and went out without saying a word. Those present knew that it pained him to take leave of Goethe, and this was his delicate expedient for avoiding the pain.—TR.

³ To Chancellor von Müller Goethe said, on July 16, 1827: "Of the Hegelian philosophy I do not want to know anything, although Hegel himself pleases me. I have in any case already got all the philosophy that I shall need until my end—indeed, properly speaking, I do not need philosophy at all."—TR.

for such things as he had been.¹ The anxiety that Ottilie's suffering during her pregnancy had caused came to an end when, on October 29, 1827, she bore a pretty daughter, whom they called Alma Sedina Henriette Cornelia.

During that part of the year 1827 subsequent to his birthday, Goethe had been working on the First Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. He wished to publish in his *Works* the beginning of this First Act, as far as the scene *Lustgarten* (*The Pleasure Ground*). He worked steadily, and as his health remained pretty good, he was able to send it to the printer on January 24, 1828. We find Goethe writing bright little lyric trifles at this time. Thus he addresses to Karl August at the beginning of the New Year 1828—the last New Year for Karl August—the lines beginning: “Fehlt der Gabe gleich das Neue, Sei das Alte nicht veraltet,” and he inscribed three little poems in the album of his “tried” friend the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein. In an album which he gave to a Frau Kammerherr von Mandelsloh, née von Milkau, he wrote two short poems, one a dedication. We give facsimiles at the end of this volume. A little later, Count Brühl, the Intendant of the Royal Theatre of Berlin, requested permission to use Goethe's poem, *Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung*, as a prologue to Deinhardstein's play *Hans Sachs*. Goethe replies to Brühl on January 17, 1828. He has recited aloud the poem deliberately, as it should be recited before the public, and he finds that it occupies about twelve minutes. As the poem contains the description of a painting, some introduction is desirable to avoid abruptness. On January 26, Goethe forwarded the introductory poem to Brühl.²

At this time Holtei appeared in Weimar again; he delivered recitations. The kindness of friends secured him a considerable attendance at these recitations. The old poet gave him, as before, a friendly reception. And Holtei won over August Goethe completely by reading aloud *Faust* in an adaptation that he had made. According to Holtei's account August was so much delighted that he rushed up to him, seized both his hands, and, with tears in his eyes, cried: “I will tell my

¹ Goethe to Zelter, November 6, 1827.—TR.

² See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 264.—TR.

father that there is a great deal in *Faust* that I never understood until to-day!" Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certain that they formed a very intimate friendship, like that of sentimental, crack-brained students.¹ Moreover, Holtei was on friendly footing with Ottilie, her mother, and her grandmother. But Goethe could not approve of Holtei's trimming of *Faust*.

The winter weather did not prevent Goethe from going out to drive occasionally; we find him looking forward with great hope to the coming of spring. His chief occupation was finishing the *Wanderjahre*. The negotiation with Cotta about the Schiller-Goethe correspondence was at length brought to a conclusion through the good offices of Boisserée.² During the spring the Garden was constantly visited; and the old man, now seventy-eight, ventured again to the opera. But the great drum, which made the whole house roar and rattle to the rafters,³ made him afraid to go there any more. His interest in the external world of Literature and Art remained vivid as ever. Beside the French and English periodicals he now received an Italian one—*L'Eco* of Milan.⁴ As for his own work, it was needful to get the *Wanderjahre* ready for the fifth "Lieferung" of the new edition. Moreover, he felt a great wish to complete *Faust*. He did at this time succeed in writing the earlier part of the Second Act. Another of his plans was the publication of a careful French translation by Soret of the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, with historical addenda. It was Soret who called his attention to the book by De Candolle, *Organographie Végétale*, which had appeared in 1827. Very remarkable is the pleasure shown by Goethe in observing how three different nationalities—French, Scotch, and Russians—take his *Helena* in different ways. "The Scot," he writes to Zelster, "seeks to penetrate into the work; the Frenchman to understand it; the Russian to appropriate it. In German readers perhaps all three will

¹ "Burschikos" is the expressive adjective which I endeavour to translate by a phrase. The German student has been described so often that it is not needful to enlarge on him here.—TR.

² And on Sunday, April 6, 1828, Goethe despatched the manuscript to Cotta. Goethe to Boisserée, April 7, 1828.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelster, April 22, 1828.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Zelster, May 21, 1828.—TR.

found together.”¹ And when his enthusiastic admirer the King of Bavaria sent his Court painter Stieler to paint his portrait, the old man felt much pleasure in the great honour. Stieler was amiable, and had a cultivated mind; and Goethe liked him.²

Karl August had been poorly for some time. A journey to Berlin—to greet his little great-grandchild, born March 20, 1828—had been delayed and delayed in consequence. But he would not give it up; and towards the close of May 1828 he started. When he took leave of Goethe with his usual cordiality, little did the friends guess that it was their final parting. The Duke finished his visit, and was on his return journey (he had reached Graditz, near Torgau) when death overtook him. He was standing at an open window when the stroke came. This was on June 14, 1828.

The sad news arrived in Weimar on the following day. It was a Saturday. Goethe sat at table with his family and some guests. In the adjoining Garden Room some Tyrolese were singing. August Goethe was called out. When he came back he dismissed the singers, and then proposed that they should leave table, as they would wish to go to the opera *Oberon* that evening. Goethe thought the haste very odd (it was scarcely four o'clock); however, he yielded, and the guests dispersed through the rooms. Very soon August succeeded in getting them all away; and he was left to break the news to his father alone. The blow was too hard. “I saw Goethe late in the evening,” writes Eckermann. “Before I went into his room I heard him sighing and talking to himself. . . . He refused all consolation. ‘I had thought to depart before him, but God disposes as He sees best, and nothing remains for us poor mortals but to endure and hold ourselves erect as long as we can and as well as we can.’” The body was brought with military and royal honours to Weimar, to the “Roman House” in the Park, which the Duke had been so fond of. Here it was to remain until the funeral, which was delayed by the absence in St. Petersburg of the new Grand Duke. The Grand Duchess Luise was at the time in Wilhelmsthal. She caused the news of the Duke’s death

¹ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1828.—TR.

² See the beginning of Goethe’s letter to Zelter, No. 597. *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 53.—TR.

to be formally communicated to Goethe by Soret. Goethe replied immediately: "Present my most emphatic respects to Madame the Grand Duchess. My sentiments need no words and my emotions can find none. If I might at all venture on it I should be in Wilhelmsthal already."¹ He was unable to give any utterance in poetry to his grief. On June 20 he writes to Soret: "I find myself in a strange mental condition, which permits no steady, continued attention, and accordingly I work off many isolated things which really have to be done, and I arrange various matters which were in confusion, in order to become aware that there is still something in the world in which it is possible to be interested." But the desolation in his heart was terrible. His best source of relief was the book by De Candolle to which Soret had called his attention. Farther on in the letter which we have been quoting he writes of this book: "Open it where I will, it reminds me of my old friend, eternally forming and re-forming Nature, from whom we receive our life, and to whom we return it." Though his physician Dr. Vogel declared in favour of his going to Wilhelmsthal, he felt unfit to see the Grand Duchess so soon, and unable to bear the fatigue of appearing at Court. Moreover, Stieler wanted to put the last touches to the portrait, which had been successfully grounded before the Duke's death, and Goethe held it a disposition of fate that this necessity excluded his power of choice.² He sent his eldest grandson Walther to Wilhelmsthal to visit the Hereditary Prince, who was of about the same age. Not until June 28, 1828, was he able to send a letter of consolation to the mourning widow. "Even this meagre thing has cost me a great deal," he writes to Soret; "for I shrink from touching with words on what we cannot bear to feel." Then he goes on: "Meanwhile let me speak of the beneficial influence of our botanical project."³ On waking in the morning, a moment at which so great a loss always grows vivid anew, I seize the work of M. de Candolle."

¹ Goethe to Soret, June 17, 1828. Uhde, *Goethes Briefe an Soret*, Stuttgart, 1877.—Tr.

² Goethe to Soret, June 21, 1828.—Tr.

³ The project of translating the *Metamorphosis of Plants* into French, with which, of course, the study of the *Organographie Végétale* was closely linked.—Tr.

Stieler's picture became a very noble one. Goethe observes that the painting of the final touches had been strangely favoured by the exaltation which passion brings.¹ He could not bear to stay in Weimar any longer; he *must* fly to Nature and seek restoration in solitude; moreover he dreaded the funeral, which was to take place on July 9, 1828.

With the permission of the Chief Court Marshal's Office he left Weimar on July 7, 1828. He dined at Jena with his old friend and fellow-mourner Knebel, and then went on to the Ducal residence Castle Dornburg, where, however, he did not reside in the principal Castle. Four years before Karl August had purchased a property adjoining the Ducal gardens. The name of the former owner of this property was Stomann. And it was in the little "Stomann Castle" ("*Stomann'sches Schloss*") that Goethe took up his abode. He lived and slept in the so-called *Bergstube*, from which he enjoyed a lovely view, three windows opening to the south and one to the west. He writes the following description of the place to Zelter on July 10, 1828: "I do not know whether Dornburg is familiar to you. It is a little town on the rise in the valley of the Saale, below Jena; outside it a series of castles . . . have been built at the most various times; and pretty gardens surround pleasure-houses. I am stopping in the little old castle at the southern end; it has been re-fitted lately. The prospect is noble and gladdening; the flowers bloom in the well-cared gardens; the vine-arbours are hung with rich clusters; and beneath my window I see a smiling vineyard, which was planted on a very desolate slope three years ago by him who is dead. . . . On the other sides the rose-arbours are fairy-like in their lovely decking, and the mallows and what not all blooming and bright; and everything is seen by me in heightened colours, like the rainbow on a dark-gray ground. During fifty years I have often enjoyed life on this spot with him, and I could spend this time on no spot where the evidences of his activity present themselves to the senses with more insistent charm."

Goethe had brought with him to Dornburg his servant Friedrich and his secretary J. John. His meals were provided

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, Weimar, July 6, 1828. We are familiar in England with Stieler's picture. It is prefixed to Mr. Lewes's *Life of Goethe*.—TR.

by the Court-gardener Sckell, whom he had known during the last twelve years. From Sckell¹ we learn the particulars of Goethe's simple mode of life. As a rule he rose at six o'clock, and partook of coffee immediately. At seven o'clock he summoned his secretary and dictated until eight o'clock, sometimes until half-past eight. Then he walked on the terraces or in the garden until half-past nine; then breakfasted. After breakfast he dictated again or went down into the garden, if he was not prevented by early visitors. About eleven, as a rule, visitors came, and those who came dined with him. Dinner was served usually at half-past two, and lasted until four. Then the visitors used to go away, and Goethe went into the gardens again, where he remained until half-past five, when he ate some white French bread and drank some wine. After that he stayed in his room or, in fine weather, paced up and down the gardens repeatedly. Sckell never found him seated when in the gardens. In the evenings he read the letters that had come and signed those that he had dictated during the day. He went to bed at nine or half-past nine. Sckell, who could enter his room when he chose, observed that he lay on his back, gazing upwards, his hands outside the coverlet, folded on his breast as if for prayer. And in the early morning the hands were in the same position, and his first gaze on awaking was upward. The deep and sweet sleep that he enjoyed was evidenced by the undisturbed state of the couch. He was very temperate, and ate and drank by rule, and during all the time in Dornburg enjoyed perfect health.²

His visitors were numerous. Every week Ottilie and her children two or three times; August not so often. Others who came were Chancellor von Müller, and Frommann the publisher, and the celebrated translator Gries, and President

¹ Sckell, *Goethe in Dornburg*, Jena und Leipzig, H. Costenoble, 1864, 48 pp.—Tr.

² To Eckermann he said: "I enjoy good days and good nights here. Often before dawn I am awake, and lie by the open window to feast on the splendour of the three planets that now stand together in the heavens, and to refresh myself with the increasing brilliance of the morning-red. Then I spend almost the whole day in the open air, and hold spiritual converse with the tendrils of the vine, which speak good thoughts to me, and of which I could tell you strange things. Moreover, I have begun to write poems again, which are not bad; and I would it were granted me to live on everywhere in this frame."—Tr.

von Ziegesar, and von Motz, and many Weimar and Jena friends besides ; the Weimar folk less often, because the drive to Dornburg and back was a pretty long day's excursion. Some foreigners also came, among them the two sons of the Duke of Wellington.

In the early days of his residence in Dornburg Goethe received a letter which gave him great happiness. The new Grand Duke and his Duchess were, as we have seen, in Russia when Karl August died. From the Imperial Castle at Paulowsk, where they were staying, they commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel von Beulwitz to write on their behalf to Goethe, inquiring after his welfare and expressing their sympathy. (The Grand Duke placed the Middle Castle at his disposal, but Goethe preferred to stay in the "Stomann Castle," and the Middle Castle was only used by him in so far that he saw visitors of rank in its reception-room.) The remarkable letter in which he replies to Beulwitz was written on July 18, 1828. The greater part of the letter is an exposition of the charm that Dornburg has for him at the time—all the external loveliness of its gardens and vineyards and wide prospects is bound close with memories that illuminate grief and render hope and patience reason. But, returning from the general outer world of things to his own individual and intimate being, he can most sincerely acknowledge "that it is a consistent deduction from the foregoing thoughts that I can in no better way prove my unchangeable fidelity to the noble departed than if, after the same fashion, devoted to the revered new-comer in his place, I expressly pledge myself to appropriate all that in me is to him, his noble house, and his dominions." This was Goethe's free homage to his new sovereign.

The first occasion of which we have record on which Goethe left the precincts of Castle Dornburg was a visit to Jena on July 20, 1828. Writing to Zelter on July 27, 1828, Goethe says that on the evening of the 20th, when returning from Jena, he was caught in such a downpour of rain as he had never seen the like of before.¹ It was a precursor of the bad weather to come. Again, on August 2, 1828, a lovely day,² accompanied by Dr. Stichling, a grandson of

¹ *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 79. He mentions this again in letter of August 26, 1828, *ibid.* v. 100.—TR.

² Goethe to Soret, Sunday, August 3, 1828.—TR.

Wieland,¹ he drove to the little village of Grossheringen, near the confluence of the Ilm and the Saale, went to see the salt-manufactory there, and visited the village-mayor Planert, with whom he had been acquainted formerly.

On the same day, after his return to Dornburg, he had a visit from a party of Jena friends—Frommann, and Frommann's aunt Betty Wesselhöft, Gries, and Frau von Löw, and her charming daughter Luise. He was very bright and friendly, and for almost two hours talked with wonderful animation of a wide circle of men and things and situations.² The enthusiastic delight with which the young girl hung on his words moved him. He stroked her arm with his and said: "Ay, when we rub against youth we grow young again ourselves!"³

Goethe's chief intellectual preoccupation continued to be the design of translating and re-editing his *Metamorphosis of Plants*. On Sunday, August 3, he sends to Soret a plan of their proposed work, and informs him that he has read through the whole of the *Organographie Végétale*; indeed, has read through the parts which concern them several times, and has, besides, translated the section which De Candolle calls *Symétrie Végétale*. Closely connected with this botanical study was the interest in the cultivation of the vine that we find Goethe manifesting. A new method in this branch of husbandry had been expounded by J. S. Kecht of Berlin, and Goethe, in the midst of vineyards, felt "compelled" to put Kecht's proposals to the test by practice, and to ascend from them to primary physiological truths.⁴

¹ To the kindness of Herr Professor Düntzer I owe the following note, which will prevent confusion:—The father of the Dr. Stichling above mentioned had married first a daughter of Wieland, and, after her death in 1809, had married Luise, Herder's daughter. The Dr. Stichling with whom Goethe went to Grossheringen was one of the children of Wieland's daughter. See Goethe to Knebel, August 18, 1828. (The "State Councillor Stichling," whom the English reader will remember in Bayard Taylor's essay *Weimar in June*, "a grandson of Herder," would be a child of the second marriage.)—TR.

² See Frommann's letter to Stüve, quoted in the section called *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii. S. 320-22. See also Goethe to Soret, August 3, 1828.—TR.

³ *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], S. 39.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Soret, August 13, 1828. But he speaks of the subject in earlier letters. On August 18, 1828, he tells Knebel that he has been three weeks concerned about it.—TR.

The pleasant garden-life at Dornburg began to suffer interruption. Under date August 9, 1828, Goethe tells Zelter that during the last week they have had a great deal of wild wet weather, "and to-day it is particularly bad." This stormy weather continued with only trifling intermissions. On August 18 Goethe tells Knebel that he has sent his carriage home—this was a reply to Knebel's remark in a letter of August 14: "And if your horses can bear it, do let them once again find the way to us." But the roads on the heights were hard to traverse, and the hill to be ascended from Jena to Dornburg was steep, and accordingly Knebel must be content with a long letter and the prospect of seeing Goethe on his way back to Weimar. On Thursday, August 21, 1828, the Hereditary Prince of Weimar, a boy of ten, accompanied by Soret, visited Dornburg. Beside the excursions to Grossheringen and to Jena we know through Sckell of one other instance of Goethe's leaving Dornburg during his residence there; he went to the *Thurmberg*, a hill close to the roadside, near the village of Camburg, celebrated for the lovely prospect that it commands.

During his stay in Dornburg Goethe wrote some beautiful lyrics.¹ On August 25, 1828, as he watched the rising moon, he thought with yearning of his beloved Marianne. Their friendship had not been weakened by time; they had remained in uninterrupted intercourse during the years that had elapsed since their final parting.

The 28th of August and the 3d of September, days of such precious association to the student of Goethe's life, were now at hand. The old poet had no doubt as to the rightful course on this occasion. "I have petitioned against and forbidden any trace of festivity that might be designed for the 28th of August," he tells Zelter on August 26, 1828. But the Art Exhibition of the Drawing Academy ought, as usual,

¹ According to the extract from Goethe's *Diary* quoted by Ludwig Geiger in his article *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 317, the Dornburg poems are—(1) *Dem aufgehenden Vollmonde*, alluded to above; (2), "Früh wenn Thal, Gebirg und Garten;" (3) *Der Bräutigam*; and (4) "Und wenn mich am Tag die Ferne." To these may be added the translation of the inscription over the gate of the Stomann Castle (letter to Beulwitz) and the lines for the burial of his old actor P. A. Wolff, "Mögt zur Gruft ihn senken." See Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, i. 417, 418.—Tr.

to be opened on Karl August's birthday; he would feel guilty of impiety if he did not use his influence to have this done.¹ The 3d of September was, moreover, the occasion of a very solemn festival—the Lodge in Memory of the Duke, as a Brother Mason. Goethe could not be present in person, but he was present by his counsel and sympathy.²

In the beginning of September 1828 Zelter begs for Goethe's explanation of the wild weather that had prevailed of late. Thus he was led to the study of Meteorology anew. He wrote a long letter to Zelter on the subject, giving him meteorological notes from the evening of September 6 to September 10, 1828.³

Meanwhile a wonderful restoration to health and tranquillity had taken place; and when he learned on September 8, 1828, that the Grand Duke was to return to Weimar on September 14, he made ready and left Dornburg on the morning of Thursday, September 11, 1828, breakfasted at a village on the way, and arrived in Weimar at two o'clock, in the very finest weather, looking very well, and quite brown from the sun. An admirably conceived birthday gift awaited him. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz had bought the old clock which had once stood in Goethe's paternal home in Frankfurt. The Duke had sent the clock to August Goethe, asking him to bring it into the house on the morning of August 28. It was the Duke's design that Goethe should be first made aware of the gift by hearing its once familiar voice when he awoke on his birthday morning; after that August might hand to his father the letter which the Duke enclosed. Goethe's absence in Dornburg spoiled this plan; he received the Duke's letter there, and wrote his letter of thanks on September 3,⁴ 1828.

Goethe had reached his home just in time to sit down to dinner in the room next the garden. The doors stood open and admitted the pleasant autumn day, and Goethe was very bright, and told of the many visits and presents that he had

¹ Goethe to Meyer, August 1, 1828. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 342.—TR.

² Another whose memory was honoured at this Lodge was Hildebrand von Einsiedel, who was such a well-known and honoured member of the Weimar circle. Born in 1750, he died July 9, 1828.—TR.

³ *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 111-114.—TR.

⁴ This letter of thanks is in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss*, i. 434-435.—TR.

had, and jested lightly. But Eckermann could perceive an undercurrent of seriousness, of embarrassment, such as one feels on returning from a free holiday life to the old every-day position, where old duties, old relations, make their claim, and there is a certain feeling of strangeness and difficulty; it is hard to realise the force of the old motives. Moreover, Goethe had not seen any grown-up members of the reigning family since Karl August's death; this agitation was all before him. While he was dining a message came from the now Dowager Grand Duchess to say that she was coming to him, as usual, on the following Tuesday. And the new Grand Duchess visited him, as before, on every Thursday forenoon. Painful as the first meeting with the Princesses after so great a loss must have been, the old poet knew how to brace himself and be courageous.

Another reason for that seriousness which Eckermann observed in Goethe has to be mentioned. He had promised to give the fifth "Lieferung" of the new edition to the printer at Christmas 1828. This "Lieferung" was to contain the re-modelled *Wanderjahre*. So much new matter was to be added that the book would run to three volumes. A great deal had to be done; and all the summer, which Goethe had meant to devote to the novel, had been spent otherwise in consequence of the death of Karl August. Only a few months now remained; and even during those months Goethe feared a good deal of disturbance from the visits of men of science returning from the meeting at Berlin. In this state of anxiety he felt vividly the merits of the power of concentration, the independence of external conditions, the intensity of Schiller.¹ After all, however, the first two volumes of the *Wanderjahre* were sent off in good time, and he went to work on the third volume. Among the men of science who visited Goethe the one who most interested him was the naturalist Martius.²

Unfortunately about this time August Goethe had again fallen into a life of licentiousness, and the breach between

¹ See the close of Eckermann's entry for September 11, 1828. It is one of the utterances of Goethe which helps us to see very clearly what a complement to his nature Schiller's was.—TR.

² Besides the mention of Martius in Eckermann, see Goethe to Boissée, December 15, 1828. Goethe had an interesting visit from Tieck and his wife and daughters in October 1828.—TR.

him and Ottilie was dreadfully painful. When Ottilie was in Karlsbad in the spring of 1828 August had gone so far that Ulrike, on returning from Berlin, would not stay in the same house with him, and went to her mother. This circumstance was the origin of a violent quarrel, and the poor father suffered deeply. And yet August was careful and diligent in his management of the household economy and in his supervision of the scientific collections. He had made a beautiful collection of the fossils of the neighbourhood; they were kept in a detached pavilion in the garden.¹ He prepared a catalogue of these fossils, which shows what an admirable sense for order he possessed. Another activity of August's, and one which gave his father much pleasure, was the collection of medals which bore relation to good and remarkable men.

In the December of 1828, and during the first two months of 1829, Goethe remained within doors. For a good while he dined in his workroom alone, or with one guest. This was partly because of the family dissension. He was working hard at the third volume of the *Wanderjahre* during this time. And on February 20, 1829, he told Eckermann, who was dining with him, that he had finished the novel, and meant to send it to the printer on the following day. And then he began to work at the papers which recorded the history of his *Second Residence in Rome*.² He had now ceased to care to continue *Kunst und Alterthum*, and dropped it before the sixth volume was complete. For he had begun to think that he was influencing general public opinion very little in proportion to the labour expended.³ Soret's translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* had pleased Goethe very much; it was necessary to revise the manuscript carefully, and during the years 1829 and 1830, and the beginning of 1831, we find him frequently engaged in this task.⁴ On June 5,

¹ Soret speaks of this collection under September 26, 1828. Correct his note by Goethe's letter to Soret, 8th September 1829.—TR.

² Goethe had first taken out these papers in 1820 (as he tells us in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for that year), but the task of working them up had seemed too difficult, and they had been laid aside again. In May 1828 he tells Zelter that he is dictating at the "*Märchen*" of his *Second Residence*. Consult Düntzer's preface to the *Italiänische Reise*.—TR.

³ See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, May 17, 1829.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe's letters to Soret during the time,—TR.

1829, Goethe bade farewell to the Princess Auguste of Saxe-Weimar, who was on the eve of starting for Berlin to marry her betrothed Prince Wilhelm of Prussia. The lady, who is at present (1883) Empress of Germany, had made a remarkable impression in her youth on the great poet of the Germans. He writes to Zelter on June 5, 1829, that "she is a personality of as much real significance as amiability."¹ And later in the summer, Zelter having related how he had seen and talked with the Princess, Goethe writes from the solitude of the Garden in the Park: "And now to speak of the most pleasant topic last! It is a great pleasure to me that Princess Auguste has impressed you so favourably with her excellences; she unites feminine qualities with royal in such a perfect manner that we are really struck with astonishment, and a mixed emotion of reverence and affection arises within us." Goethe lived for a good while in his Garden that summer; but there was not, as in other years, a blossoming of lyric poetry, induced by the loveliness of the spot.² August, whose conduct had grown more temperate, was now thinking seriously of a journey to Italy in the coming spring. Ulrike had returned to live with the Goethes again.

Goethe was still living in the quiet Garden when, on August 18, 1829, the celebrated Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, accompanied by a friend named Odyniec, came to Weimar, bearing letters of introduction from Madame Szymanowska addressed to Otilie and to Goethe. Otilie received the Poles with graceful friendliness, and sent Madame Szymanowska's letter to Goethe. On August 19 the friends were received at noon by the old poet in the Garden.³ They dined with him on that day at his house in Weimar, and he was very pleasant and talkative. After a few days Odyniec began to like August

¹ "Sie ist wirklich so bedeutend als liebenswürdig."—TR.

² Goethe was at the time very busy with the *Second Residence in Rome*. See his letter to Zelter, July 18, 1829.—TR.

³ In the letter of August 20, 1829, in which Goethe tells Zelter of the visit of Mickiewicz, he also speaks of the interesting visit of Crabb Robinson which had preceded it. Robinson, after having spent some time with his old friend Knebel, came to Weimar on August 2, 1829, and found Goethe in the Garden. He had several interesting conversations with Goethe in the days that followed, and read aloud to him from Byron and from Milton. Of Milton Goethe seems to have known but little previously, for he had not read *Samson Agonistes*. See (beside Robinson's Diary and the letter to Zelter), Eckermann, *Conversations*, January 31, 1830.—TR.

Goethe, who at first had seemed to him merely "a cheerful *bon vivant*." Odyniec now began to think him a solid, reasonable nature, capable of deep feeling, though with a tendency to make everything an occasion of badinage.

This estimate of August is uttered in Odyniec's letter of the 24th of August 1829. On that day there was an evening assembly given by Otilie, at which Goethe appeared for a short time. He talked mostly of architecture and sculpture with Mickiewicz, Coudray, and the great French sculptor Pierre Jean David. David had come to Weimar in order to make a model for a colossal bust of Goethe. He was accompanied by a younger Frenchman, Victor Pavie, a writer of verse, and a wild enthusiast for Victor Hugo.

Goethe's birthday brought to Weimar the great Quetelet, then Director of the Observatory of Brussels, who was accompanied by his wife. Holtei, too, had returned again. The letters of Odyniec give a vivid and delightful account of those days, especially of the brilliant festivities of the birthday.¹ There was a banquet at the inn *Zum Erbprinze*, at which Goethe's friends entertained the distinguished strangers in Weimar. August represented his father at this banquet. No men were asked to dine at Goethe's own house on that day; feminine tyranny excluded them; twelve self-selected pretty women and maidens gave the old poet their company.

It was at this time that Otilie started the little weekly *Das Chaos*, for circulation among friends. It was to be supported by the contributions of friends, and it came out every Sunday. Holtei was one of its supporters. And during the couple of years following verses by Goethe appeared in it now and then, but without his name, for nothing in its pages was to be signed. August Goethe spent most of his evenings in Holtei's companionship. Holtei writes: "He clung closer to me continually, and granted me a confidence and an often stormy friendship which put me in fear at times. Already death was rioting in his veins; his cheerfulness was wild and

¹ Odyniec's letters are republished under the title *Zwei Polen in Weimar* (Vienna, 1870). The letters are translated into German. An introduction is supplied by F. Th. Bratranek. Another account of the birthday of 1829 is to be found in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, i. 349-352, in the long extract from a letter of Peucer.—TR.

forced ; his seriousness was gloomy and oppressive ; his sadness was heartrending. Yet he endeavoured to maintain a certain ceremoniousness of forms, which often looked like an unconscious imitation of his father, and accordingly, when compared with the rest of his action, had a sort of phantom effect."

In September 1829 Zelter paid Goethe a visit.¹ The *Briefwechsel mit Schiller* was published at length in the latter part of this year. The reverential dedication of the book to the King of Bavaria was written on October 18, 1829. Goethe had wished to express his gratitude to the King in poetry, but had found himself unable to do so.

Towards the end of 1829 Goethe began to work hard at the first two acts of the Second Part of *Faust*. By January 1830 we find him at the *Classical Walpurgis-Night*. On February 10, 1830, he told Eckermann that the subject had proved a more diffuse one than he had expected : "I am not half done, but I will keep at it, and hope to have finished by Easter." Eckermann observed that he was in low spirits ; the Dowager Grand Duchess was very ill.²

The noble Princess, whom we have seen a good friend to Goethe for fifty years, in whose esteem he had such a high place, died on Sunday, February 14, 1830. Eckermann was on his way to dine with Goethe when he heard of the event. Eckermann thought with some apprehension of the effect on Goethe. When he entered the house the servants told him that Ottilie was gone to break the sad news. Goethe had received it with silent composure. Eckermann entered his room, and found him taking his soup with Ottilie and her little ones. "We went on talking cheerfully of indifferent things." When the bells began to toll Ottilie and Eckermann talked louder, for they feared a shock ; but Goethe maintained the same perfect calm, which lasted on during calls from the physician Vogel, who told the circumstances of the last hours

¹ This visit lasted from Monday, September 14, to Monday, September 21, 1829. Goethe went to Dornburg with Zelter and Ternite. See Goethe to Müller, October 11, 1829 : *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 246. Sckell describes the visit ; he is, however, incorrect in placing it in August 1829. Goethe, according to Sckell, visited Dornburg for the last time in August 1830.—Tr.

² It was on this day that Goethe, talking with Müller, recalled having seen the Duchess, a light, slender girl, step into the carriage on the *Zeil* at Frankfurt in 1773. See pp. 169 and 724.—Tr.

of the Duchess, and from Soret, who had a message of condolence from the reigning Grand Duchess. When Soret entered Goethe said to him: "Well! come, take your place. The blow that has been threatening has fallen at last, and we have not, at any rate, to struggle with cruel uncertainty any longer. We must now see how we may reconcile ourselves afresh to life." A letter from the King of Bavaria had been a great comfort to Goethe. "I thank Heaven as for a special goodness that I have received this letter just on this day." But in the days that followed he felt sadly what a chasm in his life the loss of his Princess had made. On Monday, February 15, Soret found him melancholy and thoughtful, without a trace of the excitement of the previous day. "I must work very hard in order to bear up," he said.

In order to throw his whole powers into the labour of perfecting the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* Goethe regularly put aside the *Globe* and the *Temps* at this time, and depended on his friends for his knowledge of what was occurring in the outer world. Accordingly he made rapid progress in his difficult task. But on Sunday, March 7, Eckermann going to him, found that he had been forced to lay the drama aside in order to finish the last "Lieferung" of his *Works*. A decision of great importance for his domestic peace now ripened; he at last agreed that his son should travel to Italy with Eckermann as companion. Johanna Schopenhauer remarks indeed that the condition of August was such as to forbid either the hope or the wish that he would return. It was on March 16, 1830, that August came and told Eckermann of his father's decision; on April 22, after Eckermann had finished his work at the last "Lieferung," the travellers started.

When the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* had at length been successfully completed, Goethe turned his attention to the Natural Sciences; and, above all, to Botany. Speaking of the translation of the *Metamorphosis*, he writes to Soret that one of the benefits which he has derived from the work is that by it he has been led back again in the most delightful way to Plant Life, before which he had felt a certain timidity for many years.¹

In the second half of May 1830, to the great pleasure of Goethe, Felix Mendelssohn, on a journey to Italy, called to see

† Goethe to Soret, July 1, 1830.—T.R.

him. Mendelssohn had meant to spend only two days in Weimar, but the old gentleman could not let the splendid young genius depart so soon, and Felix did not leave until June 3, 1830, after a fortnight's stay. Goethe, whose enjoyment of music was increased by satisfying the historical sense,¹ caused Felix to play through works of great composers in chronological order. When Felix was leaving Goethe gave him a sheet of the manuscript of *Faust* with a dedication: "to my dear young friend, the ruler strong and tender of the piano, in memory of happy May days."

Soon after Mendelssohn's departure Goethe visited Jena again (June 1830). The Botanic Gardens gave him especial pleasure, and he examined the collections. The Library assistant, Dr. Ernst Friedrich Weller, a fine worthy character, endeared to Goethe by his steady sustained activity, received him at about nine o'clock. After breakfasting in the familiar corner-room on the second story they drove round the ramparts, and then Goethe returned to Weimar.² Very interesting letters and diaries were meanwhile being sent home by August; they bore witness to a clear practical insight, but were not wanting in instances of the tendency of the young man to energetic downright bluntness.

In the March of 1830 the scientific controversy between Cuvier and Geoffroy de St. Hilaire had roused the deepest interest in Goethe. St. Hilaire combated the Analytic method of conceiving the investigation of Nature, and upheld the method which had always been Goethe's, the Synthetic, which in its consideration of details always cherishes the Idea of the Whole, of Unity, from which the particular is deducible. This controversy still filled his thoughts when on August 2, 1830, Soret came to tell him the news of the July Revolution in Paris.³ Goethe had not expected that the Parisian Liberals would take up arms; there was not sufficient revolutionary momentum

¹ Goethe to Zelter, June 3, 1830.—Tr.

² Goethe intended to visit Jena again soon, but did not. See his letter to Götting, June 30.; to Weller, July 16 and 27, 1830.—Tr.

³ The conversation which followed is well known, and has been commented upon as a proof of Goethe's indifference to great political events. But Hermann Uhde contends (*Goethes Briefe an Soret*, S. 105) that the conversation has been made more pointed and effective by the literary art of Eckermann, who was anxious that his supplementary volume should be as interesting as possible.—Tr.

in the people, he thought.¹ None the less did he condemn the insane folly of the ruler who had irritated the sleeping lion.²

On July 27, 1830, Goethe, telling Boisserée of the controversy between Cuvier and St. Hilaire, had spoken of an essay with which he meant to disentangle the complexity of the affair, for his own sake and the sake of his friends. On August 11 he writes to Soret:—"I have . . . undertaken an essay to make the matter clear; this is hard, for both sides fight to a certain degree in darkness: I will see whether I can cast light on the field." At the close of this letter he writes:—"And now, finally, a hurried mention of an event which gives me much pleasure: I have received from St. Petersburg specimens of pure gold and pure platinum, each seven pennyweights in weight, which I wish to lay before my friend's eyes." This is the occurrence which gave rise to the outrageous story that Goethe intercepted and kept a bar of gold intended for the Mineralogical Cabinet.

Three days before his birthday Goethe informs Soret that the needful arrangements between Frommann, who was to print the translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, and Cotta, who was to publish it, have been concluded, and the printing might soon begin.

The birthday of this year was kept as a day of festival in Weimar and many other places. Here may be fitly noted the great change of feeling shown by Frankfurt lately. In 1829 there had been a banquet and a representation of selections from *Faust* in the theatre in Goethe's honour. Dr. Stiebel, in proposing Goethe's health at the banquet, had recited a *Trinkspruch*, whose two concluding lines were a satirical reference to the treatment which Goethe's withdrawal of his property had called forth in 1817:—³

"Drum bleib' uns der Frankfurter Goethe theuer,
Bezahlt er auch keine Einkommensteuer."

These lines were hailed with loud merriment. A birthday letter from Marianne had not failed in 1829; she wrote from Baden on August 26, and sent Goethe a crystal goblet. When the Willemers returned to Frankfurt early in September

¹ See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, January 11, 1830.—TR.

² Cf. Soret's notes of a conversation with Goethe on January 17, 1831.
—TR.

³ See pp. 636-7.—TR.

1829, Marianne was impressed by the turn that the general feeling of Frankfurt had taken. On September 25, 1829, after having mentioned the representation of *Faust*, she writes:—"Yet you probably know all this, probably too have heard of the banquet at the *Forsthaus* at which Thomas,¹ the single member of the Senate present might, however, be considered a representative; he was really astonished by what occurred. And it was very plain on this occasion how deeply and painfully the poor Frankfurters feel the loss of such a fellow-citizen, although the mode and manner in which they show it is not to their honour. Undoubtedly, only a gentle hint on your part, only the slightest indication is needed. . . ." But Goethe thought that it was now too late; the matter had better be allowed to rest, he replies to Marianne on October 22, 1829. The good will of the Frankfurters had not abated in 1830 when they sent him as a birthday gift a beautiful silver cup and many bottles of good Rhine wine.

In September 1830 the Berlin *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* contained Goethe's review² of the book in which St. Hilaire had opposed Cuvier. The review attracted the attention of a great many, and excited much interest.

It had meanwhile become impossible to Eckermann to accompany the wild uncontrollable August any longer. From August's letters Goethe perceived what ill-assorted companions they were. In Genoa a letter from Goethe informed the travellers that Eckermann would be welcome home if he felt inclined to return. Early on the morning of Sunday, July 25, 1830, they parted in the streets of Genoa and entered two carriages, one about to drive along the coast to Leghorn, the other setting out across the mountains for Turin. Eckermann reached Geneva on August 8, and stayed there for about seven weeks. It was on September 12, 1830, that he first wrote to Goethe. The cause of separation from August, which he put forward as the chief one, was an irresistible desire to revise the notes for his *Conversations with Goethe*. He had left these notes in Weimar in charge of Soret. Goethe writes on October 12, 1830, that he does not wish the notes of his conversation to be published soon, but he will be glad to go through

¹ Thomas was the second husband of Willemer's daughter Rosette, whom we have known in her first widowhood as Rosette Städel.—TR.

² *Ueber Geoffroy's de St. Hilaire: Principes de philosophie zoologique.*—TR.

them and correct them with Eckermann. He did not invite Eckermann to Weimar yet, to have seen him return without August would have been too hard.

Meanwhile Goethe had continued to receive good news from his son, who, indeed, on the day of separation from Eckermann, had had his collar-bone broken through the overturning of the carriage on the road between Genoa and Spezzia, but had recovered ere long, and after having seen Carrara and Florence, had taken ship at Leghorn for Naples. He was present when, on his father's birthday, they began the excavation of a private house of Pompeii.¹ Goethe remarks to Zelter² that August seemed at home in Pompeii, his feelings, remarks, acts, in that city were gay, full of the delight in living. Yet there were symptoms of ill discernible. Of August in Naples he says:—"His letters thence failed, I must confess, to satisfy me; they indicated a certain haste, a sickly kind of exaltation. . . ." And again:—"A rapid journey to Rome had no power to soothe the nature already sorely agitated; and the honourable and affectionate reception of the Germans living in Rome, and of the important artists there, seems to have been enjoyed with a kind of feverish haste." With this "feverish haste" compare the old man's ceaseless industry at home:—"I scarcely leave the little back-room that you know, engaged day and night in using the powers that are left me."³ On November 11 the terrible news came.

August had hurried from Naples to Rome about the middle of October 1830. The great impression of the "Niobe of Cities" overpowered him, and, conjoined with a lively intercourse with the many German artists and intellectual men in Rome, consumed in a few days the last remnants of strength in his weak, feverish, excited being. He returned very unwell one day from a trip to Albano; an attack of scarlatina followed, but seemed to be well past, when, on October 27, a stroke of paralysis unexpectedly brought his life to a close. When the body was opened it was found that the liver was three times the natural size and that the brain was malformed. He was

¹ This house was named the *Casa di Goethe* in honour of the day. See page 717.—TR.

² In the letter of February 23, 1831, in which he gives Zelter a short account of August's tour in Italy. The two following extracts are from the same letter.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, October 29, 1830.—TR.

buried on the morning of October 29, 1830, near the Pyramid of Cestius, where, many years before, his father in a melancholy mood had planned a grave.¹ Thorwaldsen, out of reverence for the old poet, sketched a monument for the son, and had it erected.

The news of August's death was sent to Weimar by Lotte's fourth son, the Minister Resident August Kestner. Chancellor von Müller undertook to tell Goethe. The old man, now eighty-one, bore his trial with a kind of convulsive composure.² He had long foreseen the loss, though not the manner of it. He could not but reckon August fortunate in the circumstance of his death; while still in the full enjoyment of Rome, where so much good friendliness had met him, he had gone to his rest speedily, without the torment of lingering illness. The strange and significant part of this trial lay in the fact that the burden of labour which Goethe had thought very soon—even in the new year—to shift to younger shoulders he must now continue to bear himself, and must even bear a heavier one. "In such a case the great conception of Duty alone has power to sustain us," he writes to Zelter, November 21, 1830. Again, as so often before, he sought restoration in earnest, eager activity; and he was passionately attracted by that part of his life which offered the most striking contrast with the present—the time of his love for Lili.³

¹ See page 410. Goethe, who was aware of the merits of Scott and Byron and Manzoni, and of the young Hugo, seems never to have found out Shelley and Keats. (As to Shelley, see his conversation with Müller, November 18, 1824.) One wishes that he could have known what dust it was that lay not far from his dear son's in "the romantic and lonely cemetery of the Protestants, under the pyramid which is the tomb of Cestius, and the massy walls and towers, now mouldering and desolate, which formed the circuit of ancient Rome."—TR.

² "*Nemo ante obitum beatus* is a saying that has made a figure in the history of the world, but in reality it says nothing at all. To give it some soundness it must be shaped thus: *Expect trials till the end*. You, my good friend, have not lacked trials, nor have I; and it seems as though Destiny were of opinion that we are woven, not of nerves, veins, arteries, and other organs deduced from them, but of metallic wire." Goethe to Zelter, November 21, 1830. When Müller had told him he had exclaimed: "Non ignoravi me mortalem genuisse!" his eyes filling with tears.—TR.

³ Goethe, writing to Zelter, December 10, 1830, tells how he attacked the fragmentary fourth volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in November, and in a fortnight had made it possible to print it. Then his illness had come on. In March 1831 we find him submit it to Eckermann.—TR.

After Eckermann left Geneva he had visited Frankfurt and Cassel, and had arrived in Nordheim, where his betrothed lived, at the close of October 1830. He started for Weimar on the afternoon of November 20, and reached Göttingen at dusk. The landlord of the inn, hearing that Eckermann came from Weimar, and was now returning, calmly said that the great poet Goethe had to endure a great misfortune in his old age, for the day's papers announced the death of his only son in Italy. Eckermann passed a sleepless night, and afterwards, on the journey alone in the carriage, on the gloomy November days, amid the desert stillness of the November fields, could not take his thoughts off the terrible event and the father's grief. He arrived in Weimar on Tuesday, November 23, 1830, in the evening. He went to Goethe's house. The noble old man stood firm and upright before him, and clasped him lovingly in his arms. Then he sat down, apparently calm and cheerful, and talked of many things, only not a word of his son. The return of Eckermann was undoubtedly a great comfort; beside the satisfaction of affection, it lightened the old man's burden, for he felt that he might reckon on the most faithful aid in the difficult and important labour of preparing all that was still fragmentary and unarranged for publication after his death.¹ Two days later, November 25, 1830, Eckermann dined with Goethe and Ottilie, and had to tell about his travels. After dinner Goethe spoke of the *Conversations*: "It must be your first work, and we will not desist until the whole is complete and in order." Yet he seemed to Eckermann unusually quiet, and often lost in his thoughts—no good sign! That night he was seized with a violent hæmorrhage. The extreme skill of his doctor and absolute rest soon restored him. On November 29, 1830, he wrote to Zelter in pencil: "Noch ist das Individuum beisammen und bei Sinnen. Glück auf!"² On the morning of November 30 he sent Eckermann some poems for revision and arrangement, and added that *Faust* should soon follow. To complete *Faust* before death now lay on his heart as the last task of his poetic life. The plan of revising the *Conversations* had to be abandoned.

¹ Zelter called Eckermann (December 2, 1830) "Der getreue Eckart," and Goethe, writing to Zelter on December 14, 1830, uses the title.—TR.

² "The individual is still together, and in his senses. Good speed!"
—TR.

CHAPTER II.

THE CLOSING DAYS.

DECEMBER 1830—MARCH 1832.

GOETHE'S word : "Lange leben heisst viele überleben,"¹ was destined to prove its truth in his case with the most painful force. But that other word : "Ueber Gräber, vorwärts!"² was no less a real part of him. Three years ago Zelter had written sadly, telling of the death of his youngest son. "Let us continue to labour," Goethe replied, "until, in whatsoever order summoned by the Spirit of the Universe, we return to the aether." Death, "that ancient tale" which the Parcae unweariedly repeat to one another,³ had no terrors for Goethe, though he felt intensely the piteousness of the fate of Man, who is forced to depart when the powers of his mind have reached their highest development ; a feeling that found keen utterance on the occasion of Sömmering's death.⁴ The short remaining portion of Goethe's life was, even more than the previous years, "testamentary."⁵ Duties which would have

¹ "To live long is to outlive many." This is from Goethe's letter to Zelter, March 19, 1827. The "word" occurs with modifications elsewhere. See Goethe to Boisserée, October 17, 1817 ; Goethe to Schlosser, May 17, 1819 ; Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff, April 17, 1823 (see p. 644).—TR.

² "Over the graves, forward !" This will be found at the close of the letter, dated February 23, 1831, in which Goethe tells Zelter about the last months of August's life.—TR.

³ See the already-quoted letter to Zelter, March 19, 1827.—TR.

⁴ Sömmering died in March 1830. See Soret's account of a conversation with Goethe, March 17, 1830.—TR.

⁵ Cp. Goethe to Zelter, January 9, 1827 ; Goethe to Boisserée, January 19, 1827 ; Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt, March 1, 1829 ; and Goethe to Zelter, November 23, 1831, for instances of his use of this word.—TR.

fallen to August were now his. It was incumbent on him to provide for the future of his grandchildren; and, instead of trustfully leaving his literary *Remains* to a son's discretion, he had to form plans about it and communicate his will concerning it to faithful friends; while that difficult labour—the completion of unfinished writings (the most important, of course, being the *Faust* and *Dichtung und Wahrheit*), was no less imperatively needful than before.

Goethe counted his letters to various persons as part of his *Remains*. We have already seen him revising and arranging the *Correspondence with Zelter*.¹ It occurred to him that the proceeds of this *Correspondence* should be allotted as a provision for Zelter's daughter Doris. On December 6, 1830, Goethe asks Zelter to send a legal affirmation of this plan, which can then take its place among the clauses of his will. To Eckermann Goethe confided the task of examining his diaries and letters, in order to select all that ought to be published in the *Remains*. (The project of going through Eckermann's *Conversations* had been dropped.) Drafts of Goethe's letters to various persons had been kept since 1807. Eckermann spent some weeks at the end of the year 1830 in carefully examining the letters of a few years. On January 1, 1831, he brought Goethe a statement of considerations which should, in his opinion, determine the manner of publishing them. Goethe went over his statement point by point, approved of it, and said:—"In my will I will name you as the editor of these letters, and I will moreover indicate that we are in general of the same opinion as to the method to be observed." Meanwhile Chancellor von Müller had undertaken to draft Goethe's will. On January 5, 1831, Müller brought the draft to him, and he signified complete approval. On January 29 he writes to Zelter:—"My will . . . was handed over to the Grand-Ducal Government on January 8; in the last few days a codicil has been added, in order to make my extremely-complicated affairs as clear as possible for my descendants." It was a great relief to Goethe when the final arrangements about his will were made. On January 8 he excuses the shortness of his letter to Zelter thus:—"Forgive me if I stop here. All this providing for the future deprives

¹ See p. 673.—TR.

me of my activity in the present moment; and it is to be feared that when we have left this behind us a new Leviathan will open wide his jaws."

During the first two months of 1831 Goethe was tolerably well, nay, we find him towards the close of February venturing on a drive, and enjoying the prospect of the snow-covered hills.¹ Ottilie did all she could think of to give him pleasure. She was his constant companion; and in the evenings she read aloud to him from his correspondence with Zelter. We must also picture Goethe as the delighted sympathiser in the little joys and sorrows of his grandchildren; the glimpses we obtain of him in his relation to them reveal a noble tenderness and wisdom. His sorrow for August had calmed in so far that he found himself able to send to his Italian friends a hasty sketch of August's journey, derived from the diaries. The diaries themselves were "extremely interesting, but, on account of the always-prominent individuality . . . not to be communicated in their peculiar energy and decisiveness."² The death of August was celebrated by the Freemasons' Lodge with the solemnity worthy of the occasion.

The Court of Weimar did everything possible to show honour to Goethe. Every Thursday the Grand Duchess visited him, and in all her schemes for the advancement of art and of science she asked his advice; the Grand Duke visited him frequently in the evenings, and the Hereditary Prince came sometimes in Soret's company. Retired as Goethe's present life was, he found it easy to manage his official business, for everything that he had charge of was in the very best order. August's place in the Superintendence was filled by the appointment of Vogel, the physician, but for whose skill Goethe believed that he should have died long before.³ There was one source of bitter annoyance to Goethe in these official matters, the Estates would insist on an exact account of the expenditure of the money placed in his hands; they were of course only exercising their right, and yet it was hard on the old poet, after so many years of unquestioned benevolent autocracy, to be summoned thus to judgment. It was a deep grief to him when the news of the death of his true old friend

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations*, February 23, 1831.—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, February 19, 1831.—TR.

³ See Eckermann's *Conversations*, January 24, 1830.—TR.

Klinger, in St. Petersburg, arrived in Weimar.¹ There had been a revival of intercourse between Goethe and Klinger in the beginning of the century, immediately after Goethe's dreadful illness, and at the time when the relations between the Court of Weimar and of Russia had grown intimate.²

Meanwhile the great industry which we now have followed through so many years knew no slackening. The translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* was still passing through the press during the early months of 1831. Careful scrutiny of the manuscript and of proofs gave Goethe a great deal to do, and led him continually deeper into the subject. Moreover, there was the duty of completing the Second Part of *Faust*. In February 1831 he attacked the Fourth Act.³ His advance was slow, for he was only able to work at it in the early part of the day while his brain was still fresh after sleep. About this time he made up packets of the letters in his possession, intending to return them to the senders. One of these packets contained the letters of Marianne. On March 3, 1831, he wrote eight beautiful lines,⁴ which have reference to this restitution to Marianne. Yet he could not bear to pain her yet by an act which would bring home to her, with such great force, the inevitable nearness of his death, and the letters did not find their way to Frankfurt until a later time.

Immediately after this Goethe felt very unwell, and only his most intimate friends were admitted. Bleeding was prescribed, then he felt pains in his right leg, and at length his internal complaint relieved itself through a wound in the foot,

¹ See Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, March 31, 1831.—TR.

² It will be remembered how Klinger followed Goethe to Weimar in 1776. (See p. 266.) Klinger's dissolute life, and the bad offices of the *Kraftapostel* Kaufmann, had caused a breach between the two friends even before Lenz's "donkeyism" (see p. 288). Later Klinger entered the Russian military service and rose to a high rank in it. Part of the correspondence of the second period of friendship between Goethe and Klinger is printed in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882. Klinger died February 25, 1831. See the Appendix.—TR.

³ See Eckermann's *Conversations*, February 11, 1831.—TR.

⁴ The lines beginning—

"Vor die Augen meiner Lieben,
Zu den Fingern die's geschrieben."

See Creizenach's note, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp. 304-5; and see Düntzer, *Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 168.—TR.

upon which he recovered rapidly, and at the close of March was as bright and gracious as ever.¹ On March 25 he had shown to Eckermann an elegant green arm-chair that he had bought at an auction. "However, I shall use it little or not at all," he said, "for all kinds of comfortableness are really quite contrary to my nature. You see no sofa in my room; I always sit in my old wooden chair, and it is only within the last few weeks that I have had a kind of rest put up for my head. A surrounding of comfortable, pretty furniture paralyses my thought and brings me into an easy, passive condition. Splendid rooms and elegant furniture, unless we are accustomed to them from youth, are for people who have no thoughts and who desire none."

During the period of indisposition he had not ceased to work. We have seen that he had begun the Fourth Act of *Faust*, and now the Fourth Volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was taken out, and Eckermann was employed to examine it, and Goethe talked over with him the results of this examination.² And there was the old unwearied activity of interest in science, literature, and art.³

On March 31 Goethe was, as we have seen, quite well again, and the Grand Duchess paid him her usual Thursday visit. When she inquired after his health he gallantly replied that, until to-day, he had not perceived his recovery, but her presence made him feel anew the happiness of restoration to health. On the same day Müller met, at Goethe's house, the Grand Duke, and Spontini, who was returning from a visit to Paris. Among other things Goethe talked of Klinger a good deal. On May 2, 1831, Goethe told the delighted Eckermann that he had almost succeeded in completing the beginning of the Fifth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. (The later part of this Act had been written some time.) On May 15 Eckermann dined alone with Goethe in his workroom. After a great deal of cheerful talk Goethe rose, and taking a paper from his desk, said: "When a man has passed the age of eighty, as I have, he has hardly a right to live; he ought day by day to hold himself ready to be called away, and should be

¹ Soret in Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 31, 1831.—TR.

² See Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 15 and 16, 1831.—TR.

³ See Goethe to Boisserée, March 20, 1831—a passage near the beginning of the letter.—TR.

intent on setting his house in order. As I told you lately, I have in my will appointed you editor of my literary *Remains*, and this morning I have drawn up, as a kind of contract, a little paper which you and I shall both sign." After signing they discussed matters of detail as to which they had not yet fully decided. Goethe told Eckermann that, if needful, the polemic part of the *Farbenlehre* might be omitted.

Four days after this conversation Goethe was attacked by a violent catarrh. It lasted four weeks, tormenting and wearying him, and at times making him very depressed and irritable. But it did not check his labour; he fought day by day in the endeavour to do the duty that lay next him.¹ And the time was not without many alleviating and pleasurable events. The last sheets of Soret's translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* passed through the press, and a great burthen was lifted off Goethe. He sent one copy to the *Académie Française*.

On July 8, 1831, he writes to Zelter:—"It is well with me in every sense; so that I have set before me an object to be attained ere my next birthday—an object which I will not precipitately mention. If I succeed you shall be the first to hear of it." The object in view was the completion of *Faust*. Shortly after Goethe had two pleasant visits. On July 14, 1831, the King of Würtemberg, accompanied by the Crown-Prince and Soret, came. On July 22 Goethe and Riemer, when out driving at about five o'clock in the afternoon, met Zelter and Schultz; they turned back at once, and, after the new-comers had arranged matters at the "Swan" inn, all spent the evening together. Zelter remained until July 26; this was the last meeting of the old friends. After Zelter's departure the colossal marble bust of Goethe that David had modelled in 1829 at last arrived in Weimar. It was accompanied by a reverential letter from David:—"Vous êtes la grande figure poétique de notre époque, elle vous doit une statue." Goethe gave the bust to the Library of Weimar, to be the companion of Dannecker's bust of Schiller. Another very much prized gift arrived in August 1831. Under date August 20, 1831, Goethe writes to Zelter:—"Fifteen English Friends—as they subscribe themselves—caused a seal to be prepared by their most famous goldsmiths. It is of a size to

¹ See Goethe to Zelter, June 18, 1831.—TR.

be easily contained in the hollow of the hand, and in shape is like a longish vase. . . . The English seem to think the word 'Ohne Rast, doch ohne Hast'¹ to be one of considerable significance, and at bottom it is a very good expression of their own way of acting. These words are inscribed around a star, within the well-known serpent circling all; unfortunately Old German capital letters are used, and these tend somewhat to obscure the meaning. It is a gift in every sense worthy of thanks, and I have written some friendly rhymes² to them in return for it." The originator of this gift was Thomas Carlyle; and among the subscribers were, beside Carlyle, two of the greatest Englishmen then living—Walter Scott and Wordsworth. The rest were poets and literary men, all, with but a few exceptions, of real importance, though they attained not to the first three.³ The letter which accompanied the seal speaks with deep feeling of the great debt due to the poet Goethe, as a spiritual teacher, by the whole world; "our chief, perhaps our only benefactor, is he who by act and word instructs us in wisdom."⁴

Meanwhile Goethe had attained the goal towards which he had so long been striving. He had finished the *Faust*. By August 1831 the manuscript of the whole Second Part lay before him stitched and complete. He was very happy. "The rest of my life," he said to Eckermann, "may be regarded as a free gift; and it is now in reality a matter of indifference what I do, and whether I do anything at all."

The birthday which proved to be the last of Goethe's life

¹ Goethe misquotes his own words. The verses will be found among the *Zahme Xenien*:—

"Wie das Gestirn,
Ohne Hast,
Aber ohne Rast,
Drehe sich jeder
Um die eigne Last!"—TR.

² *To Nineteen Friends in England*. See a note in the Appendix.—TR.

³ Southey, Proctor, Heraud (of *Fraser's Magazine*), Professor Wilson, John Carlyle, Lockhart, Lord Francis Leveson Gower, Moir, Jerdan (of the *Literary Gazette*), Maginn, Fraser (of the *Foreign Review*), Churchill (author of a translation of *Wallensteins Lager* that appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*).—TR.

⁴ See *Fraser's Magazine*, iv. 447 (November 1831).—TR.

was now close at hand. It would be celebrated in Weimar by festivities, which he desired to avoid; and accordingly, on August 26, 1831, he betook himself to Ilmenau, accompanied by his grandsons. Eighteen years since, at the same season of the year, he had gone thither to join Karl August,¹ and since that time he had not seen the place. Mining for silver in Ilmenau had been entirely abandoned; still the poet could find a source of great pleasure in the "remarkable utilisation of the manifold surfaces and depths of earth and mountain" that he observed. The boys absorbed everything with fresh, healthy senses, and he watched them with delight, as we have known him watch August long ago.² "These dear novices pressed without poetic vehicle into contact with the primary immediate circumstance of Nature. They saw the charcoal-burners on the spot as they live, people who during the whole year taste neither bread nor butter nor beer, subsisting only on potatoes and goat's milk; and there are others, such as wood-cutters, glass-blowers, who fare in the same way; but all are more cheerful than we, who usually lose the *To-day* because there has been a *Yesterday* and a *To-morrow* is coming."³ This excursion lasted six days, the very brightest days of all that summer.⁴ It was at the inn called "The Lion," in the little town, that Goethe stayed during this time.

On August 27, 1831, he invited the *Rentamtman* Mahr to drive with him to the hill called the Gickelhahn. There, almost half a century ago, he had written the noble poem *Ilmenau*, addressed to Karl August.⁵ Here, too, and at the same time, he had pencilled the verses *Nachtlied*⁶ on the wall

¹ In 1813. See p. 607.—Tr.

² See p. 477.—Tr.

³ Goethe to the Willemers, September 22, 1831.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Zelter, September 4, 1831.—Tr.

⁵ See pp. 346, 352.—Tr.

⁶ "Ueber allen Gipfeln." In the edition of his poems published in 1815 these lines follow the *Wanderers Nachtlied* of 1776 (see p. 254), and are entitled *Ein Gleiches*. The date affixed to them is "6th September 1783." Now Goethe was not in Ilmenau on September 6, 1783. On that day he started from Weimar for the Harz with Fritz Stein (see p. 356). But Düntzer gives the original inscription on the hut wall:—"Am 2 Sept. 1783, Nachtlied." On that day we know Goethe to have been at Ilmenau. (Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, ii. 150.) (Several Goethe scholars, however, assert that the original date was "September 7, 1780." Goethe spent the night between September 6

of the wooden hut on the summit. When the carriage which bore Mahr and Goethe had gone as far as possible, they alighted to climb the rest of the way on foot. Goethe gazed on the beautiful prospect with mingled delight and sadness. "Ah," he cried, "would that my good Grand Duke Karl August could have seen this loveliness once more!" Then he hurried up the steep ascent with youthful eagerness, nor would he accept any aid from his companion. When he stood before the inscription—

" Ueber allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch ;
Die Vögeln schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch "—

tears flowed down his face. Slowly he drew his handkerchief from his pocket, dried his tears, and said in a gentle, melancholy voice : "Ja warte nur, balde ruhest du auch!" was silent half a minute, looked out through the window at the dark pine-wood, and then turned to Mahr, saying : "Now we will go down again."

Though Goethe had fled from Weimar to avoid birthday festivities, the good people of Ilmenau, with *Oberjägermeister* von Fritsch at their head, were determined not to let the day pass unhonoured ; they did not forget what Ilmenau and the whole neighbourhood owed to the great poet. Early in the morning the chorale : "Nun danket alle Gott!" was sung in front of the "Lion" inn. A cheerful company assembled at the dinner with which they entertained him later on ; and in the evening there was a great deal of music, and the miners' comedy mentioned in *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* was performed. In Weimar the colossal bust by David had been unveiled in the Library on August 28, and the usual banquet had taken place, with signs of sympathy more general than ever. And eighteen friends in Frankfurt united to send him a

and 7, 1780, in the hut on the Gickelhahn. See his letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which he describes the clear evening sky, the faint smoke, the great stillness. Loeper, Goedeke, and Fielitz believe the poem to have been written on that evening.)—TR.

gift truly characteristic of his native city, viz. four dozen of old Main wine and Rhine wine.

We have heard him say to Eckermann when *Faust* was finished: "I consider the rest of life as a gift." Yet he continued to add many touches to *Faust* during the autumn. Moreover that last precious volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was still unfinished. Fortunately for his labours his good health remained unbroken until the final illness, though he had to lead a very regular and secluded life, and there were many signs of the feebleness of old age. It was at this period that he read Cicero's treatise *De Senectute* for the first time. We find him venturing out-of-doors even in October. Thus on October 6 he visited the Central Tree Nursery, and on October 19 he was present at the Exhibition held at Belvedere of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Botany continued to exercise the same delightful attraction; that which chiefly interested him was the discovery of Martius of the spiral tendency of plants; moreover, he had entered into communication with the chemist Wackenroder on the subject of the chemistry of plants. His life was, as ever, an unresting toil; each morning he found more work waiting on him than the day sufficed for—Art, Literature, Natural Science, the old official tasks with which we are so familiar, the activity of beneficence to fellow-creatures, and a wide correspondence.

Moreover, he enjoyed a remarkable tranquil domestic happiness during these closing months; the behaviour of Ottilie and his grandchildren was "allerliebste."¹ Ottilie shielded him skilfully from unpleasantness; saw that everything occurred at the right time; read aloud to him in the evenings from Plutarch's *Lives*, and by her intelligence and originality of character was a source of continual delight. Moreover, the visits from the royal family of Weimar, and continual intercourse with a circle of good friends—Eckermann, Riemer, Meyer, Müller, Coudray, and Vogel—contributed to give brightness to the evening of his life.

In November 1831 Goethe withdrew to live entirely in the rooms at the rear of his house, "where the rising sun, just at this season, shines horizontally into my room, and does not leave me until it sets, so that its obtrusiveness often grows

¹ Goethe to Zelter, No. 818 (vi. 300).—TR.

inconvenient, and I am actually compelled to shut it out for a while."¹ In these little rooms he felt very happy, for there was not a moment unoccupied by some interesting labour. In January 1832 he read aloud *Faust* to Ottilie, and he continued to change and retouch the drama. It is strange to find Goethe at this time supplying an omission in his *Farbenlehre*, as he had planned to do many years before. Boisserée wrote in December 1831, noticing that a word in explanation of the Rainbow might well be inserted, since Goethe was preparing his *Farbenlehre* for publication as part of his *Remains*. Upon this Goethe began an exposition of the Rainbow in a series of letters to Boisserée. His death came before the series was finished. The *Farbenlehre*, in general, occupied a good deal of his time at present; the historical part especially called for revision. Another branch of science which engaged Goethe's last months was Comparative Anatomy. A second article on St. Hilaire was only completed by March 1832. Goethe had ere this entirely abandoned the study of Meteorology, and the meteorological institutions of Jena were contracted in their operation; for it was thought that no laws were deducible from observations made in such a fickle climate—the task must be left to meteorologists in tropical lands.

A visit from Zelter's daughter Doris in January 1832 brought a pleasant stir and excitement into the quiet family circle of the Goethes. Ottilie was an admirable hostess, and Goethe too aided in his own fashion, so that Doris enjoyed the Weimar life very much. Yet Goethe, with all his cheerful sympathy in the life of others, did not forget that his own end must be near. On February 10, 1832, he told Marianne of the packet of her letters that he had prepared. He only asked her to promise not to open it until "the indeterminate hour" arrived.²

On March 6, 1832, Goethe received a letter from the artist Zahn,³ who was then in Pompeii, accompanied by a hasty sketch of a splendid mosaic painting. This sketch gave the poet a great deal of joyful occupation. The painting, a representation of one of the battles of Alexander, had been found

¹ Goethe to Zelter, November 23, 1831.—TR.

² The packet was not sent to Marianne until after Goethe's death. See Eckermann's letter to her, Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne*, 329.—TR.

³ See pp. 679 and 680.—TR.

in the house excavated in the presence of August Goethe in 1830. This house had received the name *Casa di Goethe*. Zahn in his letter related how, on Goethe's last birthday, a company of Germans and foreigners had met in this house and celebrated the day with high revel. Goethe sent a long letter of thanks to Zahn on March 10, 1832.

On March 15 the Grand Duchess paid Goethe her usual Thursday visit. He talked with vivacity of the Pompeian painting and of many other things, especially of the political events of the day. At dinner he was very cheerful, and he took his usual drive. He was quite well that evening. But he had a very restless night, and his grandson Wolf, coming to breakfast with him as usual, found him in bed. Yet he was able to receive visits in the evening. On Sunday, March 18, he spent a few hours out of bed, and spoke of work again. On the evening of March 19 he talked with his doctor (who, as we have seen, was associated with him in the Superintendence), of many matters connected with the institutions that dealt with Art and Science; he was especially intent on the promotion of certain of the officials whom he had ere this recommended to Vogel. On the night between the 19th and 20th the illness suddenly assumed a threatening character. After some hours of sound sleep Goethe awoke about midnight and felt a chill, that began with the hands, spreading minute by minute over his whole body, and soon pains in the chest, difficulty of breathing, and restless wretchedness followed. Yet he would not allow his servant to call the doctor, because there was "only suffering in question, no danger to life." When Vogel came in the morning the case seemed to him a very bad one; however, the measures which he adopted brought great relief, and on this day, Tuesday, March 20, 1832, Goethe was able to sign a document which secured a regular support to a gifted young artist, a Weimar lady, in whom he took a paternal interest.¹ Next day, Wednesday, March 21, Goethe seemed better in the forenoon, but from noon on the signs of the approaching end were plain. Yet he still anticipated recovery. The doctor would not allow any one to see him but Ottilie, his grandchildren, and his

¹ This, Goethe's last handwriting, is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar.—TR.

servant. On the morning of March 22 he had Ottilie to sit beside him; he held her hand long in his and talked cheerfully with her. But his words began to grow gradually more and more indistinct, until at length all speech failed. Then he sought to communicate by signs, at first in the air, then,



FIG. 41. Goethe lying in death. From the original drawing by Friedrich Preller, by permission of the possessor of the drawing, Frau Mathilde Arnemann of Weimar.

when his waning strength sufficed no longer to hold up his arm, he wrote on his lap. At about half-past eleven in the forenoon he drew himself into the corner of his chair and departed gently from life—so gently that the actual moment was unobserved. At the same hour, on the same day of the month, his true friend Voigt had died thirteen years before. And in

1825 the theatre of Weimar was burned on March 22, and this he had thenceforward regarded as his day of misfortune.

We refrain from any description of the great sympathy shown by those who came to see the dead lying in state, or of the splendid funeral which accompanied him to the *Fürstengruft* on the afternoon of March 26. With reverence let us enter that vault where, as he desired, his dust was laid by that of Schiller, in an oaken shrine in front of the bronze coffins of



FIG. 42. The *Fürstengruft* of Weimar. From an old engraving.

Karl August and Luise, the good friends of his long, toilsome, glorious life. Mankind knows no spot more sacred than the resting-place of the German Dioscuri. They do not, like the Twin-Brethren of Grecian legend, lead a life of alternate splendour and darkness, now in Olympus, now in the lower world—they live in the light of a fame not subject to the limitations of place or time. And that their final repose in union is so true a symbol of the noble brotherhood that united them in life is a rare blossom in the wreath of pure human virtues which, together with the laurel, adorns Goethe's brow.

1784

Wiedersehen Sie dann
Goethe

1793.

Goethe

1818.

Wiedersehen Sie
Goethe

1827.

Wiedersehen Sie
W. Goethe

1827.

W. Goethe

Facsimile Signatures of Goethe at various times.

APPENDIX.

A SECOND edition of this life of Goethe has been called for already in Germany. The author has taken the opportunity to revise in accordance with the latest discoveries. Nearly all the translation was in type before the second edition was finished. Therefore I endeavour in the following Appendix to give to English Goethe-students the value of the most important changes in a series of numbered Articles. In each case I give reference to the page of the translation where the article may be supposed to intercalate. The possessors of the translation can easily insert on its pages counter references to the articles of the Appendix.

It must be borne in mind that minute changes in the text of the original, due to the taste of the author, and in general tiny enlargements of the mass of fact, which do not affect our view of Goethe, are omitted from this Appendix. They would really tend to diminish its usefulness.

1. *Circumstance of Goethe's birth*, page 1.—Goethe, according to the *Book of Baptisms* of Frankfurt, was born between noon and one o'clock on August 28, 1749, and was baptized in his father's house on the following day by Dr. Johann Philipp Fresenius, the Sunday preacher at the Grey Friars Church. Dr. Fresenius was the clergyman who afterwards undertook to prepare Wolfgang for confirmation (page 32).

2. *The date of the birth of Johann Kaspar Goethe* (page 2) is omitted in the second edition. The date of his baptism is given instead. It is July 31, 1710.

3. *Wealth of the elder Goethes*.—Friedrich Georg Goethe (page 2) grew rich rapidly after settling in Frankfurt. After the death of his first wife his wealth increased until he paid the highest assessment in Frankfurt, and when he married Cornelia Schelhorn his property was twice as great as hers. Soon after his second marriage his wife's father, one of the richest men of the city, died, leaving his daughter one-third of his property. Johann Kaspar Goethe left the greater part of the family property to his mother's disposal while she lived. He paid tax on only 2000 gulden. In 1704, Friedrich Georg Goethe, just before his second marriage, had paid tax on 15,000.

4. *Hermann Jakob Goethe*, page 8.—The cause which prevented intimacy with this man's family was the badness of the character of his wife.

5. *Goethe in Wetzlar*.—It is observed (page 144) that Goethe did little in Wetzlar to increase his knowledge of Law. The single trace of his presence, writes Herbst (*Goethe in Wetzlar*, 33), that the *lawyer* Goethe has left in Wetzlar is his entry in the *Matrikel*, a book kept for the self-registry of young practitioners—

JOHANN WOLFG. GOETHE
VON FRFURT AM MAYN.

25 May, 1772.

Düntzer notes in the new edition that those students who really purposed to learn some law placed themselves under some older lawyer, who gave them lectures and law-work. We do not hear that Goethe did anything of the kind.

6. *Charlotte Buff's birthday*, see pages 146 and 165, footnote.—On page 156 of the new edition, the date January 11 is a misprint for January 13. Herbst is quite mistaken on this point. The church registry of Wetzlar contains the entry of Charlotte Buff's birth on January 13, 1753, and the entry of her baptism on January 14, 1753. It was then customary in Germany to baptize on the day following the day of birth.

7. *Kestner and Lotte*, page 147.—In the new edition (page 158) Düntzer writes :—"The young Secretary of Legation was soon the most intimate friend of the family. But it was only to her mother that he declared his love for Charlotte, and his purpose to win her for his wife. Frau Buff gave her blessing to the union before her death, which took place in March 1771. From that time the cares of the household fell on Charlotte." I add, however, that Kestner soon learned that Lotte loved him. On November 2, 1768, he writes :—"I know that I possess the whole heart of my beloved. May Heaven keep it mine."

8. *The walks on which Goethe accompanied Lotte*, page 149.—Düntzer adds in the new edition (page 159) that they sometimes went as far as Garbenheim, or even to Atzbach, to see friends named Rhodius. Herbst (page 114) mentions, however, that when Kestner was not with them some female friend accompanied Lotte.

9. *The remarkable crisis of Goethe's passion for Lotte in August 1772*, pages 151-153.—When Goethe visited Lotte on August 8, at Atzbach, the passionate ardour which he displayed made her feel very uneasy. On August 13 Kestner was in Giessen on business. He returned on the same day, and Lotte, accompanied by Dorothea von Brandt and by Goethe, came to meet him. In the evening Kestner was much vexed when he heard from Lotte that Goethe had kissed her. Lotte told it frankly and simply, not so much complaining of Goethe as regretting that the incident had occurred. Kestner's Diary has the following entries :—

"A little *brouillerie* with Lottchen [on August 13], which was all past and forgotten next day.

"August 14. In the evening Goethe, returning from a walk, came to the courtyard [of the Teutonic Order]. He was treated with indifference, and soon went away.

"August 15. Goethe was sent to Atzbach to take an apricot to Frau *Rentmeisterin* Rhodius. He returned at ten o'clock in the evening, and found us sitting outside the door; the flowers that he brought were left lying about carelessly; he felt the slight, and flung them away; he spoke in parables. I walked with Goethe that night in the street until twelve o'clock; a remarkable conversation, when he showed himself to be full of disgust, and had all kinds of fancies, at which in the end we laughed, leaning against a wall in the moonlight.

"On August 16—it was a Sunday—Goethe received a lecture from Lottchen; she declared to him that he had nothing but friendship to hope for; he grew pale, and was very much cast down. We went out for a walk by the Neustadt Gate afterwards, Goethe and I in Bostel's company."

Goethe went to Giessen on August 18, 1772, page 151. Herbst (*Goethe in Wetzlar*, 134) mentions that Lotte had gone thither on August 17—the day after that Sunday on which she had given Goethe the lecture. When Goethe and Merck were at Pfaff's house on the evening of August 18, it was proposed that Lotte should return to Wetzlar in their company. This she refused to do: she wished Kestner to come and fetch her home. On the afternoon of August 19 Goethe and Merck wandered down the bank of the Lahn to Wetzlar. Goethe hastened to Kestner late that evening and told him that Lotte wanted him to go to Giessen for her, and also informed him of Merck's arrival. Very early on the morning of August 20, Kestner arose and rode to Giessen and brought Lotte home in a carriage which he hired in Giessen. Lotte drove the horse herself, and the two lovers arrived in Wetzlar before noon. After dinner the whole Buff family accompanied Merck and Goethe to Garbenheim. There they separated, the Buffs returning to Wetzlar, Goethe and Merck going on to Giessen. On August 22, a Saturday, Merck left Giessen for Frankfurt, where he meant to spend the Sunday with Goethe's parents. Merck's endeavour to persuade Goethe to come back to Frankfurt was fruitless (page 151), but Goethe promised to meet Merck on some fixed day within a few weeks at the house of Frau von Laroche at Thalehrenbreitstein, and thence to go up the Rhine with him to Frankfurt. The time originally fixed for Goethe's stay in Wetzlar was indeed over, and Rath Goethe could not but desire the return of his son, who was making so little use of the legal advantages of Wetzlar. See Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, 189.

10. *The farce: Das Unglück der Jacobis*.—This farce, which the old edition placed after *Werther* in the spring of 1774 (page 188) Düntzer now removes to the October of 1772. On the last day of May, or in the beginning of June, 1774, Goethe told Johanna Fahlmer that *Das Unglück der Jacobis* was written immediately after his return in Merck's company from the Rhine trip of September 1772. See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1881, page 383, and see Article 25 of this Appendix. At the close of the first paragraph on page 159 of our translation insert:—"About this time the farce *Das Unglück der Jacobis* must have originated; it was founded on a certain story that came to Goethe's ears." This farce was never finished. See Höpfner's letter, quoted page 188. Goethe promised Johanna Fahlmer, in the conversation to which reference has already been made, that it should never see the light again.

11. *Goethe's friendship with Klinger and with Kayser.*—In the first edition Goethe's intimacy with these friends is represented as beginning in the spring of 1774, when Merck was withdrawn for a while from Goethe's society (see pages 190-191). But in the second edition Düntzer places the commencement of intimacy between them more than twelve months earlier. (On August 26, 1801, Klinger writes to Goethe :—"I am, with the old feelings known to you more than twenty-eight years, your cordially devoted Klinger.") At the close of the first paragraph of page 163 of our translation insert :—"About this time [midwinter 1772-3] Klinger seems to have drawn nearer to Goethe. In September 1772 Klinger [who was three years younger than Goethe] left school, and not having money enough to go to an university, maintained himself by private teaching. And probably it was at this time that Goethe made the acquaintance of Philipp Christoph Kayser. Kayser, who was now seventeen, was the son of Johann Matthias Kayser, the organist of the Grey Friars Church of Frankfurt." As to the new details on Klinger, see Düntzer's article *Klinger in Weimar* in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. xi., and Rieger's new book on Klinger.

12. *The satirical Jahrmarkt which Goethe wrote in the spring of 1773*, page 168.—Düntzer inserts in the new edition a statement from one of Caroline Flachsland's letters, that Goethe put Leuchsenring into this satire in order to please Merck (*um Merck die Cour zu machen*).

13. *The Princess Luise of Darmstadt starting for Berlin in 1773*, page 169.—This event is misplaced in the first edition. Goethe was in Darmstadt from April 15 to May 3, 1773. How then could he have seen the Princess step into her carriage on the *Zeil* at Frankfurt? Düntzer's correct arrangement in the second edition makes all clear. Merck and the Princess departed (not in April) but on May 7, 1773. It was after Goethe's sorrowful return from Herder's wedding that he had to bear the new grief of parting from Merck. The possessor of our translation will insert the event on page 170 instead of page 169. Moreover it was not after her death, but three days before it, that Goethe spoke to Chancellor von Müller of having seen her, light and slender, step into the carriage that was to bear her away. See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, February 10, 1830. See our translation, page 698.

14. On page 172, insert at the end of the first paragraph :—"Götz was being printed at Merck's printing-press at Arheilgen at this time, and the task of correcting the proof-sheets gave Goethe a great deal of work."

15. *The silhouette and poem*, pages 172, 173.—These are misplaced in the first edition. They belong not to June 1773 but to September 1773. They were sent with the letter of September 15, 1773, which is quoted on page 176.

16. *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel.*—Düntzer in the second edition assigns this dramatic satire to the summer of 1773. In the first edition he had guessed its date to be August or September 1774 (page 203). But new evidence has been discovered since he wrote. On the last day of May 1774, or in the beginning of June 1774, Goethe told Johanna Fahlmer that the *Satyros* was written before she went to Düssel-

dorf. Now she went to Düsseldorf in September 1773 with Helene and Lotte Jacobi. See page 175 of our translation. (See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, page 382.) At the close of the second paragraph of page 174, insert:—"A product of the overflowing wanton humour and spirits of this time was the drama *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel*. It represents a common adventurer who seeks by arrogant assumption to satisfy his greed for power and to appease the cravings of sense."

17. *Götter, Helden und Wieland*.—In the second edition Düntzer places this farce with *Prometheus* at the beginning of October 1773. The couple of farces on Wieland and the Jacobis, which Goethe read to Schönborn (page 178), would accordingly be *Das Unglück der Jacobis* and *Götter Helden und Wieland*. Remove the mention of it from page 179 to the foot of page 176. The plan of *Prometheus* had been in Goethe's mind in June 1773, as well as the plan of *Faust*, page 172.

18. *Plan of Egmont*.—In the second edition Düntzer conjectures that the "beautiful new plan for a great drama," of which Goethe writes to Johanna Fahlmer, October 18, 1773 (page 179), may have been the plan of *Egmont*, and the words quoted from a letter to Boie later on (page 181), "The sacrifice is prepared," etc., refer probably to *Egmont*, not to *Julius Cæsar*.

19. Düntzer thinks that the *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern* is to be ascribed to this time, October 1773. It is probably a development of the satiric *Jahrmarkt* of April 1773, page 168, and see Article 12 of this Appendix.

20. *Goethe and Klinger*.—During the winter of 1773-4 a place of assembly for the mad doings of Goethe and the young geniuses of the *Sturm und Drang* period in Frankfurt, was the "smoky little room," in the humble house of Klinger's mother, on the *Rittergässchen*. There a party of these young friends met every Saturday evening and indulged in crack-brained pranks.

Klinger's youngest sister, Agnes, a beautiful and intellectual girl of sixteen, was a sympathetic partaker in the zeal for freedom of the young geniuses. Long after, Goethe refers to the smoky little room in a letter to Klinger, dated Weimar, December 8, 1811. (From the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880, page 397, I extract a reference to Burkhardt's article in the *Grenzboten* for 1879: *Das Klingerhaus in Frankfurt*.)

21. *Prolog zu den neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes, verdeutschet durch Dr. K. Fr. Bahrdt*.—In the first edition Düntzer places this in the period that followed the completion of *Werther*, see page 188. He now believes it to have been written about January 1774. Bahrdt had published a kind of watery, diluted paraphrase of the New Testament, called *Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes*. This disgusted Goethe, and he wrote the dramatic scene mentioned above. Bahrdt was Professor of Theology in the University of Giessen. Goethe sent the thing to his friend Höpfner, a Professor of Law in Giessen, and Höpfner had it printed at once.

22. *Fastnachtsspiel, auch wohl zu tragieren nach Ostern, von Pater Brey dem falschen Propheten*.—When Goethe had completed *Werther* there was a load lifted from him, and a period of high spirits followed. During this period he wrote the satire above named. Pater Brey, the

False Prophet, is a conception which originated in a study of Leuchsenring's odious character, and his sentimental self-imposition on Caroline Flachsland, who was for a time taken in by his pretence. But Goethe carefully abstained from particular details which might lead the public to identify the character with its prototype. Only one well acquainted with the circle would have guessed the secret. The *Fastnachtsspiel* or *Pater Brey* is to be ascribed to March 1774, page 188.

23. *Other work which belongs to the same period as Pater Brey.*—Goethe wrote in the March and April of 1774 some poems and songs, which have reference to Art. Moreover, he wrote that fresh, gallant lyric, *So ist der Held, der mir gefällt*. In this poem he takes his careless stand against the mawkish, effeminate note of the poems of Wieland, and of Wieland's imitators, especially of J. G. Jacobi and of the mild young writer of pastorals, Werthes, whom he met a few months later at Pempelfort, page 199. The student will find *So ist der Held* in *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 37.

24. *Klinger and Goethe.*—The account of Klinger, on page 190 of our translation, must be corrected and enlarged. This has been already partially done by Article II. The student will now erase the sentence beginning, "When Klinger came back from Giessen," and, allowing the general account of Klinger to stand, will insert the following additions:—"To Goethe's loss of Merck's intimate companionship at this time must be added a temporary deprivation of the society of Klinger, who left Frankfurt to study law at Giessen. April 16, 1774, is the date of his matriculation as *studiosus juris*. Goethe had procured for the needy young fellow hospitable reception into the house of Professor Höpfner. He was unable to give him money, and indeed Klinger would not have taken money as a gift. But Goethe gave him the farces—the *Jahrmaktsfest zu Plundersweilern* and *Pater Brey*—with permission to do as he pleased with them—to tear them, to store them away, or to sell them." (The reader will here turn to the foot of page 208 of our translation and make a correction.) "Klinger was at this time occupied with his drama *Otto*, inspired by his admiration for *Götz von Berlichingen*. The friendship with Klinger was not broken off by this separation, but it lost some of its intimacy."

25. *Johanna Fahlmer's endeavour to mediate between Goethe and Wieland.*—On page 192 the golden wedding of the Schweitzer-Allesinas, on May 30, 1774, is mentioned. Goethe danced in May 31, the birthday of Max Brentano. He tells Frau von Laroche of this in a letter written at the beginning of June 1774, see the translator's footnote No. 3. In the same letter he writes:—"I have read the passages in the coming number of the Wieland's *Merkur* which relate to me. He treats the matter like a good fellow who sits firm in the saddle. I have never had any injury from him, and now I pardon him his blasphemies against my gods." We now know how Goethe obtained a sight of the pages of a number of the *Merkur* that was not yet published. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, page 378, reprints a letter from Jacobi to Wieland, which should be dated June 8, not May 8, 1774. (It should accordingly be preceded by the letter reprinted on page 383, dated June 4, 1774.) In this letter

Jacobi sends to Wieland an extract from a letter from Johanna Fahlmer, received on June 6, 1774. This extract is a dialogue between Johanna and Goethe. Very soon after the golden wedding, probably on the day after, Goethe visited the Tante. He was at this time very anxiously awaiting the appearance of the new number of the *Merkur*. In this number Wieland would, he expected, take his revenge for the farce *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, which had been published by the mischievous Lenz. (See page 187 of our translation.) It was Johanna's design to shame him by showing him Wieland's generous and appreciative criticism of *Götz*, and his good-humoured notice of the farce. Jacobi had sent her the sheets of the unpublished *Merkur*. She placed the article on *Götz* before Goethe; after reading for a time he broke out into expressions of surprised pleasure and approval. Yet there was something in Wieland's tone that annoyed him. The "paternal manner" of Wieland, his conviction that Goethe will "in time" judge after another fashion—"In time! In time! yes, there it is, there it is! that is just the way my father speaks; the same dispute that I have with my father in matters politic I have with Wieland in these points." After this Tante Fahlmer made him read Wieland's notice of the farce. The skilfully calculated *bonhomie* of Wieland conquered him:—"We recommend this little work to all lovers of the *pasquin* manner as a masterpiece of persiflage and sophistic wit." Goethe grew red, and Tante saw that he was agitated. Then he said:—"He could not have done it better. Very good! I say it, henceforth for ever I must let him alone. Wieland gains a great deal with the public by this incident. I am completely exposed to derision."

After this Tante put the thumbscrews on him with regard to the farce on the Jacobis. For word of this farce had come to the ears of those satirised in it, one of whom was Johanna herself. "Since I was at Düsseldorf, has not some other pretty thing like the *Götter und Helden* dialogue been composed?" "Nothing, dear Tante," replied Goethe. "The *Satyros*?"—"No, that was done before you went away." "Nothing at all?" she persisted, "a friendly drama of the same kind," looking straight into his eyes. "You are honest, Goethe! So you must tell me."

Goethe.—"That I will.—Yes, dear Tante; ask and I will tell!"

Tante.—"The *Unglück der J * * **?"

Goethe.—"Yes, that is true. But that was written long ere I knew you all [it was about March 1773 that Goethe seems first to have become intimate with Johanna. See page 167 of our translation], and was founded merely on anecdotes, on tittle-tattle, all from hearsay. All of you play ridiculous parts together in it. You too, Tante. No one but Lisette Runkel, Merck, and Dean Dumeix has read it [he forgot Höpfnér (page 188) and Klopstock (page 192)], and no one else in the world shall hear or see it; it shall never again smell the light. And it has not been finished either—it is of no further account."

Tante.—"But must I really not hear it?"

Goethe.—"Dear Tante, it is impossible. Do not ask it."

After a good deal of talk between them it grew clear who the hero was, and what had given rise to the farce. It was written immediately after the return of Merck and Goethe from Coblenz [therefore in September or October 1772. See Article 10 of this Appendix].

This conversation helps us to understand Goethe's visit to Jacobi a few months later, and his reconciliatory message to Wieland in December 1774.

It may be here fitly noted that the letter to Frau von Laroche quoted on page 193 of our translation is a reply to a letter in which she had spoken of Wieland's utterance on *Götz*. Loeper observes that the pupil of Spinoza is recognisable in Goethe's observations on the Good and the Bad. These observations were evoked by a passage in which Wieland speaks of the man whose philosophy is founded on the principle that the Bad is Good, and the Good is Bad. The concluding sentences of Goethe's letter are explained by the following quotation from Wieland:—"Supposing also that a man, *who does not love us*, must for that reason be a bad man."

Düntzer notes in the new edition that the Alexandrine, *Un livre, croyez moi, n'est pas fort dangereux*, is a line of Voltaire's. Loeper observes that it would be a good motto for Goethe's *Epistle* to Schiller on Books and Reading (1795).

26. *Goethe in Ems*, July 17, 1774, page 197.—Late on the evening of the day on which he wrote *Des Künstlers Erdewallen* Goethe wrote under Lotte Kestner's silhouette, which he carried with him, "Lotte gute Nacht, am 17 Juli 1774."

Künstlers Erdewallen was sent off to Klinger, probably accompanied by the *Prolog*, which forms the introduction to the group of farces that form the *Puppenspiel*. These farces are *Künstlers Erdewallen*, *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*, and *Pater Brey*. As the two last-named had been given to Klinger in the spring of 1774 (see Article 24 of this Appendix) Klinger had now the whole *Puppenspiel* in his hands. He was in pressing need at the time and was trying to get money for them. They had been offered to Nicolai by Höpfner, but a reply from Nicolai had not yet come.

27. *Goethe, Klinger, and Wagner*, pages 208-209.—The reader will make some additions to this paragraph, and the modifications needful to bring it into consonance with the following:—About the time of the September Fair of 1774 Klinger was released from Giessen by holidays. He came to Frankfurt, his mind full of his wild play *Otto*. This play, as already noticed, is an imitation of *Götz*, but far exceeds *Götz* in violence of language. Klinger, Goethe, and their circle indulged in a wild "*geniales*" enthusiastic life during the holidays. Nicolai had refused to purchase Goethe's *Puppenspiel* (see Article 26), and now Weygand, the publisher of *Werther*, had, at Goethe's request, undertaken to bring it out, giving Klinger a moderate honorarium.

Wagner, whom Goethe had known in the old Strassburg time, had been banished from Saarbrücken because he espoused with too much zeal the cause of his master, President von Günderode, who had fallen under the displeasure of his prince. When he visited Frankfurt the bookseller Deinet had persuaded him to settle there with the hope of making a living by literary work. His first place of abode after leaving Saarbrücken had been the university city Giessen, and while staying there he had come over to visit Goethe. That Wagner and Klinger were well acquainted was therefore one of the reasons why Goethe so easily admitted Wagner to intimacy, upon his migration to Frankfurt. Goethe was in a state of extreme agitation at this time, as he awaited the appearance of *Werther*,

not on account of its reception by the reading public, for he knew that it must be very successful, but on account of the impression that it would make upon Lotte and Kestner. His agitation would seek an outlet in extravagant conduct, and probably Klinger was the more welcome on this account.

It will be observed by the student that the whole account of Klinger and Wagner had better be transferred from pages 208-9 to page 203 of our translation. The corresponding alteration has been made by Düntzer in the new edition.

28. *Goethe reading Faust to Boie*, October 1774, page 206.—To the quotation from Boie's letter Düntzer adds after "stamp of genius:"—"His *Dr. Faust* is almost finished, and seems to me the greatest and most characteristic of all."

29 *Claudine von Villabella*.—Among the dramatic plans mentioned at the foot of page 211 was that of the vagabond operetta *Claudine von Villabella* (see pages 225, 229) whose scene is laid in Italy. We do not yet know where Goethe found the material of this play.

30. *Klinger, Kayser, and Wagner in the winter 1774-5*.—Insert on page 212 after "*Egmont*":—Just before Christmas 1774, Klinger came to stay a short time in Frankfurt. The friends led the old rollicking, crack-brained life together. Poor Wagner, who was painfully endeavouring to maintain himself, and who was now thinking of obtaining an appointment in some foreign country, found his best present consolation in the company of the young "geniuses." Klinger had already despatched his drama *Otto* to a publisher in Leipzig. Kayser was the victim of an unprosperous love for Sannchen, the daughter of the watchman belonging to the tower of the church where the elder Kayser was organist. The organist would not hear of marriage with a wife of such low rank, and his prohibition drove his son to despair, and made him meditate abandoning his native city. Yet the young fellow's grief proved no bar to his joining the life of mad merriment of his friends. In the early days of January 1775 Goethe sketched Klinger before his return to Giessen.

31. *Goethe and the Stolbergs in 1775*, pages 226-231.—On May 3, 1775, Goethe writes to Henriette Knebel:—"As usual I am living in a whirl, and in immoderateness of pleasure and of pain." Immediately after this Freiherr von Haugwitz of Silesia, a young man of twenty-three, arrived in Frankfurt. He came from Paris and had arranged to meet the young Counts Stolberg in Frankfurt, thence to proceed with them on a trip to Switzerland and Italy. In the time intervening between his arrival and the arrival of the Stolbergs he had grown very intimate with Goethe; when the Stolbergs came, indeed, they heard that Haugwitz was at Goethe's house and sent thither for him. Soon after, Goethe presented himself and supped that night with the Counts. They became warm friends in the first few hours. "He is a splendid man," writes Christian Stolberg to his elder sister. "A wealth of ardent feeling streams from every word, from every gesture; he is excitable and enthusiastic even to violence, but from amid that very violence the tender loving heart looks forth."

Klinger was staying in Frankfurt at the time of the Stolbergs' arrival.

Since we saw him last he has rapidly finished a new drama, *Das leidende Weib*, and, as remarked on page 190 of our translation, had sketched Goethe in the Doctor in this play. Klinger became the inseparable comrade of the Stolbergs during their stay. When they visited Mainz on May 11, 1775, Klinger was with them. Goethe was, however, prevented from joining this expedition. On another occasion they all went to Offenbach together, and there Goethe introduced his friends to a beautiful maiden—a “rare creature”—with whom he flirted a few hours in the autumn.

On the day after the visit to the peasant Jakob Gujer (page 230), the party sailed on the Lake of Zürich (June 13, 1775). They visited the convent of Einsiedeln. Goethe read to the Stolbergs a great deal from manuscript. Without doubt the scenes of *Faust* were part of what he read. An extract from the Diary of the Physical Society of Zürich, reprinted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, i. 371, shows that the Stolbergs, Goethe, Haugwitz, and Passavant, were present on June 26, 1775, at a meeting of the Society. At this meeting Lavater read a paper on Physiognomy.

I derive from the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 427, the following reference, which is here in place:—The *Grenzboten*, Band iv. Five Letters from F. L. Stolberg to J. H. Voss on the Swiss Journey of 1775, ranging in date from March 18 to July 29, 1775.

32. *Lili and Goethe in Offenbach*, pages 225, 233.—The name of Lili's uncle in Offenbach at whose house she used to visit was Bernard. The D'Orville who, with Goethe, accompanied her on horseback on August 3, 1775, was the husband of another niece of Bernard's. S. Bernard, to whom she was betrothed in June 1776, was a relative of her Offenbach uncle (page 300).

33. To the extracts from Christian Stolberg's letters, pages 249, 250, describing life at Weimar, the new edition adds this from one of Friedrich Stolberg's:—“In the forenoons we were either with Goethe or Wieland, or we rode out with the Duke—sometimes on a hunt. After dinner there were games played, blind-man's-buff or run-the-gauntlet. Between seven and nine there was a concert or *vingt-un*. One afternoon Goethe read aloud his half completed *Faust*. It is a noble work. The Duchesses were powerfully affected by some scenes. The evening preceding the last day of our stay we were at Prince Constantin's [see page 246]; the Duke, the Statthalter of Erfurt, an excellent man of understanding, Goethe, and many cavaliers of the Court, supped with us. We had soon finished, and were in high spirits, when the door suddenly opened, and lo! the Duchess-Mother and the beautiful Frau von Stein stepped solemnly into the room each with a sword three yards long in her hand. They had come to dub us knights. We knelt, and the two ladies went pleasantly round the table from man to man. Afterwards we played blind-man's-buff a long time. . . . On the last evening after we had taken our leave at Court we supped with Goethe and Wieland alone.”

34. *Klopstock, Friedrich Stolberg, and Goethe*, pages 263, 264.—Düntzer adds, in the new edition, some interesting particulars as to Friedrich Stolberg's behaviour at the time of Goethe's breach with Klopstock. To fully appreciate Stolberg's attitude we must remember that

not long before he had written the extraordinary *Song of Freedom*, from the *Twentieth Century*. During his recent visit to Weimar he had shown this poem to Karl August, who was extremely pleased with it. Karl August asked whether he would not dedicate it to the "Great Friedrich," whereupon he wrote a bitter dedication of it to the King of Prussia in doggerel verse, and this, too, was well received. (See Düntzer's new edition, page 263.)

But this singer of freedom and thirster for the blood of tyrants proved unable to understand Goethe's manly resentment of the foolish credulity of Klopstock. We find him calling Goethe "a *Starrkopf* in the highest degree." ("*Starrkopf*" means a mulish, obstinate person.) In a letter to Klopstock, Stolberg writes:—"Goethe's obdurate will, which, if it were possible, he would gladly assert in opposition to God Himself, has often made me tremble for him;" nay, Stolberg thought that he remembered, ere he and his brother left Weimar, to have heard Goethe speak one day of giant intelligences which do not bow before even the eternal truths of Revelation. "God!" exclaims Stolberg, "what a medley, a Titan lifting his head against his God and now dizzied by the favour of a Duke." Perhaps, continues this silly letter, "Klopstock, who so early recognised what an iron neck Goethe's is, had been thinking of the sinner when he wrote the poem *Warning*." (This had come out in the last *Musen-almanach*.)

35. *Klinger in Weimar*, page 266.—Though Goethe received Klinger with cordiality, he was extremely concerned to learn that Klinger had given up his course of law study at the University shortly before it was completed, and had accordingly lost his degree. Klinger had literally played the truant from Giessen, hoping to obtain an appointment in Weimar by Goethe's influence. It was, however, absolutely impossible to Goethe to obtain a place for one of his friends in the Duke's service. In any case Klinger was at the time so unsuited for a place in the administration of Government that Goethe could not, in honesty, have recommended him to the Duke. What need had the Duke, or Weimar indeed, at that moment of a stormy dramatic poet! At the same time, Goethe knew well how dependent on Klinger was the poverty-stricken family in the bare little house in Frankfurt. It is no wonder that Goethe's heart was sore when he thought of the foolish act to which a foolish belief in his powers had led his friend.

The breach between Lenz and Goethe, in November 1776, is mentioned, page 288. Ere this Goethe had been estranged from Klinger by the latter's self-abandonment to loose living. To this cause we must add the bad offices of Lavater's mean *protégé*, the so-called *Kraft-apostel*, Christof Kaufmann. Kaufmann, who thought to worm himself into favour with Goethe at Klinger's expense, was only too successful in poisoning Goethe's mind. This he did the more easily because Klinger had withdrawn from intercourse with Goethe. Kaufmann's arts were employed to prevent a personal explanation between them. Klinger and Goethe held no communication for many years after this. In the beginning of the period of estrangement Klinger became a writer of dramas for the boards, and plunged deeper than ever into the excesses of the *Sturm und Drang*, and into a wild life of sensual pleasure. Later he went to Russia, entered the

army, and rose to high rank. There was a friendly correspondence between Goethe and Klinger in their old age. See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 248-276, and page 709 of this translation.

36. *Goethe and Karl August in Frankfurt*, 1779, pages 295-296.— Since the first edition was published the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881 has reprinted a letter from the Frau Rath to the Duchess Amalia. The letter is dated 24th September 1779. We learn from it that the Duke and Goethe arrived in Frankfurt on September 18, 1779. Düntzer, in a long extract, permits Frau Aja to speak for herself. In 1778 the Duchess Amalia, on a trip to the Rhine, had visited Goethe's parental home. Hence her intimacy with the Frau Rath.

“His Serene Highness, our most gracious and best prince, in order to take us completely by surprise, alighted at a distance from our house; they came, accordingly, without any noise at all to our door, rang, walked into the blue room, etc. Your Serene Highness will now picture it; how Frau Aja is seated at the round table, how the door of the room opens, how, in that moment, her *Hätschelhans* falls on her neck, how the Duke remains for a while at some distance looking on at the maternal joy, how Frau Aja, like a drunken woman, at length runs up to the best of princes, half crying, half laughing, not knowing in the least what she ought to do, how the handsome *Kammerherr* von Wedel also shows all possible sympathy in her prodigious joy. Finally, the entry of the father; this passes description altogether; I feared lest he should die on the spot.”

To the Duke's relief there were no princes or princesses at the Fair of Frankfurt: it was a great escape from boredom. On Sunday, September 19, 1779, the travellers went to a concert at the Red House, the largest inn in Frankfurt. On Monday and Tuesday they attended the theatre. Merck came over from Darmstadt “and behaved pretty well,” says Frau Aja; “he is, indeed, never able to leave off the Mephistopheles completely, but his friends are used to it now.” On Wednesday, September 22, 1779, about noon, Karl August and Goethe, accompanied by Merck, left Frankfurt.

37. *Goethe's visit to Schubart in 1779*.—Carlyle has made English readers thrill with indignation at the wrongs of poor Schubart, whom the tyrannical Duke, Karl of Württemberg, shut up without trial in the castle of Hohenasperg. Schubart was a passionate admirer of the young *Sturm und Drang* Goethe. On page 413 of this translation will be found a foolish notice of Goethe's Italian journey, from the paper edited by Schubart in 1788. Whether Goethe visited Schubart on the Swiss journey of 1775 is, I believe, not yet certain. It is, however, certain that when Goethe and Karl August were in Stuttgart at the close of 1779 (see page 304) they went to see Schubart at Hohenasperg. They were accompanied by *Domänenrath* Georg Hartmann, to whom Lavater had given them an introduction. Hartmann's account of the presence in Stuttgart of Goethe and Karl August is quoted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882, by his great-grandson, J. Hartmann.

38. The footnote No. 1, page 305, is superseded. There is no longer any doubt that Düntzer is correct in assigning January 14, 1780, as the date of the return of Goethe and Karl August to Weimar.

39. *Herder's invitation to Göttingen*, pages 427-431.—In the spring of 1789, when Herder was in Italy, he received a vocation to a professor's chair in the University of Göttingen. For the third time in Herder's life a Göttingen professorship seemed to be within his reach. In 1775 the intrigues of a coterie had put an end to the negotiation; in 1784, after a short deliberation, he had himself refused the chair. In 1789 his old friend Chr. Gottlob Heyne undertook the endeavour to persuade him to leave Weimar. The advantages of the professorship in Göttingen were forcibly urged by Heyne, whose appeal was supported by other voices.

The indecision, the timidity of soul, of Herder at this time are very remarkable. Full evidence of his pitiable state will be found in his correspondence with his wife in the book called *Herder's Reise nach Italien* (1859). Life had hitherto had much bitterness and disappointment for him; was it to be so always, or did this fresh offer from Göttingen really promise better things? His journey in Italy had not brought him the enjoyment that he hoped for, and it seemed a complete failure when contrasted with Goethe's pleasant artist life in Rome. The very importance of the issue of his choice made him indecisive and timid. Under these circumstances he received a letter from Goethe. It was forwarded on May 10, 1789, by Caroline Herder, and was received by Herder when in Parma:—

"I want this letter to meet you somewhere in your travel, as I hear from your wife that you cling more than is desirable to the thought of leaving this place and going to Göttingen. If it is your advantage, your economic gain, I am glad of it, I counsel it. But when we wish to make an exchange that shall benefit us we must not despise what is in our possession already. Do not form any resolve until you return, then let us weigh everything, and the welfare of you and of your children shall decide. For the present strive to calm yourself! Alone, without advice, without the voice of a friend, agitated by the multitude of phenomena, uneasy amid the discomforts of the journey—that is in truth no place to form a resolve which is to determine your future lot. The occasion demands calculating, not feeling; it is a time for deliberate pondering of advantages, not for thrusting a hand into a lottery-urn.

"The state that you and your wife are in at present makes me very uneasy. If you cannot rely in trust and confidence on a friend whom you have long known intimately, you are in danger of ruining yourselves for life.

"I repeat it: What concerns me is not the welfare of Weimar or Göttingen, but of you and yours. Consider that you are not as a young man who risks his individual fortune in the game—a fortune which may afterwards improve, though it be once injured; but that your change would be made when you are in advanced years and have a large family, and that your spirit (*Gemüth*) and your wife's would not sustain the grief of finding the situation in Göttingen a failure, and its circumstances oppressive.

"Make a happy journey and come back to us refreshed, then we will consult, and your welfare shall be the highest law.

"Farewell. I have borne up stoutly and am well and happy. Yet I need in more than one relation your blessing and your aid, which you will not refuse me, even though your resolve should incline to departure from us. Farewell."

This letter shows that Goethe understood the Herders well. He wrote to Caroline Herder a little later :—"Only I beg you henceforth do nothing in the Electra mood, and be good and ask my advice. I may be mistaken in single instances ; in the general I will never fail. . . . Only write to him again and again not to engage himself to Göttingen further." (Caroline Herder was the passionate Electra contrasted with the divine repose of Iphigenia.)

Herder was, however, unable to respond to Goethe's friendliness. In his letters to Caroline he continually makes little of Goethe. The secret cause of this was one which Herder would probably have been ashamed to acknowledge. He was made jealous by the friendship of Caroline and Goethe. Long ago before he was married he had been jealous of Goethe, and in those days his letters to Caroline had been full of harsh remarks about the young friend of whom she wrote with such enthusiasm. So it was now with his letters from Italy. Moreover, the fundamental difference between Goethe and Herder as to the relation of art and morals was beginning to render Herder unjust to Goethe's poetry.

Meanwhile Goethe continued to urge Herder's claims on the Duke. On June 15, 1789, Caroline forwards to Herder a letter in which Goethe writes :—"The Duke has lately said to me that he will give you 1800 thalers annually in order to make you more easy in your domestic circumstances. Now if he pays your debts—that again is an increase to reckon on, of 200 thalers for ten years, not taking the interest into account. This as prefatory." Ere this Caroline had sent to Herder a statement, dated May 3, 1789, of the "heads" of the Duke's offer to Herder. Herder received it on May 31, 1789. He was not content with it, and after his return he succeeded in having it modified in his favour through the influence of Goethe. Herder's distrust of the Duke made Goethe's task a by no means pleasant one. I now give the Duke's offer, and the changes in it which were confirmed by the Duke in August 1789. The Duke writes :—

"1. I will pay his debts, and in such a way that it will not become known to the public.

"2. I will make him Vice-President of Consistory, and upon Lyncker's death he shall be President.

"3. From the time of his return the private salary which he receives from me shall be 500 thalers instead of 300. [Herder demanded and obtained 700 thalers.]

"4. I will guarantee to secure him the Chancellorship of the University of Jena through my influence with the other states who have part in maintaining that University. [This Herder declined.]

"5. I will guarantee a widow's portion of 200 thalers annually to his widow. [Herder demanded and obtained 300 thalers.]

"6. I will provide for the expenses of his children's studies and for their establishment in life."

Herder in becoming Vice-President of Consistory gave up some church dues, by which he lost 112 thalers annually. Through Goethe's management he obtained compensation for this. The Duke every year made a gift of 50 thalers for the provisional education of Gottfried Herder and 50 thalers for August, while the Duchess Luise contributed 50 for Wilhelm. When Goethe brought word of this Caroline said to him in the presence of Herder, "Of course the Duke does not suppose that by these gifts he

fulfils his promise to provide for our children's studies!" "No," replied Goethe. "We must, however," said she, "have a written assurance on this point from the Duke." "No," replied Goethe, with signs of vexation, "that is not necessary; we must not, now, when the Duke displays generosity, make him angry by such a demand." And so that matter rested for the time.

In order to lighten the demands on his purse the Duke resorted to a measure which turned out to be most injurious to Herder. Before Herder's appointment as Vice-President of Consistory a member of the Government, one of the senior Councillors of State, had always sat as Councillor of Consistory at the meetings of Consistory, and had acted as colleague of the President in matters of administration. For this he had received a salary of 200 thalers. To save this 200 thalers the Duke ordered that henceforth there should be no permanent Councillor of Consistory. The Councillors of State should in turn, each for a year, fulfil the duties of the post. "Let it be imagined," writes Caroline, "with what a temper all these gentlemen henceforth entered on their office—embittered against Herder, whom they looked on as the robber of their salary. Then, changing every year had bad results; it took each almost a whole quarter to become familiar with his manifold duties, and these duties were without interest to him, for what had he to gain by them?"

It will be shown in a later Article in this Appendix how the Göttingen vocation and the incidents connected with it had consequences of great interest to the student of Goethe's life, because they are the proximate cause of the breach between Goethe and the Herders in 1795.

40. *Goethe in Erfurt in December 1789*, page 434.—On December 1, 1789, Goethe went with Karl August to Erfurt. In the evening they were present at a Court *Assemblée*. An eye-witness describes the reception of the Duke. All the officers present went forward to meet him. He was dressed in his white-and-red regimental uniform, and in great cavalry boots, and was accompanied by Goethe and by *Kammerherr* von Wedel. "Goethe has grown much more formal, more courtier-like; he came marching along, in a cinnamon-brown, 'roast-meat' suit, *chapeau bas*, sword at side, paying compliments, like the most formal *Hofjunker*." The *Assemblée* was filled with curious observers of Goethe; but he played the part of a punctilious servant of his Duke with such thoroughness that our eye-witness could find nothing more worthy of remark. Goethe's offence against convention in the matter of Christiane Vulpius made him more exact in attending to external Court proprieties.

41. *Goethe and the Princess Galitzin*, pages 458, 459.—The time of Goethe's stay in Münster has become known through the book entitled *Die Fürst in Amalie von Gallitzin und ihre Freunde*, by Joseph Galland, which contains some heretofore-unprinted passages from letters of the Princess and her daughter. Goethe stayed in Münster Dec. 2-5, 1792. Goethe's arrival in Pempelfort is more nearly fixed by his letter to Heinrich Meyer, Düsseldorf, November 14, 1792. This letter is reprinted in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss von Goethes Briefen*, vol. i. page 462. "*Seit acht Tagen befinde ich mich hier bei meinem Freunde Jacobi*," writes Goethe.)

In the new edition Düntzer makes use of the correspondence between

Goethe and the Princess published in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882. On December 2, 1793, the Princess writes :—"Without knowing it, you have been the occasion of many a delightful hour to me in Holstein." (She had been ordered by her physicians to travel on foot for the benefit of her health, and in the summer of 1793 she had made a pilgrimage to Stolberg's home in Eutin.) "As one who had seen you face to face, I was repeatedly called on to speak of you, to which I am not very loath. To Fritz Stolberg especially it was pleasurable to speak of you, because he loves you so dearly ; and I know no one who accepts the beautiful and good in all forms with a more ingenuous, childlike sense than he. With many others I was for one reason especially glad to speak of you, viz. because I conceive myself to have a somewhat more penetrative knowledge than most of them of that *singular* nature of yours, at which so many even of the noblest and best men are occasionally amazed incorrectly, or are not amazed. Without, however, finding any ground for pride in this knowledge! for I feel too sincerely that had you taken pains to play the Proteus with me, as you have with so many worthy folk, it would not have gone a bit better with me. And therefore I will not, on my side, play the ingrate with you ; rather, I will plainly confess that I do not ascribe the openheartedness and simplicity with which you constantly displayed yourself to me—but especially in a few hours that I can never forget—that I do not ascribe them to dislike of the trouble of feigning, but *to a reason* which I find in my heart so often as I think of you. How often I think of you, you will only be able to imagine in proportion as you transpose yourself from the rounded sphere of your proud sufficiency to yourself, into my neediness and insatiety, and thence look back to the planet Goethe."

When the Princess was at Eutin in August 1793, she had written to Goethe, and had enclosed a very affectionate letter from Friedrich Stolberg, with a birthday greeting, for which Goethe thanked Stolberg cordially. The regret and annoyance which Goethe felt in November 1795, on reading Stolberg's preface to the *Selected Dialogues of Plato* (see page 479), was the more intense because Goethe had really loved Stolberg, and now he found him engaged in a kind of obscurisation of truth and intelligence. There is a considerable likeness between the case and that of Lavater.

On January 24, 1795, the Princess writes :—"I can make myself thoroughly melancholy, dear Goethe, when I consider how long it is since I wrote to you last, and under what circumstances I have been silent. Precisely since the time when you sent such a straightforward and friendly reply to my inquisition into your conscience, an inquisition only justified by my true, unselfish love for you ; precisely at the time when Jacobi, as he has told me, wrote to you that he had revealed to me your so-called hypocrisies—never, indeed, more than at that time did I feel a greater constraint to open myself to you ; to at least say to you : that your hypocrisies have not in the least bit diminished my love for you ; that in so far as you really, when with us, thought less of Christ than you showed, it was because you felt no need to think better of Him (and even had you felt this need, you could not seek to satisfy it from such spiritual poverty as mine), for this I owe you thanks ; since in your behaviour I saw only tender forbearance, which I would not call hypocrisy ; (though this word, in the mouth of the most honest among the children of men, who confessed

himself to be a partner in the wrong-doing, could not frighten me). My conception of you, dear Goethe, is based neither on what you have said of Christ and of Religion, nor on the opinions which you may have concealed by being silent; but on the belief, that you not only endeavour after an external comprehension of the Beautiful in all its species and forms, wherever you become aware of it by that most vivid, most rich, most delicate emotional sympathy for the Beautiful, with which you are endowed by Mother Nature, but that you endeavour to adopt into your own being as much of the Beautiful as you can, by *a life resembling it* (as Plato expresses himself in his beautiful letter to Dion . . .); that the portion of what in my eyes is Beautiful, or in my eyes is uncomely, which you do not seek to adopt to yourself or to repel, does not appear to your vision under this or that form; and that so soon as it does so appear, so soon will it become one of the objects of your regulative effort."

And to this belief concerning Goethe the Princess adhered all her life, recognising in him and loving the noble Man, one of the most splendid of the revelations of the Primitive Beautiful.

At the close of the year 1795, Goethe and Schiller began to compose the stinging little couplets called *Die Xenien* (pages 480-81, 486). There were none whom the *Xenien* hit harder than Goethe's old friends Lavater and the Stolbergs, whom both Goethe and Schiller considered the sworn enemies of mental and spiritual clearness, and of pure Art. And of all those who loved Goethe because they understood him well, there was none so bitterly wounded by this as the noble Princess Galitzin. The student will find the utterance of her pain in the letter dated Münster, November 31, 1801 (printed, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 297-299). It was a reply to a letter in which Goethe, after an interval of silence, had reopened their correspondence. When at Gotha in August 1801 (see page 523) Goethe had spoken to the Duke of Gotha about buying the Hemsterhuis collection of gems. (Goethe had returned these to the Princess in 1797.) The Duke appeared to have some inclination to the purchase when Goethe spoke to him, and in the earlier part of October 1801 Goethe wrote to ask the Princess whether she was still willing to sell the gems, as she had been in former years. She replied in the affirmative; but the Duke disappointed them after all.

The Princess's letter gave great pleasure to Goethe; she assured him that her affection was cordial as ever. "Act like a Jew!" she writes, with reference to the bargain about the gems. "Perhaps as a reward for this love, you will be lifted from the Old Testament into the New. This and all conceivable good He will give you, whom I daily implore for you.—Your true Amalie." Then she adds:—"Stolberg, who, as you know, now lives here, has not come back from a journey to Wernigerode. If he knew that I am writing to you, he would certainly give me many affectionate messages for you, for he is one of those who have never ceased to feel what you are and to love you." The Princess died in 1806.

42. *The breach between Goethe and the Herders in 1795.*—In Article 39 of this Appendix the negotiations which ended in Herder's declining Göttingen and accepting the Vice-Presidency of Consistory in Weimar have been described. Their history is important in a *Life of Goethe*, because they are an important factor among the causes which led to the estrangement

between Goethe and Herder, which lasted from 1795 until Herder's death in 1803.

When Herder found the post of Vice-President of Consistory rendered so much more laborious, by the withdrawal of a paid Councillor of Consistory, he accused the Duke in his heart of faithlessness. The overwork thrown upon him brought on severe rheumatic illness, and he was compelled to leave Weimar repeatedly, and seek restoration at a watering-place. So bitter against Karl August was he, that, when his elder sons were beginning their more advanced studies, he omitted to claim the aid which was promised in the sixth article of the Duke's offer of 1789. But at the close of 1794, the Herders being in great need of money, Caroline Herder wrote to Goethe that, as in the spring their sons Wilhelm and Adalbert must begin to apply themselves to their future calling, they would ask Goethe to have the kindness to support them in their petition to the Duke for the loan of 1000 thalers for eight years. We know of this letter only from Caroline Herder's account; the original must have contained such abuse of the Duke and of Goethe himself as rendered it impossible to notice it, for he made no reply. Five weeks later he came to see Herder. Caroline seized the opportunity, and, in her husband's presence, she requested an answer to her letter. "He walked up and down the room; my husband and I sat and looked at him; he scarcely glanced at us, looked straight before him, and murmured something—as well as we could make out, 'Nicht darauf antworten!'" ("Not reply to it!").

The Duke was very angry with Herder and his wife. For years they had told him nothing of their affairs, and he considered that he had a right to be at least consulted about the future professions of their sons. Imprudent things that Caroline Herder had said of him had come to his ears through the offices of tale-bearers. If Herder had in due time asked him for the annual contribution needed for the young people's studies, the Duke would have easily and gladly paid it according to the contract. It was a very different thing to be asked for a large sum unexpectedly; and the royal coffers of Weimar were not rapidly filled in those hard times, when constant wars were draining the treasuries of all European States. This statement of the case, which is gleaned from letters a little subsequent to the date at which we now are, will aid us in understanding the Duke's attitude. On March 12, 1795, urged by Caroline, Herder himself wrote to the Duke asking for the loan. The Duke returned an evasive answer. Upon this Caroline Herder wrote to the Duchess begging her to support Herder's request. The Duchess sent for Caroline and reminded her of the Duke's firmness of will; there would be no use in seeking to change his decision. The Duchess, however, gave her 300 thalers for Wilhelm, and desired that when the time for Gottfried's taking his degree drew near she (the Duchess) should be informed of it.

Thus the matter remained during the spring and summer of 1795. In the autumn of 1795 the passionate Electra nature of Caroline could bear no longer delay, she resolved to seek Justice! and to appeal to the written promise of 1789. She wrote to the Duchess stating what the promise had been, and praying her to endeavour to have it fulfilled. She wrote at the same time, September 21, 1795, to Goethe begging for his aid, and enclosing extracts from her letter to the Duchess. On September 22,

Goethe replied with heartfelt sympathy :—"How grieved I am by the disclosure of your circumstances I cannot express to you. I will omit no effort to effect what you wish. May I soon be able to give you good news!" A few days after this the Duke appointed a permanent Councillor of Consistory, with the old salary of 200 thalers.

A few weeks later the Duchess sent for Caroline, and told her the Duke's plan for aiding the Herders as to their children. The Duke would pay the cost of Gottfried's doctor's degree at Easter. August Herder should not for the present go to the University, but should work for a while in the Chancery of Weimar, and Adalbert should be set to learn farming on an estate in the Duchy of Eisenach. When Caroline came home and thought over this proposal, she felt it impossible to mention it to Herder. She wrote to the Duchess : "He would feel it an intrusion on his paternal rights, that the Duke should desire to arrange the callings of his sons." She calls on the Duke to fulfil the contract : "My husband has performed his part of it conscientiously, and more than duty demanded, and has lost his health by doing so. If he had known that the Duke would deprive him of his colleague in the Consistory, the greatest promises would not have detained him. I alone know what he has suffered in this—which the Duke can never make good to him. He has fulfilled his duty—more than he ought. His Serene Highness will now perform his part of the contract." Again : "It is easy for His Serene Highness to set apart a definite provision for each son ; and I most respectfully beg your Serene Highness to bring it about that the sum for Gottfried be most graciously paid to us at once." Caroline sent a copy of this letter to Goethe on October 14, 1795. He was at that time in Eisenach (see p. 479) awaiting the Duke's commission to Frankfurt. As it was supposed that he had gone to Frankfurt, the letter was sent thither, and it only reached Weimar on October 28, 1795. Caroline entreats Goethe thus : "Recall compassionately to your memory that you were the instrument of the Duke in the negotiations [about Göttingen in 1789]. Do not suffer the Duke so insolently to break his promise. It is in this instance your duty to save the Duke's honour and morality. How has my husband deserved this faithlessness? Do not let us be driven to extremity, I urgently entreat you. I can prove that my husband brought his great illness on himself by the continual labour of the Consistory. Who shall make good to us this loss? I entreat you, for God's sake, save your own honour and the Duke's! I have been silent long enough, and I do not hesitate to say the plainest things to you. We need money, and must obtain it from the Duke ; he owes it to us." Goethe replied on October 28, 1795 : "I hope that things have changed since your letter was written. I cannot reply to what you say ; we are too far apart in our way of thinking to be comprehensible to each other ; and yet I do not wish to be silent. Perhaps Knebel will undertake to hear what I think." Caroline replied : "I am perfectly willing to hear what you think through Herr von Knebel, and whether the words : *Further, I will pay the cost of the studies of his children*, can be made to bear any other sense than that which they utter. . . . O listen to the voice of your conscience ! All the honest support which you now give to the just demand of a family of seven children will be richly repaid to you by Pro-

vidence at a time when you look not for it. It would be very human if you referred me to Herr Knebel! I will hear you calmly. Let us not treat the matter as enemies—appoint an hour, I earnestly entreat.”

Though Goethe, just at this time awaiting Christiane's confinement, was in a mood for ready sympathy with trouble and for charity, he felt it impossible to continue such a correspondence. He could not continue to receive letters frantically accusing himself and the Duke as unprincipled men, who needed to be solemnly reminded of their sacred duty. It was evident, too, that Caroline would cling to her fixed idea in defiance of all argument. Goethe accordingly resolved once for all to utter himself to her in a written statement of his view of the affair, and thus bring his direct communication with her to a close. On October 30, 1795, he wrote: “I take up my pen, not in order to modify your opinion, but in order to place mine before you. . . . A personal conversation with you would not be advisable in these passionate moments; we should not convince one another. You have already written to me what I ought not to read, I must expect in a conversation to hear what I may not hear.” Goethe then proceeds to an exact discussion of her charges against the Duke, and shows how unjust those charges are. He then continues: “You calumniate the Duke and the Duchess, you tell me of your hasty step, and summon me with reproaches and threats to do good offices for you and yours, while at the same moment by your acts you snatch the power from my hands. Already, perhaps, you can imagine how after such conduct I am compelled to regard your violent passionate outbreaks, your illusion that you alone are perfectly in the right, your impression that no one but you has a notion of honour, a feeling of conscience. I permit you to hate me as you would any other stage villain, I only beg you to form a clear conception of me, and not to suppose that I will be converted in the fifth act. . . . By the Duke's offer your future was secured for some time, the past (we shall omit old reckonings against one another) could have been set straight by some arrangement, and we might have secured a cheerful prospect. But the evil lies much deeper. I pity you—that you must seek support from persons whom you do not love and whom you hardly respect, in whose existence you have no pleasure, and whose gratification you feel no call to promote. In sooth, it is easier to make ado in extreme moments about the obligations of another towards us, than by an even course of life and conduct to obtain those benefits for which, after all, we must incur the debt of gratitude. Believe this, however: through all your arguments and demands your natural disposition is plainly seen. How does it contribute to make things more pleasant that August, during his short stay here, says to every one who will hear him: ‘I am choosing the profession of mining because no one knows how long the present government will last, but miners will always be needed.’ These are the family sentiments calculated to incite a prince to aid in the bringing up and settlement of children!” After declaring that he will not read any reply to this letter, and will not again speak of what has occurred, Goethe closes thus: “If you can command yourself to approach the Duke on the subject of the children's education and settlement, if you can make reasonable proposals as to the past and future, let me hear them through Knebel. I know well that people return no thanks for the possible, to him from whom they have

demanded the impossible ; but that shall not prevent me from doing what I can for you and yours."

Such was the shrill ending of the friendship between Goethe and the Herders—the Herders who many years before had given one another a mutual pledge never to misunderstand Goethe again.

Goethe kept his promise to Caroline, and he succeeded in obtaining for Herder a grant of 1200 thalers, 600 to be paid in the beginning of the new year 1796 and the rest at Easter 1796. Moreover, the Duke after this paid large annual yearly contributions towards the education of Herder's sons August, Emil, and Rinaldo.

The student who is anxious for exact knowledge of this episode in Goethe's life should obtain volume xliii. of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and read the three articles of Dr. Bernhard Suphan. Dr. Suphan prints letters from the Herders' *Remains* which had not hitherto been published, and passages from Caroline Herder's *Recollections* which their editor, Georg Müller, had suppressed.

43. *Goethe and Böttiger*, page 526. —The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 250-252, has printed two letters which Goethe wrote to Bertuch, the editor of the *Journal des Luxus*, about the theatrical criticisms of Böttiger. The first letter was dated January 3, 1802. Bertuch soon after sent Goethe Böttiger's half-printed article on *Ion*. In the second letter, dated January 12, 1802, Goethe writes :—"I can only say that if you are not yourself disposed to set matters right, I go immediately to the Duke, and bring the whole affair to a head. For I will either be relieved of office at once or be secured against such infamies for the future. That perpetually busy distorter of truth may exercise his juggling arts in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* or where he will, but I will no longer suffer them to be practised in Weimar against me in my official capacity. I request your statement on the matter before four o'clock ; with the stroke of four my representation goes to His Serene Highness the Duke."

44. *Goethe's period of depression in the beginning of 1803*, pages 533-535.—Düntzer in the new edition adds some interesting details to his account of this period. One of the causes of Goethe's heart-sickness was undoubtedly Caroline Jagemann's excessive power in all the affairs of the theatre. "Die Jagemann imponirt *quantum satis* !" writes Christian Vulpius, the brother of Christiane, to Nicolaus Meyer (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 417).

On February 7, 1803, Christian writes :—"Kotzebue has been banished from the country. He is now selling his garden at Jena. . . . Kotzebue has made himself hated everywhere. Goethe does not reply to him, but he shall be chastised nevertheless."

On February 26, 1803, Christian writes :—"I am very much grieved about the *Geheimerath*. During seven weeks he has not left the house, and lately when he went into the open air in his garden he fell down in a swoon. . . . The Court of the Dowager-Duchess is almost at open enmity with Goethe, and every one there takes the side of the rascal Kotzebue. . . . The people do not deserve Goethe. That scoundrel has even a faction here ; can you imagine it? Only the Duke stands firmly by Goethe, and has forbidden his territory to Kotzebue."

On March 12, 1803, Christian writes:—"That the *Geheimerath* is really ill, though not externally, is certain. He has not been beyond the hall-door now for nine weeks. The Kotzebue affair has been very hard on him, and he has a great deal of vexation caused by the *cantatrice* Jagemann, who is *Everything* now. . . . The *Geheimerath* has a concert every Tuesday. The opera-singers sing at these concerts. This week the Duke, the Princess [Caroline], and Prince Bernhard attended. He is now perfecting many poems and his play *Die natürliche Tochter*. . . . Every Sunday two actors and an actress dine with the *Geheimerath*."

On March 17, 1803, Christian writes:—"Things are pretty much the same with us as when I wrote to you a week ago. Goethe still remains indoors. The Duke said to him lately: 'If I were able to make a sun, I would send one into your house to you.'"

On March 20, 1803, we find Christian telling of the performance of Schiller's *Braut von Messina* (see the note on page 535). "Yesterday *Die Braut von Messina* was at last given, and many hundred Jena students who were present—season tickets not being available—were uncommonly pleased, so well pleased that at the end of the piece they joined in a loud *vivat* to the poet, which was proposed by Herr Dr. Schütz of Jena, a thing which *never* happened in this theatre before." Delighted as Goethe was with the success of Schiller's play, he had to punish the offence against the rules of the Ducal Theatre.

[Christian's letters to Nicolaus Meyer are skilfully used by Düntzer, in adding little touches to the narrative during the following years, 1803-6. Some of these details, however, though so well adapted for insertion in a narrative, are not important enough for the special notice of an Appendix.]

45. *Deaths of Christian's half-sister and aunt*, page 556. — Christian Vulpius writes on April 19, 1805:—"August is in Frankfurt with his grandmother. Christel [Christiane] is well, but Ernestine has brought on consumption by her dancing and made it worse, and even Starke despairs of saving her." Ernestine lived until the beginning of 1806. On January 7, 1806, Christian writes:—"This morning about eleven o'clock my sister Ernestine gently fell asleep for ever. I am deeply grieved. She is the ninth of a series of brothers and sisters who have died. We have foreseen her death during the last six months, she was wasting away, and yet we weep now. . . . We do not yet venture to tell the *Geheimerath*, that Ernestine is dead. [Goethe was in very bad health.] Everything agitates and pains him dreadfully. He is not master of his emotions."

Again on March 3, 1806, Christian writes:—"The day before yesterday, at seven in the morning, our good old aunt died of an apoplectic stroke after having an attack of chest-illness for two days." This old aunt and Ernestine Vulpius had lived in Goethe's house probably since 1794. See page 467, and Düntzer's new edition, page 465.

46. *The completion of Faust*.—To the various notices of Goethe's work at *Faust*, 1798-1806 (see pages 497, 498, 515, 517, 521, 522), add the following:—The work which Goethe did when on February 7, 1801, he turned again to *Faust* (see page 521) was the preparation of a clean transcript of the *Brockenszene*. Before going to Oberrossla on March 25,

1801 (page 521), he filled the first great gap in his *Faust*. On October 22, 1804, Christian Vulpius writes:—"That Goethe will never again write any poetry, I do not believe, and just for this reason, that at this moment he has something under his pen; his *Faust*, too, he means to finish." (Probably the unnamed work that Goethe had on hand was a fore-piece. See page 546.) In the spring of 1806 Goethe finished the First Part of *Faust* between March 21 and April 25. At this time the prose *Wald und Höhle* was written. Cotta, returning from the Leipzig Fair, took away the manuscript in great joy. *Faust* was published in volume viii. of the new edition of Goethe's works, which appeared in 1808. See page 576 of this translation.

47. *The French in Weimar, October 1806, see pages 560-564.*—The letters of Christian Vulpius, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 423-424, and the new documents printed by Keil in his book *Goethe, Weimar und Jena im Jahre 1806*, have filled gaps in the narrative of Goethe's life during October 1806. In the new edition Düntzer has drawn on these two new sources, and has moreover re-examined Riemer's account. The documents which Keil prints are a collection laid aside by Goethe himself, and labelled: *Acta, die traurigen Folgen des 14 Octobers 1806 betreffend*, viz. *Documents relating to the melancholy sequel of October 14, 1806*. The reader will supplement the narrative of pages 561-563 from the following:—

When at about five o'clock on the afternoon of October 14, 1806, the cannonade having ceased, French hussars began to enter the silent deserted streets of Weimar, Riemer and Goethe's son hurried to meet them with bottles of wine and beer. Many other citizens did the same. Goethe joined one group, drew from his blue overcoat a bottle of wine and handed it to a chasseur on horseback, who received it with a nod of satisfaction and stowed it away safe in his cloak. Then Goethe handed a package of tobacco to another rider, but was taken aback by the inquiry, Is it good tobacco? He replied smiling, that he could not say, because he was not a smoker himself. At that moment some shots were heard at a distance, and the cry "Qui vive?" The soldiers rode off, and Goethe hastened away.¹

It was after this that Wilhelm von Türkheim came to Goethe and that Riemer saw the two going to the Castle. Düntzer in the new edition corrects "Augereau" in Goethe's message to his home to "Ney," adopting the theory of Riemer's correctness. (See the translator's footnote, p. 561.)

Among those who took refuge in Goethe's house during the sack of Weimar were Christian Vulpius and his wife. Hear the plaint of Christian to Nicolaus Meyer: "Weimar, October 20, 1806.—What a calamity has befallen us! On the 14th, the unhappy battle of Jena lost, in the afternoon at five o'clock the sack of our city began and lasted thirty-six hours, and has stripped me of everything. For three days we were not in our house. . . . The fearful night, howling, lamentation, and fire,—ah, God! and my wife and the child for hours in the cold night beneath the open sky in the Park! Something good: Yesterday the *Geheimerath* Goethe married my sister. His house has been spared. He has marshals in it continually." We had better take at once all that Christian has to tell

¹ The little scene in which Goethe figures is described in a book which I have not read. Keil gives its name in a footnote: *Aus Goethe's Leben. Von einem Zeitgenossen (W. C.)*, Leipzig, 1849.

us. On November 10, 1806, he writes :—"From the 15th to the 17th October, we were in the house of the *Geheimerath* Goethe, and our own house with all that was in it was free to any one who liked to occupy it. And that was done with a vengeance ! About sixteen men lived in it, until at length, Napoleon needing books from the Library, grenadiers, upon the requisition of his engineer d'Alma, were stationed in my house. On the 18th October I moved into it, but in what condition did I find it ? Let me be silent as to that ! Then daily billeting of soldiers on us, one time we had ten men, and no money, no provisions ! . . . My sister helped us, but it has cost the *Geheimerath* himself more than 2000 thalers—twelve *eimer* of wine alone. His house has not been sacked ; he averted this on the first evening by wine and prudence, then he obtained a safeguard, as General Victor, Marshals Ney, Lannes, and Augereau lodged with him, at times twenty-eight beds in his house ; but it has been a hard time for him, yet he is well, for which God be thanked."

On October 17, 1806, Goethe made the following entry in his private papers :—"We are alive ! our house remains unplundered and unfired, saved as by a miracle. The Duchess has lived through the most terrible hours with us ; to her we owe our sole hope of safety in the future, as at present the preservation of the Castle. The Emperor of the Occident resides in it." The last sentence is erased and "The Emperor is come" substituted. On that day Napoleon left Weimar, and Goethe wrote to Günther the letter quoted on page 562.

Dentzel, the Commandant whom Napoleon left behind at Weimar, had been once a pastor ; and it was in Jena that he had studied theology. He was a humane and courteous man, and on being appointed Commandant of Weimar he did his utmost to reduce the disorder and to diminish the sufferings of the inhabitants. In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1807 Goethe notices the friendliness which Dentzel displayed. On October 17, 1806, Goethe and Wieland dined with him. Dentzel had ere this sent the following note to Goethe :—"The General-Adjutant of the Imperial Staff begs Herr *Hofrath* Goethe to be quite free from anxiety. The subscriber, the Commandant of the city of Weimar, will, at the request of Marshal Lannes and in respect of the great Goethe himself, take all measures to provide for the safety of Herr Goethe's house.—G. F. DENTZEL." On October 18, 1806, Dentzel wrote to Goethe : "I believe myself to be doing Herr *Hofrath* Goethe the greatest service in allotting to him as guest Monsieur Denon, member of the Institut National and Inspector-General of Arts and Museums." Goethe gave a warm welcome to Denon. On this day he sent to Dentzel as a token of gratitude and friendship a handsome set of Wieland's *Works* with this inscription :—

"To General and City-Commandant Dentzel is dedicated this copy of the Works of our common Friend Wieland, with earnest gratitude for protection and kindness in terrible days, by Goethe, on October 18, 1806 ; and do not forget the trefoil of the 17th."

"The trefoil of the 17th" is the little group of *three* friends assembled at Dentzel's table.

In the weeks that follow we find Goethe very active on behalf of the University of Jena and its institutions. He constitutes himself a centre to which complaints and reports flow, and he spares no trouble to get

grievances redressed. The private wants of his friends also were relieved by his solicitude and generosity. Keil's book has done the great service of enabling us to prove the large-hearted, humane Goethe's existence in this period. It had been assumed by the many who are never anxious to believe good things of our great men—who are, on the contrary, apparently anxious to prove them selfish and commonplace—that during the distress of Weimar Goethe “did nothing for the common weal, was not, in fact, at all concerned about it, retired into his own private existence, and was troubled about nothing but his manuscripts.” This theory is now no longer possible. Its assumptions are disproved by exact documentary evidence, and for the thousandth time in the narrative of Goethe's life, charity where we are ignorant has proved to be true wisdom.

48. *Goethe's need of money, 1812.*—At the foot of page 582 it is observed that the dangerous political situation agitated Goethe very painfully in March 1812, and he fled to Jena, and thence to Karlsbad. Düntzer adds in the new edition that Goethe was hard pressed for money at this time, and that he had to write from Karlsbad to Cotta, asking an increase of the sum paid for *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Cotta cheerfully granted his request.

49. *Riemer and Goethe, page 589.*—Riemer became a professor in the *Gymnasium* of Weimar at Easter 1812, and left Goethe's house. That Goethe three years earlier had thought of such an appointment for Riemer as desirable is proved by a letter printed in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band i. (1880). On May 19, 1809, Goethe writes to Riemer from Jena :—“I consider the occurrence of yesterday a fortunate one, for the bad humour to which you have lately yielded must sooner or later bring about a scene, and I confess that you have been putting my patience to hard tests.” However Goethe will subdue his irritation, and they will again try to get on together as before. At the same time, he recommends that Riemer should look out for some appointment.

Here, too, may find place Düntzer's mention of the disagreement between August Goethe and Riemer which occurred in 1816. The reader may suppose the following to be inserted on page 634 :—August after the death of his mother entered with zeal into the management of household affairs, and though Goethe would not cede his general authority to August, and even desired that it should be externally manifest that he was the master, we find August acting on his own judgment. We know of a quarrel between August and Riemer in the period following close on Christiane's death. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii. (1881), publishes a letter from Goethe to Riemer. It is dated July 19, 1816. On July 20 Goethe was to start with Meyer for the Rhine (page 637). Goethe writes :—“Before leaving I must say how much it pains me to see you, my good Riemer, in such a relation to my son that I have not been able to invite you to my house. May all be set right by my return.”

50. *Goethe and Beethoven, page 593.*—The reader will supplement the account of the first edition with the following particulars. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vol. ii. pp. 263-264, publishes a letter from Goethe to Count Dietrichstein, dated Karlsbad, June 23, 1811. In this letter Goethe thanks Dietrichstein for having sent him some of Beethoven's compositions

to Goethe's songs. Ludwig Geiger observes that this letter is especially interesting, because there is but one other letter printed, in which Goethe utters an opinion on Beethoven's compositions. Goethe writes:—"Though I am not in a position to pronounce an artistic criticism on these compositions, I can at least say this, that I have derived great pleasure as well from their grace as from a certain singularity of character." The other utterance upon Beethoven's compositions is in a letter to Marianne Willemer, dated Weimar, July 12, 1821. It is a reply to her enthusiastic praise of Beethoven's music to *Egmont*. The passage will be found on page 159 of *Goethe und Marianne* (1878).

Another point of contact between Goethe and Beethoven has to be mentioned. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (i. 374-5) reprints a letter from Beethoven to Bettina, dated Vienna, February 10, 1811. I quote a passage from the letter:—"If you write to Goethe about me, seek out all words that may express to him my passionate reverence and admiration. I am myself on the point of writing to him about *Egmont*, which I have set to music, and in truth merely through love for his writings, which make me happy; but who can return sufficient thanks to a great poet, the most precious jewel of a nation."

51. *Goethe and Friedrich Stolberg*.—In June 1812 Goethe met Fritz Stolberg in Karlsbad. Goethe went to Stolberg of his own accord. Stolberg writes:—"He was very friendly, showed emotion and joy, and I too was suffused with recollection of the long past days." But notwithstanding Goethe's cordial and trustful behaviour, Stolberg was unable to judge him with fairness; and we find him adhere to his old distorted conception of Goethe as a hypocrite and a vain ambitious man. It is a relief to turn to the judgment of Goethe in the letters of the noble Princess Galitzin, or to Goethe's generous utterances on Stolberg himself.

Goethe's grief upon Stolberg's death in 1819 is noticed page 639. Düntzer in his new edition mentions how in June 1816 Goethe sent a letter to Stolberg by Knebel's son. In this letter he speaks of the recent death of his wife. Stolberg's reply was friendly. "I feel with you in your sad loss as it becomes so old and true a comrade, who commends himself to your remembrance from the bottom of his heart."

52. *Ulrike von Levezow's age*, page 642.—I owe the following note to a communication from Professor Düntzer:—According to Ulrike von Levezow's own statement (as given in Schröder's *Deutsche Dichtung des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, page 440), she was born in Leipzig on February 4, 1804. Thus her age in the summer of 1822 would have been about eighteen and a half. The opposing evidence, which to Düntzer seems of greater weight, is to be found in Ludwig Speck's book, *Moderne Cultur-stände in Elsass*, ii. 97. There Speck says that, in 1822, he enjoyed the society of Frau von Levezow and her three daughters at Strassburg. The eldest of these daughters had "bloomed into maidenhood, though but in her fifteenth year." This, observes Düntzer, is in harmony with all accounts that have come down to us of Goethe and Ulrike. May there not be some misprint or mistake in Schröder's figures?—that "4" of the month and that "4" of the year—can there be some confusion?

Ulrike von Levezow still lives (1883). She never married. In

Schröer's book will be found her utterance of the love and reverence with which she recalls the memory of Goethe.

53. *To Nineteen Friends in England*, pages 711-712.—This is the title of the poem with which Goethe acknowledged the gift of a seal. It was published in *Chaos*, and is dated there August 28, 1831. In a book which appeared immediately after Goethe's death, *Goethe's letzte literarische Thätigkeit, Verhältniss zum Ausland, und Scheiden, nach den Mittheilungen seiner Freunde dargestellt*, by Dr. Karl Wilhelm Müller, the gift is described in detail, then the letter is given with the subscription: *From Fifteen English Friends*. Yet, farther on, Müller speaks of the *nineteen* friends, not fifteen, and proceeds to give their names. He gives fifteen names, and says that the other four are unknown. The fifteen names are those in the translator's footnote, page 712. Every German *Life of Goethe* speaks of nineteen friends, and Herr Professor Düntzer believes this number to be the correct one; he guesses that four contributors joined in the undertaking later than the fifteen others, and that Goethe had private knowledge of this fact through a letter from Carlyle. Mr. Froude's *Life of Carlyle* does not speak of the gift at all. Before I received Professor Düntzer's note on the subject, I had thought it probable that fifteen is the correct number. On pp. 255-257 of Goethe's correspondence with Zelter (vol. vi.) will be found a letter to Zelter from a London correspondent. This letter Zelter forwarded to Goethe. It contains an account of the gift to Goethe, "the gift of *nineteen* Englishmen and Scotchmen, each of whom subscribed two guineas." "Among these," proceeds the writer—and then he communicates fifteen names. The order in which he gives them is the order of K. W. Müller's book, the particulars about their literary work or relationship are those given by Müller, and some of the mistakes in spelling are the same in the letter and the book. I thought that this letter might have been the originator of a mistake which once adopted in *Chaos* would be confirmed and repeated. The article in *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1831, knows only of *fifteen* Englishmen. And the poem: "Worte die der Dichter spricht," is quoted by the writer in *Fraser* with the superscription: "Den *fünfzehn* Englischen Freunden."

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